

‘Wandering stars’
The impact of British evangelists in Australia,
1870s – 1900

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Abstract

From the late 1870s to the early twentieth century, there was a steady stream of international speakers from Britain who travelled what was almost an evangelical circuit in south-eastern Australia. The argument of this thesis is that their impact has been overlooked or underplayed, and, while it was variable, it was nonetheless noticeable in various ways, both inside and outside the church community.

Using mainly newspaper reports from a wide range of religious and secular newspapers, including reports sent back to England, but also biographies and contemporary documents where available, Part 1 of the thesis examines the revivalist networks which supported these evangelists, and the milieu into which they came. Using a biographical approach, each evangelist's career and personality is briefly considered, with special reference to his or her time in Australia. This part of the thesis brings together information which in many cases has been scattered, obscure, or unnoticed.

The thesis then examines in detail the style and content of these evangelistic meetings, the impact of Sankey's gospel songs which these meetings introduced into Australia, the influence of three of the speakers on social issues such as prostitution, and the outcomes of these missions. The final chapter looks at both positive and negative expectations of evangelistic meetings, and at the perceived outcomes.

The thesis argues that the short-term impact was probably the greatest, in terms of attendance and publicity. The meetings were almost always crowded, and newspaper reports, both secular and religious, were far more detailed and numerous than was expected at the beginning of the research. In the longer-term, however, assessment of the impact is more complex. It seems likely that most of the 'conversions' were from those who were nominal believers already, or fringe members of churches. The influence of the meetings was greatest in the denominations which supported them, as might be expected.

The thesis argues that the long-term impact of these meetings and their ‘stars’ can be observed in the maintenance of church membership numbers, and the growth of some denominations, in the pervasive influence of ‘Sankey’s’ gospel songs in both Christian and secular circles, in their contribution to the emergent campaigns for temperance and social purity, in the large increase of overseas missions recruits in the 1890s, and in the Christian conferences and conventions which promoted unity and holiness.

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Late in the piece I came across St Thomas Aquinas' *Prayer before Study*, which so expresses my personal viewpoint that I quote part of it:

*Grant to me keenness of mind,
capacity to remember,
skill in learning,
subtlety to interpret,
and eloquence of speech.*

*May you guide the beginning of my work,
direct its progress,
and bring it to completion.*

*You Who are true God and true Man,
Who love and reign,
world without end.*

Amen

Elisabeth Wilson

Hobart, June 2011

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Abbreviations

ADEB	Brian Dickey (ed.), <i>Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography</i> , Sydney: Evangelical History Association, 1994.
ADB	<i>Australian Dictionary of Biography Online</i> , Australian National University http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/ , copyright 2006, updated regularly.
CIM	China Inland Mission
CSSM	Children's Special Service Mission
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , online edition http://www.oxforddnb.com/ , Oxford University Press, 2004 (University of Tasmania Library subscription), 2004-.
PIVM	Poona and Inland Village Mission
TAHO	Tasmanian Archive and Heritage Office
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

Introduction

‘Wandering stars’¹: the impact of British evangelists in Australia, 1870s-1900

Aims and argument

From the late 1870s to the 1890s, a steady stream of international evangelical Protestant speakers from Britain travelled what was almost an evangelical circuit in south-eastern Australia, and often further afield to South Australia to the west, Queensland to the north, and New Zealand to the south east.² This ‘procession of evangelists’³ was of course noticed at the time: W G Taylor, an excellent and innovative evangelist in his own right, wrote in 1902 that ‘During the past twenty-five years we have had many evangelists of world wide-repute in Sydney, from the time when, in 1875 [actually 1877], Dr Somerville visited us, onwards to Mrs Hampson, John McNeill, Gipsy Smith, Thomas Cook, C H Yatman, and others...’⁴

Almost all spoke mainly at inter-denominational mass meetings, often in secular buildings such as Mechanics Institutes, halls, Exhibition Buildings, and even theatres. Most attracted audiences of hundreds or thousands, and several spoke to practically the largest possible contemporary numbers, i.e. between 7,000-10,000 people. In general their meetings were well-reported in the press.

Despite this, general religious histories refer fairly briefly to this spate of overseas speakers, usually in a paragraph or so. Some give some details of the size of their

¹ *Australian Christian World*, 9 June 1892, p. 9.

² Only Burnett, MacNeil, and Cook visited WA. Varley’s biographer states that he did, but I have not been able to pinpoint a date.

³ Arnold Hunt, *This Side of Heaven: A History of Methodism in South Australia*, Adelaide, 1985, pp. 127-129.

⁴ *Southern Cross*, 5 September 1902, p. 1039.

meetings and the attention they attracted.⁵ Some are discussed by Walter Phillips, albeit with a bias towards their activities in NSW.⁶ There is little on the aims of the meetings or the outcomes, apart from some statistical comparisons of church memberships before and after. Possibly this is because they are considered peripheral to the growth and life of the churches.

However, it is possible that the historiography has ignored the influence of these evangelists. Brian Dickey, in his introduction to *The Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, says: 'The age of birth of 648 subjects ... reveals that ... the 1870s ... has provided nearly double the decadal average at 76 entries. ... Why the dominance of the 1870s? Some might be the children (or grandchildren) of gold rush migrants. But does the dominance of those born in the 1870s also reflect a climactic effectiveness of evangelicalism in Australia, say 1890-1914? These were the years of the great new missionary efforts which drew on Australia ... Much more research needs to be done on evangelical Christianity in Australia to explore the impact of this generation effectively.'⁷

Another area to be explored is that of music in relation to evangelism. This was a period of innovation, and David Bebbington, the Scottish historian of British evangelicalism, said at a conference in Australia: 'Hymnody is one area where there is great scope for research ... on the reception and the use of the hymn. Especially the popular hymn! ... [and] What happened during religious services in the last century?'⁸ Finally, Darrell Paproth, a Melbourne historian who has written on three of the international speakers, wrote that 'A good deal has been discussed and written about trans-Atlantic evangelicalism; similar attention needs to be paid

⁵ Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, word and world*, Melbourne, 1996, pp. 57-8; H R Jackson, *Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand 1860-1930*, Wellington etc, 1987, ch. 3.; Ian Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches*, St Leonards, NSW, 1993, p. 63. In his later *History of the Churches of Australasia*, Oxford, 2001, Breward is dismissive: he speaks of the visiting evangelicals briefly, mentioning only Somerville and Chapman, as aiming for a 'revival of personal faith and piety' (p. 196). Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, mentions some of the meetings. Roger Thompson, *Religion in Australia: A History*, Melbourne, 1994, does not mention them at all, and nor does Hilary Carey, *Believing in Australia: A Cultural History of Religions*, St Leonards, NSW, 1996.

⁶ Walter Phillips, *Defending 'A Christian Country'*, St Lucia, 1981, chapter 3.

⁷ Brian Dickey (ed.), *Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, Sydney, 1994, p. viii.

⁸ D W Bebbington, 'Under the Southern Cross: Connecting North and South in Evangelical Scholarship', *Lucas* 23 & 24, 1997-8, pp. 129-130.

to Australian evangelicalism (of which Melbourne was a unique and powerful part) and its part in the worldwide evangelical network.’⁹

My original intention was to look at all the international evangelical influences in Australia in these decades, but early in this research project I discovered that the copious and detailed press reports made it feasible, and the size and scope of the meetings made it indeed compelling, to limit the focus to the British speakers who featured in the large-scale evangelistic meetings. At the heart of this thesis I therefore look at the ‘major’ evangelists, who took large non-denominational meetings: Dr Somerville, Henry Varley, Mrs Hampson, Harry Guinness, George Clarke, and John McNeill.

I also include many others whose work was more denominationally-based, or narrower in scope geographically or thematically: female evangelist Emilia Baeyertz; temperance evangelists Matthew Burnett, William Noble, and Richard Booth; Anglican George Grubb; Baptists Thomas Spurgeon, John Mateer, and Edward Parker; Brethren George Müller, Charles Inglis, Thomas Manders and George Grove; Congregationalists Mr and Mrs Mountain; Methodists John Inskip, Thomas Cook, and Gipsy Smith; Presbyterian John MacNeil; Salvation Army leader William Booth; missionary leader Hudson Taylor; student missionary Henry Drummond; and Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) representative Charles Yatman. Of these, all except Inskip and Yatman came to Australia from the British Isles.

My interest is in their varied personalities, the sub-culture and networks that supported them, their message and how it was received, the growth of cross-denominational missions and outreach activities, the social and familial networks that emerged, the doctrinal and theological themes which were emphasised, and their influence. It is noticeable that, despite most of them having their provenance in the work of the American D L Moody, they were almost all British. For this reason this study concentrates on the succession of British evangelists who were

⁹ Darrell Paproth, ‘Henry Varley and the Melbourne Evangelicals’, *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 25, No. 2, June 2001, p. 175 fn. 10.

in Australia in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, following Moody's successful years in Britain in 1873-5. It looks forward to the massive meetings of Americans Torrey and Alexander in 1902, but does not include a detailed study of them.

Other questions which emerged were: which denominations joined in revival and other meetings more readily? What was the influence of new groups such as the Salvation Army and the Brethren? Was there engagement with social issues of the time, such as social purity and temperance? In particular, it became clear that the impact of the songs used in these meetings – 'Sankey's songs' – was considerable. Detailed reporting made it possible to study this in some detail.

The argument of this thesis is that the impact of these international visitors and their meetings has been overlooked or underplayed, and that while it was variable, it was nonetheless noticeable in various ways, both inside and outside the church community. Piggin talks about the 'spiritual flood-tide ... to lap the shores of Australia, which was considered one of the most favourable soils for evangelistic and revivalistic experiments.'¹⁰ The purpose of this thesis is to see whether the experiments worked.

Historiography

The traditional Christian approach to history was 'providential' – that is, it saw a 'divine providence presid[ing] over the broad sweep of events',¹¹ and traced God's guidance and presence in all historical eras. It was based on theological concepts of an ultimate truth about the universe and how that truth was worked out in our world. Historians working within that ethos believed that 'God's overall control of the historical process can be discerned and legitimately made explicit, and that

¹⁰ Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia*, p. 57.

¹¹ John Kent, *The Unacceptable Face*, London, 1987, p. 4.

there are moments of the past when direct divine intervention can be identified as a prime or contributing cause of events.’¹²

In the twentieth century such concepts were either actively attacked, abandoned as outmoded, or quietly shelved. Changes in historical method and the rise of secularism were based on the assumption that it was impossible that ‘God is an objective reality’¹³ who initiates seemingly miraculous happenings and spiritual experiences which imply that He can and does intervene in human affairs. This meant that religious movements were explained in entirely psychological, sociological or economic terms, seen as incapable of quantitative analysis, and down-played as motivating factors or simply ignored.

It is not always recognised that this approach is just as belief-based as a Christian one. Douglas Ezzy has written about anthropology that ‘An endemic methodological atheism has been central ... as a consequence of the ... beliefs of key anthropologists, rather than a product of the irrelevance of religious experience to the cultures ... studied.’¹⁴ The same can be said of much historical analysis, which has led, in many instances, to an unthinkingly patronising approach to religious movements of the past, and an avoidance of the study of spiritual experiences which ‘defy satisfactory articulation’.¹⁵

Wolffe also addressed the problem of the tension between Christian faith and historical method, pointing out that while most religious historians have had a providential view of history, this is fraught with difficulty, in that ‘the action of God in history is objectively and empirically unverifiable’.¹⁶ However, he argues that a secularist view of history also presents issues of credibility, in that as an

¹² John Wolffe, ‘Historical Method and Christian Vision in the Study of Evangelical History’, in Mark Hutchinson and Ogbu Kalu (eds.), *A Global Faith: Essays in Evangelicalism and Globalization*, Sydney, 1998, p. 90.

¹³ Wolffe, ‘Historical Method’, p. 92.

¹⁴ Douglas Ezzy, ‘Faith and Social Science: Victor and Edith Turner’s Analyses of Spiritual Realities’, in Graham St. John (ed.), *Victor Turner and Contemporary Cultural Performance*, New York, Berghahn, [p.1].

¹⁵ Lynne Strahan, *Out of the Silence: A Study of a Religious Community for Women*, Melbourne, 1988, p. 18. The full quotation is ‘Some emotions and experiences – the nascent sense of vocation, the driving immediacy of conversion-experiences, the difficult harmonies of prayer – defy satisfying articulation.’

¹⁶ John Wolffe, ‘Historical Method’, p. 91.

axiom it ‘rules out ... the possibility that God is an objective reality who has implanted certain religious and spiritual qualities in human beings’.¹⁷

Both providential and secularist views of history make assumptions which can lead the historian to ignore or misinterpret events and situations which do not fit the model. As Wolffe has argued, ‘close and open-minded investigation of the history of spirituality and individual religious experience has the potential to contribute to a better understanding of the pattern of evangelical history and its relationship to more general historical development.’¹⁸ He noted the more recent redevelopment of an integration of religious history with social, cultural and political history. This is in contrast to the work of church historians working within their narrowly-defined fields alone.

However, the prevailing humanist or secular view of history in the humanities in general has meant that general histories of Australia have largely skimmed over the part played by faith in society, except where religious conviction impinged on the state, for example in debates on state aid to schools and churches, and the World War I conscription campaign. In other words, they have paid some attention to the outward effects of religious belief, but not really to the inward states of mind or heart involved. Interestingly, while major (and controversial) Australian historian Manning Clark¹⁹ was critical of, and indeed derided, institutional Christianity, often using terms such as Puritans (pejoratively), hypocrites, and life-deniers, especially of Protestants, he was conversely one of those most aware of the spiritual dimension, and tried to probe the motives of public and church figures, often with acute perception.²⁰

¹⁷ Wolffe, ‘Historical Method’, p. 92.

¹⁸ Wolffe, ‘Historical Method’, p. 96.

¹⁹ For this period, see his *History of Australia, Vol. 5: The People Make Laws, 1888-1915*, Carlton, 1981.

²⁰ Clark, whose ancestry included Samuel Marsden, the famous/notorious first chaplain to NSW and missionary to New Zealand, was the son of an Anglican minister, and this profoundly influenced him in different ways and directions. See his autobiographical *The Quest for Grace*, Ringwood, 1990. Mark McKenna’s new biography of Clark, tellingly entitled *An Eye for Eternity: the Life of Manning Clark*, addresses this aspect of his life and work. The review by Ross Fitzgerald in the *Weekend Australian Review*, 30 April/1 May 2011, quotes David Malouf as saying Clark ‘sensed ... an enduring spiritual reality.’

Other historians such as Geoffrey Blainey have acknowledged the part played by churches in the social life of the community, and indeed the numbers of people involved in them,²¹ but either from lack of space or inclination he gave little attention to the work and position of churches in his general social histories.²² However, what mention there is, such as the effect of Sunday observance, while skilfully integrated into the whole story, remains marginal to the broader history.²³ Macintyre's *Concise History* is the most recent overview of Australia. Although his brief assessments of religion do include a passing reference to the international evangelists, it is still the case that religion or the place of faith was not seen as a priority for inclusion.²⁴

It is only in the past three decades or so that the pervasive influence of post-modern thinking has allowed a freer approach where a Christian world-view is seen as at least as valid a theoretical construct as any other belief system. Studies of Christian history, or of religious aspects of the history of a nation (as compared with church history, the history of a particular denomination), have become more common.

Perhaps because of the possibilities arising from this theoretical shift, there has been a steep rise in the number of studies of evangelicalism in the same three decades. Two authors, O'Loughlin and Eskridge, give an overview of this – one describing it as an explosion.²⁵ O'Loughlin's list is somewhat outdated, however, and concentrates on American works as this is his area of study. Eskridge's summary is more recent, but still a decade old, and focussed on studies which

²¹ Geoffrey Blainey, *The Heyday of the Churches in Victoria*, Melbourne, 1985.

²² Geoffrey Blainey, *A Land Half Won*, Melbourne, 1983; Blainey, *Black Kettle and Full Moon*, Camberwell, 2004.

²³ Blainey mentions Mrs Hampson in the context of being probably 'the first woman to address large Australian audiences in the open air.' Blainey, *Black Kettle*, p. 146.

²⁴ Stuart Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, Cambridge, 2009, p. 116: 'Australia became a fertile field for the new methods of revivalism pioneered by Moody and Sankey, and overseas evangelicals toured the colonies to preach before mass gatherings.' Macintyre seems to have based this on Jackson's work. In his very positive review of this book, Michael Roe makes the point that 'there are limits to what any one person ... can achieve. He offers very little on culture ... and less about religion.' Michael Roe, 'Impressive Work', a review of *A Concise History of Australia*, in *Australian Book Review*, December 1999/January 2000, p. 20.

²⁵ Larry Eskridge, 'An Introductory Guide to the Literature of Comparative Evangelical History', in G A Rawlyk and M A Noll (eds.), *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada and the United States*, Montreal and Kingston, 1994, pp. 401-9; and William O'Loughlin in his 'Suggestions for Further Reading' in his *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform*, pp. 217-228.

compare different continents or countries. An afterword in a collection of articles refers to ‘this flurry of writing’²⁶ and briefly surveys the historical scholarship of evangelicalism in the last thirty years of the twentieth century, and looks at possible new trends: the challenge to older standards of ‘objectivity’, wider study of the marginalised, the study of localities or minorities, and the growth of charismatic phenomena and the resultant effect on the study of experiential faith.

In Australia since 1987 this increasing interest has been fostered by the Evangelical History Association and the somewhat sporadic publication of their journal *Lucas*, and for some years in the 1990s by publications and conferences of the Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity [CSAC] at Macquarie University.²⁷

There are some international ‘giants’ who dominate the genre. W R Ward’s study of the eighteenth-century evangelical awakening is seminal.²⁸ He does not, of course, shed light on the Australian situation directly, but his treatment of the material is instructive – objective without being unsympathetic. The other ‘giant’ is David Bebbington, whose definition of the characteristics of evangelicalism has become axiomatic: ‘*conversionism*, the belief that lives need to be changed; *activism*, the expression of the gospel in effort; *biblicism*, a particular regard for the Bible; and what may be called *crucicentrism*, a stress of the sacrifice of Christ on the cross.’²⁹ This definition has to be a starting point for any study of evangelical movements, and has not been seriously amended or challenged in the intervening years.³⁰ This thesis accepts this definition of evangelicalism as a basis throughout.

²⁶ Mark Noll, David Bebbington and George Rawlyk (eds.), *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond 1700-1990*, Oxford, 1994, pp. 410 ff.

²⁷ For a study of the aims, achievements and ultimate demise of CSAC, see Mark Hutchinson, ‘Squaring the ‘Koala Triangle’: Reflections on the Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity as an Attempt to Shape Culture’, in Geoffrey R Treloar and Robert D Linder (eds.), *Making history for God: essays on evangelicalism, revival and mission: in honour of Stuart Piggin, Master of Robert Menzies College, 1990-2004*, Sydney, 2004, pp. 35-58.

²⁸ W R Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening*, Cambridge, 1992.

²⁹ D W Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, London, 1989, p. 3. The longer discussion is on pp. 3-17.

³⁰ See Timothy Larsen, ‘The reception given Evangelicalism in Modern Britain since its publication in 1989’, in Michael A C Haykin and Kenneth J Stewart (eds.), *The emergence of evangelicalism: exploring historical continuities*, Nottingham, 2008, pp. 21-36.

Bebbington's wide-ranging account of evangelicalism in Britain in the last three centuries underpins this thesis, in that this was the milieu from which all these evangelists came. Another emphasis of Bebbington's is the influence of Romanticism in the modern evangelical movement.³¹ This has implications for my study of revivalist meetings of this era, especially with regard to the methods and music employed, and the content of the sermons. The Romantic emphasis on the spirit and emotion, on Nature, on the will, can be seen in songs of a more heartfelt type, in the many allusions to the natural world, and in affecting anecdotes and illustrations in sermons.

Sermons are clearly central to my thesis, as they were the key set-piece of any meeting, and the visiting international evangelists were seen as experts in their field. There is a close relationship between evangelism and revival preaching. The first is aimed at unbelievers, or those not deemed converted; the latter is aimed at reviving the faith of those already in church circles. Inevitably there is an overlap of audience and some blurring of definition. In nineteenth-century Australia, there would have been many who had some knowledge of Christian teaching and/or an earlier faith commitment, and it would have been a moot point whether they were converted or revived by the preaching. Much of the literature does not make a distinction between the two. In this thesis I have avoided the facile assumption that any evangelism which led to some conversions was a revival.

The issue of revival is a crucial one. It is important to distinguish between genuine revival (a surprising and spontaneous work of the Spirit of God) and revivalism, which, following Finney,³² included measures such as 'scheduling dates for meetings, advertising such events, urging churches to cooperate together for services designed to reach the believer.'³³ Revivalism can therefore sometimes be

³¹ In particular, see his *The Domination of Evangelicalism*, Downers Grove, 2005, chapter 5: 'The Permeation of Romanticism'.

³² American Charles Finney's *Lectures on Revivals in Religion* (1839) argued that 'conversions could be encouraged by the adoption of certain techniques' (Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p. 116).

³³ Lewis Drummond, 'D L Moody and Revivalism', in Timothy George (ed.), *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, London / New York, 2004, p. 93. Others who make this distinction are Janice Holmes, *Religious*

the trigger for revival, and both result in evangelical conversions. As historian of revival Edwin Orr wrote, 'It often happens that there are elements of revival in an evangelistic campaign, and effects of evangelism in a revival movement.'³⁴

An essential element of revival is surprise and spontaneity, and to truly deserve the name it needs to have some measurable or at least noticeable effect in the community. Hyslop-Smith argues that 'Revivalism is to be distinguished from evangelism, although it is sometimes difficult to determine when the one merges into the other. With a revival there is a sudden, spontaneous, noteworthy and sustained increase and intensity of the commitment of a number of individuals in a particular area to the beliefs and practices of their faith.'³⁵

Different authors have attempted to categorise phenomena by which a revival may be identified. Paproth distinguishes four: new spiritual vitality for believers, conversion of unbelievers, a planned evangelistic mission, and large scale seemingly spontaneous revival, sometimes called an Awakening.³⁶ Piggin suggests a number of ways by which a revival situation can be identified.³⁷ He sees it as a communal experience of the power of God, often preceded by the expectation that something exceptional will happen, and accompanied by extraordinary prayerfulness. He identifies three outcomes: 'revitalisation of the Church, the conversion of large numbers of unbelievers, and the diminution of sinful practices in the community.'³⁸ I use these three markers to make judgments as to the effectiveness or otherwise of evangelistic meetings. Piggin also delineates contrasting views of the causes of revivals, including the activities of the evangelists themselves, the links with social or economic downturns or natural

Revivals in Britain and Ireland 1859-1905, Dublin, 2000, pp. xviii-xx and 171, and Nigel Scotland, *Apostles of the Spirit and Fire: American Revivalists and Victorian Britain*, Milton Keynes, 2009, p. 151.

³⁴ Edwin Orr, *The Light of the Nations, Evangelical renewal and advance in the nineteenth century*, Exeter, 1965, p. 168.

³⁵ Kenneth Hyslop-Smith, *Evangelicals in the Church of England 1734-1984*, Edinburgh, 1989, p. 186.

³⁶ Darrell Paproth, 'Revivalism in Melbourne from Federation to World War I: the Torrey-Alexander-Chapman Campaigns', in Mark Hutchinson, Edmund Campion and Stuart Piggin (eds.), *Reviving Australia: essays on the history and experience of revival and revivalism in Australian Christianity*, Sydney, 1994, pp. 144-5.

³⁷ 'Towards a Theoretical understanding of Revival: Recent Developments in the Historiography of Revival', in Hutchinson and Piggin (eds.), *Reviving Australia*, pp. 13-33; Stuart Piggin, *Firestorm of the Lord*, Carlisle, 2000, pp. 18-24.

³⁸ Piggin, 'Theoretical understanding', p. 17.

disasters, or the possible psychological causations such as insecurity, unresolved anxiety or sexual tensions.³⁹

The history of revivalism is a subset of evangelical history, which makes this a specialised field indeed. It is widely recognised that it has had an international perspective since the eighteenth century with the links between England and the American colonies.⁴⁰ Along with O'Loughlin's work on American revivalism already referred to, Timothy Smith gives in-depth study of the American experience of the 1850s revival and its results.⁴¹ His discussion of the holiness movement, and of its ideals of sanctification and perfectionism, are particularly valuable. He examines the impact of these ideas on the social justice actions of evangelicals, notably work among the poor and anti-slavery campaigns, showing how this inter-action changed both their theology and activism. My work shows that in Australia, where a clearly-defined social justice issue was lacking, there was activism in the areas of social morality and temperance, with many outreaches among the poor.

Richard Carwardine examines the effect of American revivalist methods on British evangelicalism, leading up to and including the 1858-9 Revival.⁴² He argues that there was a profound influence on British thinking and practice, especially by Charles Finney's visits and books, and that as this was an extremely significant time in British evangelicalism, these influences are crucial. Nearly all the international speakers who came to Australia were products of this British scene, so the international perspective which he identifies is important. Evangelicals tended to look beyond their own national boundaries, and especially in the case of Australia, looked to Britain. Other American characteristics which he identifies as crossing over to Britain are the use of halls and theatres rather than

³⁹ Piggin, 'Theoretical understanding', p. 17.

⁴⁰ G M Ditchfield, *The Evangelical Revival*, London and New York, 1998, has a discussion of the international dimensions of the eighteenth century revival, and a consideration of its wider and later impact.

⁴¹ Timothy Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War*, New York, 1957.

⁴² Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865*, Westport, CT/London, 1978.

churches, and an emphasis on lay activity,⁴³ both aspects that were prominent in Australian outreaches of the late nineteenth century.

The particular evangelical or revivalist sub-culture in which I am interested has aspects of fundamentalism in its theology, and Ernest Sandeen's in-depth discussion of pre-millennialism, dispensationalism, the holiness movement and prophecy gives a framework to the preaching of most of the international speakers imported into Australia.⁴⁴ They would have adhered to the basic tenets of millenarianism which he lists: the divine authority of Scripture, the essential corruption of the world with judgement to come, the literal return of Christ, the restoration of the Jews, and the possibility of discovering the truth by the Holy Spirit and being ready for the fulfilment of prophecy.⁴⁵

British revivalists have been studied by a number of authors, although in surprisingly small numbers. Moody himself has been the subject of a few modern studies,⁴⁶ and Bebbington has analysed the ways in which he changed and influenced revivalism.⁴⁷ Most recently, Scotland has written on American revivalists in Britain, including a chapter on Moody.⁴⁸ While in some ways this is the closest in conception to this thesis, in that it focuses on the evangelists and discusses their impact, the range of revivalists discussed is so broad in time and type that in some ways it is hard to generalise about them.

Revivalism in Britain has also been studied by Janice Holmes.⁴⁹ Ranging from the 1859 Revival through to the Welsh Revival of 1905, she brings to the fore the many working-class evangelists who were active from 1859 onwards. Several of them were Brethren, or loosely associated with Brethren, which has similarities

⁴³ Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism*, p. 200.

⁴⁴ Ernest Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930*, Chicago & London, 1970.

⁴⁵ Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, p. 39.

⁴⁶ For example, John Pollock, *Moody without Sankey*, London, 1963, and later editions; James F Findlay, *Dwight L Moody, American Evangelist, 1837-1899*, Chicago, 1899; Timothy George (ed.), *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, London/New York, 2004.

⁴⁷ David Bebbington, 'How Moody Changed Revivalism', *Christian History*, Vol. 9, issue 1, 1990, pp. 22-25.

⁴⁸ Nigel Scotland, *Apostles of the Spirit and Fire*, Paternoster, 2009. Chapter 7 is entitled 'Dwight L Moody and Urban Revivalism'.

⁴⁹ Janice Holmes, *Religious Revival in Britain and Ireland 1859-1905*, Dublin, 2000.

with the Australian scene. Her approach is ‘sympathetic and sensitive’,⁵⁰ which is not the case with John Kent who takes a critical and even cynical viewpoint.⁵¹ He argues that ‘techniques of persuasion, menace and group intoxication’⁵² were used by revivalists, and that revival preaching by-passed the intellectual problems of modernism that faced the Victorians, failed to capture the hearts of the working classes or do anything about their conditions, and did not have any political effect. Kent’s approach is curiously unsympathetic; rather than achieving objectivity, he seems determined to downplay any positive effects of Moody’s meetings. I have endeavoured to achieve a more dispassionate view.

David Hilliard has written a brief outline of the South Australian visits of some of the speakers in whom I am interested.⁵³ Perhaps because of the brevity of his paper, Hilliard falls between the stools of narrative and analysis, although he has some interesting commentary and criticism on the course of campaigns and their effectiveness.

Stuart Piggin has written the most directly relevant general Australian work.⁵⁴ Piggin is a committed Anglican Christian and academic historian who has published widely in this field.⁵⁵ His thesis is that evangelical Christianity ‘works’ best when there is a balanced synthesis of the work of the Holy Spirit, the preaching of the Bible, and social activism. He too lists the visiting preachers of the late nineteenth century fairly briefly, and he has identified a number of revivals in Australia, mostly in country areas.

Piggin’s paper ‘The History of Revival in Australia’⁵⁶ gives more detail of local revivals than does his general history of evangelicalism, as might be expected. His

⁵⁰ Holmes, *Religious Revival*, p. xvii.

⁵¹ John Kent, *Holding the Fort: Studies in Victorian Revivalism*, London, 1978.

⁵² Kent, *Holding the Fort*, p. 356.

⁵³ David Hilliard, *Popular revivalism in South Australia from the 1870s to the 1920s*, Adelaide, 1982.

⁵⁴ Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, word and world*, Melbourne, 1996, since republished with a list of corrections as *Spirit of a nation: the story of Australia's Christian heritage*, Sydney, 2004.

⁵⁵ Currently Director of the Centre for the History of Christian Thought and Experience, Macquarie University, Sydney, NSW.

⁵⁶ Stuart Piggin, ‘The History of Revival in Australia’, in Mark Hutchinson and Edmund Campion (eds.), *Re-visioning Australian colonial Christianity: new essays in the Australian Christian experience 1788-1900*, Sydney, 1994, pp. 173-193.

article on American and British contributions to evangelicalism in Australia gives a brief mention of the period 1850-1920, with some consideration of the type of revivalism experienced here as compared to the United States.⁵⁷ He argues that the 'revival experience of Australians was clearly far less intense than the American experience' and that 'the time of greatest religious excitement in Australia, say 1870-1910, coincided with its most creative time politically and socially'. But he also argues that 'revival was not sufficiently full-blown ... to enable the Australian people to envisage a different world ... Australian evangelicalism was chiefly expressed in individualistic morality.'⁵⁸ This thesis bears out this assessment, although I also show that some evangelists, in particular Varley, had a wider concept of a redeemed public ethos.

With regard to Australia, a number of historians have looked at revivalism with a somewhat uncritical eye. J Edwin Orr has written wide general surveys of revival movements and missionary work in the Pacific, including Australia.⁵⁹ Orr sympathises with his subject and writes from within, so to speak, as an evangelist and Bible teacher himself. He was a participant in some of the later events he describes, and did doctoral research on the Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain and America. *Evangelical Awakenings* has a fairly detailed summary of the major inter-denominational speakers of the late nineteenth century,⁶⁰ although with little critical analysis of other impact. His overview does provide a lead to sources, however.

Examples of more modern historians in this genre are Australians Robert Evans and Arthur Deane. Evans is a retired Uniting Church minister with a long-standing interest in the history of revival in Australia. His books consist largely of extracts from both primary and secondary sources with some narrative history

⁵⁷ Stuart Piggin, 'The American and British Contributions to Evangelicalism in Australia', in Noll et al, (eds.), *Evangelicalism*, pp. 290-309, esp. pp. 297-299.

⁵⁸ Piggin, 'American and British Contributions', p. 298.

⁵⁹ Edwin Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings in the South Seas*, Minneapolis, 1976 and *The Light of the Nations*, Exeter, 1965.

⁶⁰ Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings*, pp. 60ff.

from a providential viewpoint.⁶¹ Because of the surviving records and his interests, many of these sources are Methodist, and his definition of revival seems to be any situation where there was more than the normal spiritual activity or conversions, no matter how small the locale or the activity. Nevertheless, despite these limitations, historians owe Evans a debt of gratitude for the enormous amount of time and effort he has put in to collecting an archive on revivalism, and in generously making it available to others.

At first glance, Deane's postgraduate thesis looked as if it covered much of the ground in which I am interested.⁶² Deane does indeed examine the period of the 1870s-90s in some detail, but like other authors, is content with summarising work of the various speakers rather than assessing their impact. As a general statement he says, 'The sixties and seventies saw the emergence of two powerful influences on the evangelical scene ... new evangelical campaigns of men like Moody and Varley, and the so-called holiness movement. These were inter-related.'⁶³ Deane's main interest is the movements which arose from this 'release of spiritual energy',⁶⁴ such as the YMCA, Scripture Union, university student associations, temperance campaigns, etc. The thesis has a Sydney focus and a fairly uncritical approach – the author draws moral lessons and has a providential interpretation of the events.

There are some useful monographs on particular denominations which have a bearing on this thesis topic. The Sydney diocese of the Church of England has been the most extensively studied. Judd and Cable examine it from the diocesan point of view and have some detail on George Grubb's campaigns of the early

⁶¹ Robert Evans (with Roy McKenzie), *Evangelical Revivals in New Zealand*, Hazelbrook, 1999; Evans, *Early Evangelical revivals in Australia: A Study of Surviving Published Materials about Evangelical Revivals in Australia up to 1880*, Adelaide, 2000; Evans, *Evangelism and Revivals in Australia 1880-1914*, Hazelbrook, 2005; Evans, *Thomas Cook: British Evangelist in Australia and New Zealand in 1894 and 1895*, Hazelbrook, 2005; Evans, *Emilia Baeyertz – Evangelist: her career in Australia and Great Britain. An Historical Study, and a Compilation of Sources*, Hazelbrook, 2007; Evans, *Matthew Burnett, The Yorkshire Evangelist*, Hazelbrook, 2010; Evans, *The Evangelisation Society of Australasia: The First Thirty-Five Years, 1883-1918*, Hazelbrook, 2010.

⁶² Arthur Davidson Deane, 'The Contribution of the New Evangelical Movements of the Late Nineteenth Century to Evangelical Enterprise in Australia, 1870-1920', PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 1983.

⁶³ Deane, 'Contribution', p. 9.

⁶⁴ Deane, 'Contribution', Summary, n.p.

1890s.⁶⁵ Lawton also discusses the nature of Sydney evangelicalism, noting Pietist, Brethren, and millenarian influences, among others.⁶⁶ Because of his focus, Grubb and the effects of his teaching is the main visiting evangelist discussed.

Two Brethren studies cover this period quite extensively, as it was during these decades that the Brethren movement was established by itinerant evangelists, and I argue that Brethren were often an integral part of the campaigns by overseas speakers. Local historian Alan Dyer looks at the Kentish district of Tasmania, the scene of real revival and growth in the 1870s and 80s,⁶⁷ and Kenneth Newton's history of the Australian Brethren movement has a chapter on the beginning of Brethren work in Australia with many useful references.⁶⁸ Neither is deeply analytical (and Newton is not always accurate) although both offer suggestions for causation and rationale. Peter Lineham, a Brethren academic historian, carefully charts the growth of New Zealand assemblies and the influence of various evangelists, many of whom worked in Australia also.⁶⁹

Of the other major denominational histories, Manley's work on the Baptists⁷⁰ is closest to my approach. Manley's work is by far the most wide-ranging in scope of all the denominational histories, covering all the states. In looking at those evangelists with whom Baptists worked most closely (Varley and Mrs Baeyertz), he takes a sympathetic but even-handed perspective. Other denominational histories⁷¹ either do not mention any of the evangelistic campaigns, or gloss over

⁶⁵ Stephen Judd and Kenneth Cable, *Sydney Anglicans: a history of the Diocese*, Sydney, 1987.

⁶⁶ William James (Bill) Lawton, *The Better Times to Be: Utopian Attitudes to Society among Sydney Anglicans, 1885-1914*, Kensington, 1990.

⁶⁷ Alan Dyer, *God was their Rock*, Sheffield, 1974.

⁶⁸ Kenneth Newton, 'A History of the Brethren in Australia', Ph.D. thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1990.

⁶⁹ Peter Lineham, *There we found Brethren: A history of assemblies of Brethren in New Zealand*, Palmerston North, 1977.

⁷⁰ Ken Manley, *From Woolloomooloo to 'Eternity': A History of Australian Baptists*, Milton Keynes, 2006.

⁷¹ Peter Barnes, *Theological Controversies in the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales, 1865-1915: The Rise of Liberal Evangelicalism*, Lewitson, Queenstown, 2008; Basil Brown, *Members One of Another: The Baptist Union of Victoria 1862-1962*, Melbourne, 1962; J Estcourt Hughes, *Our First Hundred Years: The Baptist Church of South Australia*, Adelaide, 1937; Mark Hutchinson, *Iron in our blood: A history of the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales, 1788-2001*, Sydney, 2001; Bruce Kaye, (ed.), *Anglicanism in Australia: a history*, Carlton, 2002; G Lindsay Lockley, (ed. Bruce Upham), *Congregationalists in Australia*, Melbourne, 2001; A W Stephenson, *One Hundred Years: A Statement of the Development and Accomplishments of the Churches of Christ in Australia*, Melbourne, 1946; D Macrae Stewart, *Growth in Fifty Years, 1859-1909: The Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, Melbourne, [1910]; F J Wilkin, *Baptists in*

them. This could be because their research has led them to believe that they did not have a significant effect, or because they are looking at the denomination from an organisational perspective.

John Kent identifies three kinds of historians of religion in the West: the Christian who does not ‘rule out supernatural intervention in history on principle’; the religious historian who ‘does not think that the concept of direct divine intervention is essential to a religious outlook’; and the secular professional who dismisses any such possibility.⁷² In much the same way the historiography of evangelicalism may be very broadly divided between historians who have experienced an evangelical conversion; those who have not but acknowledge the validity of such a spiritual experience; and those who are sceptical of it.

The nature of the topic and those likely to be interested in it ensure that the majority of writers fall into the first or second groups. Some of their works might be classed as hagiographical; for example, the older biographies fall into this category. Others are uncritically accepting of the events they describe, writing as sympathisers or participants. Most modern Christian historians write with objectivity, narrating events of conversion and spiritual renewal, whether personal or collective, as emotional, spiritual and psychological reality. It is in this genre that I would place my work.

O’Loughlin writes about sanctification (and the same could be said of conversion) that ‘whether such a transformation actually [takes] place is less important to historical analysis than the fact that thousands believed it had and testified publicly to the fact, placing themselves under a double compulsion to live as if it were.’⁷³ The reality of spiritual experience seems to me to be a pivotal part of a study such as mine. If conversion is *only* an altered psychological state, or a group impulse, or an emotional reaction, then one is studying it as something spurious –

Victoria: Our First Century 1838-1938, Melbourne, 1939; Don Wright, and Eric Clancy, *The Methodists: A History of Methodism in New South Wales*, St Leonards, NSW, 1993.

⁷² Kent, *Unacceptable Face*, p. 3.

⁷³ William O’Loughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977*, Chicago and London, 1978, p. 158.

that is, something other than what it is claimed to be. It may well be one or all of the above, but if it is also an example of what Dickson has called ‘the powerful awareness of the numinous’,⁷⁴ resulting in some immediate and profound changes, Christian and even secular historians must take some cognisance of it as a possible powerful agent in individual lives and in societies.

Hammond, a sociologist who agrees with O’Loughlin that revivals of religious feeling are real, rejects his stand against measuring the effects of revivals quantitatively. He believes that among those ‘who have become Christians in some profound experiential sense, it is likely that many of them learned their faith as part of their general social experience rather than in a precisely defined revival atmosphere’,⁷⁵ thereby placing the experiences firmly in a social and even economic context. This does not seem to me to undermine the importance of such an experience, and by extrapolation the means which brought it about.

Wolffe, who has written extensively on religion in Britain, has directly engaged with the problems of writing about the sort of ‘personal experiential understanding of religion’ which is inherent in evangelicalism. He addresses the dichotomy between an emphasis on individual experience and an emphasis on collective belief and practice arising from religious belief. The first emphasis bypasses, to some extent, the study of institutions and formal theology; the second can ignore the expression of inward spiritual experience. He suggests that the study of religion can be made within a ‘framework ... of a series of widening definitions’⁷⁶ – official religion, unofficial religion (or experienced religious belief and feeling), and quasi-religion.⁷⁷ The study of evangelicalism often sidesteps the first category, as it is largely an inter-denominational movement, but these definitions are helpful in delineating boundaries.

I find myself grappling with these issues personally. As a committed Christian, I subscribe to the providential view of history. As an historian who was trained in

⁷⁴ Neil Dickson, *Brethren in Scotland: 1838-2000*, Milton Keynes, 2002, p. 259.

⁷⁵ John L Hammond, ‘The Reality of Revivals’, *Sociological Analysis* 44:2, 1983, p. 113.

⁷⁶ Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain*, p. 8.

⁷⁷ Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain*, p. 12.

the late 1960s/early 1970s, I have an ingrained respect for evidence and quantitative analysis, and a lingering belief that the historian should be objective.⁷⁸ As an individual who has what my nearest and dearest consider an over-developed sense of justice, I am in the dangerous position of wanting to rescue my subjects from the obscurity to which they have been relegated. As a conformist who feels safest in the past, who was brought up in a small, conservative, somewhat restrictive evangelistic church,⁷⁹ and who has come to adult Christian commitment in the fellowship of the same group of churches (albeit much changed), I can be unwittingly drawn in to the ethos of the people and events I am studying. Phrases are familiar; songs are even more familiar; the aims and objectives of the key participants are ones I would endorse. It is tantalisingly easy to fall into the trap of uncritically presenting the evidence, approving their activities, and accepting their interpretation of the outcomes of their actions. The opposite trap is one that I also wish to avoid, that of being unduly cynical as to the worth of these activities, and viewing them with a jaundiced eye. Writing this thesis has therefore been a balancing act between all these points of view.

Methodology and sources

The aim of this thesis is to look at the impact of the visiting evangelists through the eyes of their contemporaries. It is easy to damn with faint praise from a century later, but the historian must ask what the opinion was at the time. So in general, reports in newspapers, both religious and secular, have been the basis of this study. As Brown and Shannon write, ‘The immediacy of daily newspapers provides an excellent gauge of the public climate at the time.’⁸⁰ The disadvantage of this approach is that reporters or editors had points to make and a world-view to support. I have tried to compare reports and make allowances for particular viewpoints in order to arrive at a balanced picture of events. The other

⁷⁸ Ronald Wells (editor) discusses this ‘sea change’ in his Introduction to *History and the Christian Historian*, Grand Rapids, 1998, p. 1.

⁷⁹ I grew up in a Hopkinites Brethren assembly, which with most others of that persuasion, united with the Open Brethren in 1961. I have continued to be part of Brethren fellowships in adult life. My current fellowship, Hope Christian Centre, would be considered to be progressive in its approach.

⁸⁰ Victoria Bessell Brown and Timothy Shannon (eds.), *Going to the Source*, Boston, 2004, p. 55.

disadvantage is of course that newspapers are not the most accurate of sources. However, this use of newspapers fits with the majority of detailed modern scholarly studies, such as those of Paproth and Manley.

Generalised references to these evangelists made efficient searching of newspapers difficult, so I drew up a spreadsheet (see Appendix A) to track the movements of each person. This way I could narrow down a person's whereabouts to within a month. As some newspapers had only a couple of paragraphs on some of the meetings, and most of the active research was done before digitised newspapers became common, this meant a significant saving in time spent searching. A helpful resource was Robert Evans' collection of primary material relating to revivals, which even though it concentrated on material from Methodist sources, was still quite comprehensive and in addition helped to define date parameters.⁸¹

The increasing availability of digitised copies of newspapers, in the British case through subscription to the British Library, and in the Australian case through the National Library, has both helped and hindered my research. Clearly it has made more resources available and made information more accessible, but conversely the sheer amount of irrelevant material has been overwhelming, and lack of clarity of some of the downloads has been frustrating.

However, most of the key periodicals used for this thesis have not been digitised. These include the invaluable *Southern Cross* in Melbourne, the *Australian Christian World* from Sydney, and the *Christian* in London. The *Christian* has an annual index of sorts, which with my limited time in London was very useful. However, many of the bound volumes are in fragile condition and any sort of copying was forbidden. The fact that these major evangelical inter-denominational newspapers have not been digitised, when quite minor country town papers have, is perhaps an indication of the secular bias identified earlier.

⁸¹ Evans, *Early Evangelical Revivals in Australia*.

Where possible, diaries, both published and unpublished, and letters or personal papers have also been used, but these have proved to be disappointingly elusive for most participants in these campaigns. However, some of the early biographies contain copious quotations from letters and diaries.

The first part of this thesis is largely biographical, in keeping with my interest in the personalities of the evangelists and what made them stand out in their field. This thesis draws on their biographies and also contemporary newspaper articles. There are no full-scale modern biographies,⁸² although contemporary biographies were written about most of them: Varley,⁸³ Somerville,⁸⁴ Thomas Spurgeon,⁸⁵ Mrs Baeyertz,⁸⁶ Burnett,⁸⁷ Guinness,⁸⁸ McNeill,⁸⁹ MacNeil,⁹⁰ Drummond,⁹¹ and Cook⁹², and in Smith⁹³ and Müller's⁹⁴ case, an autobiography. Müller,⁹⁵ Hudson Taylor,⁹⁶ and William Booth⁹⁷ have been well covered both contemporaneously and more

⁸² Craig Skinner, *Lamplighter and Son*, Nashville, 1984, is an interesting *mélange* of a biography and an historical novel, about Thomas Spurgeon.

⁸³ Henry Varley [jnr], *Henry Varley's Life Story*, London, Glasgow, n.d. [1915].

⁸⁴ George Smith, *A modern apostle: Alexander N Somerville, D.D., 1813-1889, in Glasgow, Scotland, and Ireland; India and America; Australasia and Austral-Africa; Spain, France, and Italy; Germany and Russia; Greece and Turkey; Austro-Hungary and Slavonia*, London, 1890.

⁸⁵ W Y Fullerton, *Thomas Spurgeon: A Biography*, London, 1919.

⁸⁶ [Sydney Watson], *From Darkness to Light: the Life and Work of Mrs Baeyertz*, Melbourne: Varley Printers, [1910].

⁸⁷ H Glenny, *Reminiscences of the life and labours of Matthew Burnett*, Melbourne [1898].

⁸⁸ C W Mackintosh, *Dr Harry Guinness: The Life Story of Henry Grattan Guinness, MD, FRGS*, London, 1916.

⁸⁹ Alexander Gammie, *Rev. John McNeill, His Life and Work*, Glasgow, n.d. [after 1933].

⁹⁰ Hannah MacNeil, *John MacNeil, A Memoir by His Wife*, London, 1897.

⁹¹ G A Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, London, 1899.

⁹² Vallance Cook, *Thomas Cook – Evangelist – Saint*, London, 1914.

⁹³ [Rodney Smith], *Gipsy Smith: His Life and Work, By Himself*, London, 1902.

⁹⁴ G. Müller, *Autobiography of George Müller*, ed. G F Bergin, 4th ed., 1929.

⁹⁵ Contemporary: Mrs George Müller, *A brief account of the life & labours of George Müller of Bristol*, London, 1887; A T Pierson, *George Müller of Bristol*, London, 1899; W H Harding, *The life of George Müller: a record of faith triumphant*, London, 1914. Modern biography: Roger Steer, *George Müller: delighted in God*, London, 1981. See also T. B. Johnstone, 'Müller, George Friedrich (1805–1898)', rev. D. Andrew Penny, *ODNB*, and Roger Shuff, 'George Müller' in Timothy Larsen (ed.), *Biographical dictionary of evangelicals*, Leicester, England, Downers Grove, Ill., 2003, pp. 456-8. A recent thesis is Darin Duane Lenz, '“Strengthening the faith of the children of God”: Pietism, Print, and Prayer in the making of a world evangelical hero, George Müller of Bristol (1805-1898)', PhD thesis, Kansas State University, 2010.

⁹⁶ Howard and Geraldine Taylor, *Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission: The Growth of a Soul*, and *Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission: The Growth of a Work of God*, London, 1911, 1918, and Marshall Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor: The Man Who Believed God*, London, 1929. A modern biography is A J Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor and China's open century*, 7 vols., London, 1981–1990. See also John Pollock, 'Taylor, (James) Hudson (1832–1905)', rev., *ODNB* online edition.

⁹⁷ Titles include: contemporary works: [George Scott Railton], *Heathens England*, London, 1883; Jesse Page, *General Booth*, London, 1901; St John Ervine, *God's Soldier*, London, 1934. Modern: Edward Bishop, *Blood and Fire: The Story of General William Booth and the Salvation Army*, London, 1964; Frederick Coutts, *Bread for my Neighbour*, London, 1978; Roy Hattersley, *Blood and Fire: William and Catherine Booth and their Salvation Army*, London, 2000; Roger Green, *The life and ministry of William Booth: Founder of the*

recently. The conspicuous exceptions are Mrs Hampson, Clarke, and Grubb. The earlier biographies are universally complimentary and concerned to show the work of God in the person's life, and the positive influence of their preaching.

In modern academic literature, Shurlee Swain⁹⁸ and Elisabeth Wilson⁹⁹ have written about Mrs Baeyertz and Margaret Hampson, and both are briefly discussed by David Hilliard.¹⁰⁰ Swain and Wilson situate the two women in the context of contemporary expectations of feminine roles and argue that they were accepted because they were recognised as having special gifts which produced 'blessing'. All three historians comment on the women's appeal to their audiences and the inter-denominational nature of their work. Robert Evans has written detailed biographical introductions to his valuable collections of source material on Burnet,¹⁰¹ Mrs Baeyertz,¹⁰² and Thomas Cook.¹⁰³

As part of his wider study of Melbourne evangelicals in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century, Melbourne historian Darrell Paproth has discussed Henry Varley's contribution¹⁰⁴ and shows that Varley's generally interdenominational meetings did not continue to enjoy unilateral support, partly because of his 'itinerancy, separatist ideology, and militancy'¹⁰⁵ on social issues. Paproth has also looked at Melbourne clergyman, H B Macartney jnr,¹⁰⁶ who played a central, even crucial, role in Victorian evangelicalism. His article on several major Melbourne evangelistic campaigns of the first decade of the twentieth century sheds

Salvation Army, Nashville, 2005. Booth also wrote a number of works himself, of which the most famous and controversial was *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, c. 1890, about his social philosophies.

⁹⁸ Shurlee Swain, 'In These Days of Female Evangelists and Hallelujah Lasses: Women Preachers and the Redefinition of Gender Roles in the Churches in Late Nineteenth-Century Australia', *Journal of Religious History* vol 26, no 1, February 2002, pp. 63-77.

⁹⁹ Elisabeth Wilson, '“Totally Devoid of Sensationalism”: Mrs Baeyertz, the Jewish Lady Evangelist from Melbourne', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings* Vol. 9 No. 3, September 2002, pp. 153-166.

¹⁰⁰ Hilliard, *Popular revivalism in South Australia from the 1870s to the 1920s*, pp. 14-17.

¹⁰¹ Robert Evans, *Matthew Burnett: The Yorkshire Evangelist*, Hazelbrook, 2010.

¹⁰² Robert Evans, *Emilia Baeyertz – Evangelist: her career in Australia and Great Britain. An Historical Study, and a Compilation of Sources*, Hazelbrook, 2007.

¹⁰³ Robert Evans, *Thomas Cook: British Evangelist in Australia 1894 and 1895*, Hazelbrook, 2007.

¹⁰⁴ Darrell Paproth, 'Henry Varley and the Melbourne Evangelicals', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 25 No. 2, June 2001, pp. 173-187.

¹⁰⁵ Paproth, 'Henry Varley', p. 173.

¹⁰⁶ Darrell Paproth, 'Hussey Burgh Macartney Jr: Mission Enthusiast', 1st Biennial TransTasman Conference on Australians and New Zealanders in Christian Missions, at Home and Abroad, ANU, Canberra, September 2004. rspas.anu.edu.au/pah/TransTasman/papers/Paproth_Darrell.pdf

retrospective light on the efforts of the preceding twenty-five years.¹⁰⁷ As well, his article on the 1888 Centennial Mission¹⁰⁸ includes a consideration of the role played by George Clarke, and he has also written a perceptive biographical article on John MacNeil.¹⁰⁹

Organisation of the thesis

The thesis is divided into two parts. The first part is essentially biographical, and the second and longer part examines aspects of the meetings at which the visiting evangelists were the ‘stars’.

Chapter 1, Forerunners, argues that events elsewhere had an impact on the evangelical movement in Australia, and indeed the churches in general. It identifies the mainstreams of influence such as the rise of revivalism, the revival of 1858-9, the increasing emphasis on feeling or emotion in religion, the growth of the modern holiness movement, and such theological influences as interest in eschatology. It argues that there was a revivalist ‘sub-culture’ among evangelicals, members of whom were very committed to evangelism of all sorts (partly underscored by their pre-millennial beliefs in the imminent return of Christ), who welcomed the opportunity offered by visiting evangelists to stage large meetings where numbers of the unchurched or lapsed could be gathered in.

It shows that one of the ways in which revivalist methods and ideas were spread was by British speakers who quite consciously sought to spread the influence of the 1859-60 Revival in Ireland and Scotland. Most of these were Brethren, and the chapter will argue that Brethren influence (both positive and negative) was strongest in the 1860s and 70s in Australia. The chapter argues that as many of these streams came together in Moody and Sankey’s meetings in England, which

¹⁰⁷ Darrell Paproth, ‘Revivalism in Melbourne from Federation to World War I: the Torrey-Alexander-Chapman Campaigns’, in Mark Hutchinson, Edmund Campion and Stuart Piggin (eds.), *Reviving Australia: essays on the history and experience of revival and revivalism in Australian Christianity*, Sydney, 1994, pp. 143-169.

¹⁰⁸ Darrell Paproth, ‘The 1888 Centennial Mission in Victoria’, *Lucas*, No. 1, Autumn 2009, pp. 31-66.

¹⁰⁹ Darrell Paproth, ‘John MacNeil 1854-1896: “Australia for Christ”’, in R. Ward (ed.), *Presbyterian Leaders in Nineteenth Century Australia*, Melbourne, 1993, pp. 150-164.

were seen as hugely successful, the connections between Britain and Australia made sure that these kinds of meetings were held here too. The bonds of Empire were quite consciously utilised and ensured that the colonial evangelicals copied the same methodologies that had been successful in Britain.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 are biographical in format and chronological in organisation, each chapter covering a decade, with Chapter 2 providing a general introductory overview. They briefly introduce the evangelists and their lives before their visit(s) to Australia, showing their religious and social context. The basic details of their tours of Australia are covered – details which were surprisingly difficult to piece together – from a range of sources. Using contemporary accounts, these chapters also look at how the evangelists were received and viewed personally, descriptions and impressions which often reveal much about the preconceptions and prejudices of the reporters and perhaps wider society. These chapters also give some indication of the scope of their meetings and the factors which engendered their success or otherwise, and show the links between them where they exist, underlining the Empire-wide network of interest which to some extent united them.

Chapter 5, Orgies of ecstatic piety, argues that the style and language of the meetings had an on-going influence and changed some of the ways in which church meetings were held, even in some of the churches which were not actively involved in evangelistic campaigns. It discusses the make-up and process of the typical evangelistic meeting, including the venues, the meeting procedure, the music, finance, sermons and their themes, and the appeals and enquiry meetings.

Chapter 6, Hymns of a more or less idiotic character, argues that one of the more profound influences of these meetings on the wider church, and particularly the more evangelical denominations, was through the use of Sankey's hymns, so-called. It shows that early caution was replaced with almost universal approbation, and widespread use in very many contexts. The chapter uses a database constructed for this thesis from hundreds of newspaper reports, indicating the songs most frequently reported to have been sung. Finally the chapter discusses

the ongoing impact of the songs, arguing that this may be one of the longer-lasting legacies of these evangelistic meetings.

Chapter 7, An outrage upon propriety, shows that three of the speakers surveyed had a particular emphasis on social purity. It argues that this was either slightly ahead of the times, or in the vanguard of social reform, and that it was one of the aspects of the campaigns which received the most attention from the public, both positive and negative.

Chapter 8, Sensational service which produce religious intoxication?, looks at both positive and negative expectations of evangelistic meetings, and at the perceived outcomes, in the short, medium and long-term. It argues that the short-term impact was considerable, in terms of numbers attending meetings and publicity in newspapers. The element of emotion, the demographic reach of the meetings, the issue of the number and nature of conversions as a marker of success, deeper spiritual life, an increase in unity, a growing involvement in foreign missions, and church growth in the relevant decades are all discussed and evaluated.

The conclusion, *Mere evanescent excitement?*, discusses the impact of the evangelistic campaigns overall. It begins by looking at the positive and negative expectations of revivalist meetings among churches and in the community in general. It then analyses their short-, medium- and long-term impact, again considering both the Christian community and society at large. The thesis argues that the short-term impact was probably the greatest, in terms of attendance and publicity. In the longer-term, however, assessment of the impact is more complex. It seems likely that most of the ‘conversions’ were from those who were nominal believers already, or fringe members of churches. The influence of the meetings was greatest in the denominations which supported them, as might be expected.

I conclude that the long-term impact of these meetings and their ‘stars’ has been underrated. The thesis evaluates their impact in terms of the maintenance of church membership numbers, and the growth of some denominations; in the pervasive influence of ‘Sankey’s’ gospel songs in both Christian and secular

circles; in their contribution to the emergent campaigns for temperance and social purity; in the large increase of overseas missions recruits in the 1890s; and in the Christian conferences and conventions which promoted unity and holiness.

PART I: PERSONNEL

Chapter 1

‘Mountebank missionaries’?:’ frameworks, networks and forerunners

We hope that his visit may prove to be something more than a “flash in the pan” ... and that the outcome may be permanent spiritual good to churches and individuals.

Day Star, July 1894, p. 50.

Introduction

The evangelistic outreaches which form the major focus of this thesis did not spring to life in a vacuum. They were the product of a colonial society, a Christian religious environment, and a generation which was at the least resigned to such efforts, and at the most accepting and even welcoming of attempts to revitalise spiritual life and draw the lapsed and unchurched to an active Christian commitment.

This chapter will argue that the evangelical movement in Australia, and indeed the church in general, was affected by events elsewhere. It will identify as the mainstreams of influence the rise of revivalism, the American and British Revival of 1858-1860, the increasing emphasis on feeling or emotion in religion, the growth of the modern holiness movement, and such theological influences as interest in eschatology. It will argue that there was a revivalist ‘sub-culture’ among evangelicals, members of whom were very committed to evangelism of all sorts (partly underscored by their pre-millennial beliefs in the imminent return of Christ), who welcomed the opportunity offered by visiting evangelists to stage large meetings where numbers of the unchurched or lapsed could be gathered in. It will also focus on the work of early Brethren evangelists as a vital, but hitherto

¹ Hobart *Mercury*, 14 December 1869, p. 3 – a phrase used of Walter Douglas.

neglected, precursor of the campaigns by the major evangelists. Finally it will argue that Moody and Sankey's campaign in Britain in 1873-5 was the immediate catalyst for the campaigns that followed in Australia.

Frameworks

The six Australian colonies² which experienced these meetings were, broadly speaking, independent political entities with direct access to the Crown, by the second half of the nineteenth century. Except in Western Australia, convict transportation had ceased by the 1850s, and both New South Wales and the newly named Tasmania hastened to shed memories of their convict past.³ The Victorian gold rushes of the 1850s, aided by lesser mineral discoveries in New South Wales and eventually Tasmania, attracted an enormous number of immigrants, and the population of Australia trebled between the 1850s and 1900.⁴ This was concentrated in the south-eastern corner of the continent; the adjacent colonies of South Australia and Queensland benefitted also, but Tasmania lapsed into a long period of economic and demographic stagnation.

The economic prosperity engendered by the gold rushes saw the cities of Melbourne, Ballarat and Bendigo grow rapidly, with the money to build impressive public buildings and elegant streetscapes. Gold underlay the speculative property boom of the 1880s, which led to the spectacular bank crashes of the early 1890s and the dire depression that followed them.⁵ It will be seen that of all the preachers in this study, only Henry Varley attacked the greed, dishonesty and hypocrisy that surrounded the property boom,⁶ although several

² By the 1870s, the colonies were, in order of establishment, New South Wales (NSW), Tasmania, Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria, and Queensland. What is now the Northern Territory was at that stage part of South Australia. The Australian Capital Territory was not in existence until it was excised from NSW after Federation.

³ For a recent study of this process, see Alison Alexander, *Tasmania's Convicts: how felons built a free society*, Crows Nest, NSW, 2010.

⁴ Geoffrey Blainey, *A Land Half Won*, Melbourne, 1983, p. 190. In this thesis I am using the term Australia to refer to the whole continent, either geographically or politically, even though Federation did not occur until 1901.

⁵ The classic account of this period, centred on Victoria, is Michael Cannon, *The Land Boomers*, Melbourne, 1967.

⁶ See chapter 7.

observed that the misery of the 1890s had driven people to think of more lasting matters again.⁷

The gold rushes both strengthened and stretched the church in Australia. They added newly arrived members, especially among Methodists,⁸ and altered the proportions of the different denominations in the population. However, even though church attendance was high (averaging over 50% of the adult population) in the last four decades of the century,⁹ a period Blainey has termed 'the heyday of the churches',¹⁰ the churches struggled to keep up with the growing, spreading, and often peripatetic population.¹¹ The major denominations were able to build large edifices in major centres of population and entrench their administrative infrastructure, but there was a gnawing consciousness that much of the populace, especially away from the cities or in the crowded inner suburbs of Melbourne and Sydney, was not being reached with either the consolations of religion or the challenge of personal faith.¹² As Phillips wrote, 'the churches of the late nineteenth century were bastions of what we call middle class respectability. They had moved away from the working class in ethos as well as distance...'¹³

⁷ In particular, see the reports of John McNeill and Thomas Cook's meetings in 1894.

⁸ Geoffrey Serle, *The Golden Age: A history of the colony of Victoria 1851-1861*, Carlton, 1968, pp. 342-3.

⁹ Stuart Piggin, 'Evangelical Christianity in Australia', in James Jupp (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion in Australia*, Melbourne, 2009, p. 320. See also, for example, the *Church of England Messenger*, 12 October 1885, p. 16, in which Bishop Moorhouse in his address to the clergy points out from the Victorian Year Book figures that 'of our people of the church-going age [i.e. above the age of five], more nearly one-half than one-third attended public worship; and ... if this be the average number attending every Sunday, the number of occasional attendants must be very much larger.' Roger Thompson, *Religion in Australia*, Oxford, 1994, pp. 22-3, gives figures for 1890 of 43% of the Victorian population (66% of those over fourteen), about 40% in South Australia, but only 27% in New South Wales.

¹⁰ Geoffrey Blainey, *The Heyday of the Churches in Victoria*, Melbourne, 1985. On p. 2 Blainey estimates that 2/3 of the population of Victoria over 15 years old went to church, and if children in Sunday Schools were included, the proportion would be 4/5. A contemporary estimate in the *Victorian Year Book* 1882 was that around 40% of the population over five attended the main Sunday service. Occasional attendees would take this figure much higher. Cited by Moorhouse, the Bishop of Melbourne, in *Church of England Messenger*, 12 October 1885, p. 16.

¹¹ A statistical report for NSW in 1886 gave figures for that state which showed that 'there was accommodation in places of worship for a little less than one-third of the population; there was about one clergyman for every 1100 of the inhabitants, and the percentage of the population usually attending public worship was about 30.' Colonial and Indian Exhibition Supplement to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 March 1886, p. 4. This article also mentioned the Methodists as the fastest growing group in the decade to 1881 – 121.90% growth.

¹² See Walter Phillips, 'The Social Composition of the Religious Denominations in late Nineteenth Century Australia', *Church Heritage*, Vol. 4, No. 2, September 1985, pp. 77-94.

¹³ Phillips, 'Social Composition', p. 88.

Methodism in its various forms was the fastest growing denomination, reaching levels of around 13% of the population across all states by the turn of the century,¹⁴ but newer groups, such as the Brethren, the Baptists, the Salvation Army, and the Churches of Christ, also contributed life and vigour to evangelicalism, and grew during this period.¹⁵ Bollen points out that, in NSW at least, ‘at various points over various intervals [between 1870 and 1890] all the Churches enjoyed rates of growth exceeding that of the community at large,’ even though by the end of this period they ‘comprised ... a somewhat smaller proportion of the colony’s population.’¹⁶

On the broader Christian front there was a deep divide between the Catholic Church and all Protestants.¹⁷ This was exacerbated at home by Australian Catholic bishops banning mixed marriages in 1869 and by the growing debate over free, secular and compulsory education,¹⁸ and abroad by the promulgation of the Doctrine of Papal Infallibility in 1870. Even though Protestants were technically on the same ‘side’, they still experienced divisions; for example, officially members of the Church of England did not agree with religious services which were not under the control of their clergy. Though often deplored, sectarianism was rife in these decades, so that inter-denominational evangelistic outreaches were all the more remarkable.

While this study focuses on evangelistic campaigns, and the British and British-born speakers who fronted them, it should never be forgotten that these special periods of evangelism burgeoned amidst an enormous amount of ‘normal’ church activity. Newspapers, both religious and secular, recorded the weekly events which marked churchgoers’ lives: two or three services each Sunday, evenings of sacred song, prayer meetings, fundraising events, dedications of buildings, and

¹⁴ Thompson, *Religion in Australia*, p. 23, attributes this to the Methodists’ ‘popular revivalist tradition, the use of lay preachers to cover shortages of clergy, and prolific church building influenced by competition among the different branches of Methodism.’

¹⁵ See tables in Chapter 8.

¹⁶ J D Bollen, *Protestantism and Social reform in New South Wales 1890-1910*, Carlton, 1972, p. 4.

¹⁷ A summary of the political effect of this divide is given in Thompson, *Religion in Australia*, pp. 18-21.

¹⁸ See for example the Pastoral Letter of the Archbishops and Bishops Exercising Jurisdiction in New South Wales, June 1879, in C M H Clark (ed.), *Select Documents in Australian History*, Sydney, 1970, pp. 720-724, which condemned state schools as godless, productive of infidels, a ‘system of national paganism, which leads to corruption of morals and loss of faith, to national effeminacy and to national dishonour...’

Sunday Schools. Over and above these were the para-church activities such as Hospital Sundays (when extra collections were taken and patients, mostly the poor, were visited with a posy of flowers and a tract), outings of various kinds, lectures on all sorts of topics both religious and secular, fund-raising for good causes such as the Indian famine of the late 1870s, and increasingly in this last quarter of the century, conventions for Christians.

With regard to evangelism, nearly every Protestant denomination had periodic special efforts to reach those both within and outside the church who were not committed to Christ. The 'non-conformist' denominations were more likely to engage in this activity, but Anglicans such as H B Macartney junior and H D Langley were experienced missionaries also. Baptists like W R Hiddlestone sang as well as preached, and like the Anglicans mentioned, combined special evangelistic missions with regular pastoral work.¹⁹ Revival missions were regarded as peculiarly Methodist,²⁰ and most Methodist churches, spurred on by genuine desire for conversions, their Methodist heritage, and the regular reporting of numbers in their fellowships, planned meetings of this sort in most years.²¹

Much of this activity was underpinned by the more conventional evangelical connections, such as the evangelical wing of the Church of England, the YMCA,²² the Evangelical Alliance, and such organisations as the United Evangelistic Committee in Melbourne. The Salvation Army, when it did reach Australia in the

¹⁹ Ken R Manley, 'From assurance through depression to optimism: Baptists in Victoria, 1880-1914', *Our Yesterdays*, No. 10, 2002, pp. 34 -36.

²⁰ A Melbourne Methodist comment on Dr Somerville reflects this. Fitchett (later editor of the *Southern Cross*), in his 'Easy-Chair Chat', wrote that 'the matter of Dr Somerville's teaching may be summed up in one word, as Methodistic. The emphasis laid on the Spirit's office and power, the strong unsoftened proclamation of the necessity of the new birth, the assertion of the doctrine of instantaneous conversion, the tenderness with which the vastness of God's love is preached, and the demand for a robust and consummation of all religion – are all in the best style of what we call Methodistic preaching.' Fitchett thought that Somerville's 'principal service ... to the religious life of the colony' might be that he made such teaching 'fashionable.' *Spectator*, 28 July 1877, p. 148. The same sort of comment was made in Sydney: 'Perhaps the most conspicuous effect of his visit will be to make direct evangelistic work popular amongst a circle of fashionable Churches, who commonly regard all such movements as the private and somewhat vulgar device of the Methodist Churches.' *Weekly Advocate*, 28 July 1877, p. 138.

²¹ Robert Evans, *Evangelism and Revivals in Australia, 1880-1914*, Hazelbrook, 2005, gives details of many of these via reports from the major Methodist newspapers.

²² See J T Massey, *The Y.M.C.A in Australia: A History*, Melbourne, 1950, esp. pp. 48-55; Arthur Davidson Deane, 'The Contribution of the New Evangelical Movements of the Late Nineteenth Century to Evangelical Enterprise in Australia, 1870-1920', PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 1983, esp. pp. 157-8.

1880s, was so radical in its methods that it was outside the aegis of normal evangelical activity for many years.²³

Many evangelicals were involved in, or supportive of, long-term missional activities such as the Maloga Aboriginal Mission²⁴ or Gribble's Warangesda mission,²⁵ and were advocates of fair treatment for aboriginals, in contrast to the prevailing social views.²⁶ In Melbourne, for example, there are frequent reports about and pleas on behalf of Dr Singleton's dispensary and home for fallen women in Collingwood, the mission hall in Little Bourke Street, and other outreaches to the poor,²⁷ the Prahran and other coffee rooms,²⁸ the YMCA and later the YWCA,²⁹ and mission hall outreaches in the poorer suburbs, such as the Seamen's Rest at Port Melbourne.³⁰ In Sydney, George Ardill, with his wife Louisa, started and engendered support for a wide range of agencies which helped

²³ Barbara Bolton, *Booth's Drum: the Salvation Army in Australia, 1880-1908*, Sydney, 1980, chapters 1-5. Examples of critical comment on, or at least cool appraisal of, the Salvation Army are readily found in newspapers throughout the 1880s. Ussher writes that 'The intensity of the Salvationists' spiritual warfare was in part a measure of their isolation.' Blair Ussher, 'The Salvation War', in Graeme Davison et al (eds.), *The Outcasts of Melbourne*, Sydney, 1985, p. 139.

²⁴ See Nancy Cato, *Mister Maloga: Daniel Matthews and His Maloga Mission*, St Lucia, 1976, and John Harris, *One Blood*, Sutherland, 1990, esp. pp. 219-228, and frequent reports in *Southern Cross*, *Willing Work*, and other papers including the *Christian*. Matthews was a strong advocate for aborigines, and like the better-known John Gribble, he suffered in this cause.

²⁵ Again, there are frequent letters and articles in evangelical newspapers about Gribble, including his WA experiences. They are generally supportive of Gribble and condemnatory of those who attacked him for his advocacy on behalf of aborigines. See Ernest Gribble, *Forty Years with the Aborigines*, Sydney, 1930; Harris, *One Blood*, esp. pp. 407-427; John Harris, 'John Brown Gribble', *ADEB*; 'Gribble, John Brown (1847-1893)', *ADB*; Mark Hutchinson, 'John Gribble', in Timothy Larsen (ed.), *Biographical dictionary of evangelicals*, Leicester, England, Downers Grove, Ill., 2003, pp. 267-9.

²⁶ See, for example, an indictment of contemporary practice in *Willing Work*, 12 July 1878, p. 226: '...we fear that a considerable number of the inhabitants of these colonies, who have received considerable pecuniary benefit from emigrating here, fail to apprehend the great responsibility thus entailed upon them towards the original possessors of the soil. Such have not only been dispossessed of their land, and deprived of their means of livelihood, but through contact with the white races have acquired habits which are causing them fast to disappear. The very least that can be done by those especially who own the name of Christ, is to care for their temporal wants, and to seek to bring them into contact with the Saviour...'

²⁷ See Percival Dale, 'Dr Singleton Lives On: Victorian Pioneer, Physician, and Philanthropist', *The Victorian Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3, March 1955, pp. 81-101. There are numerous reports and letters from Dr Singleton in the *Southern Cross* and other newspapers.

²⁸ See, e.g., *Southern Cross*, 12 April 1879, p. 3, letter from Caroline Mackie re the need for funds; 12 July 1879, p. 2, again asking for help – 'the only place in all Prahran where undenominational evangelical work is carried on'; 27 November 1880, p. 2, re moving to larger premises, needing more helpers and money; and ongoing similar reports.

²⁹ These reports are too numerous to begin listing. Almost every edition of the *Southern Cross* and *Australian Christian World* had some mention of one or other organisation. Large buildings were erected in Melbourne and Sydney during the late nineteenth century for both organisations (and in the case of Melbourne, relinquished during the 1890s Depression).

³⁰ The Rev. Kerr Johnston, father of Janet Matthews who with her husband Daniel ran the Maloga Mission, was in charge of this mission. See reports in *Southern Cross*. In another example of the inter-twining of the revivalist network, Mrs Baeyertz' son Charles married Janet's sister Isabella Johnston. Joanna Woods, *Facing the Music: Charles Baeyertz and the Triad*, Dunedin, 2008, p. 32.

women and children in difficult circumstances, ex-prisoners, and aborigines. Although Ardill was originally Baptist, these agencies were supported by evangelicals from a number of denominations and were essentially non-denominational.³¹

In all cities, city missions had been established since the 1850s, and reports from city missionaries and visitors appeared regularly in religious papers. During the economic depression of the 1890s, they make harrowing reading.³² In these early decades of their history, city missions were overtly evangelistic as well as humanitarian; the hall in Hobart still has the words “Christ Jesus receiveth sinners” in relief on the front above the doorway. In Melbourne, diaries of city missionaries show that their day-to-day visiting was as much to encourage spiritual thinking, indeed conversion to Christ, as to organise relief, and this would have been the case elsewhere as well. During Varley’s campaign in Melbourne in 1877, the missionary Thomas Murray urged clients to visit his meetings and handed out invitations.³³

Almost every denomination had a weekly or monthly paper, often one in each major colony, and there were also non-denominational papers, usually of an evangelical flavour: major examples were the *Southern Cross* in Melbourne from the mid-1870s,³⁴ *Australian Christian World* in Sydney from 1885, the *Queensland Evangelical Standard* in Brisbane, and the *Christian Witness* in Hobart in the 1870s. Readers were kept up to date with missionary work, the work of the different churches, and with the deaths of well-known Christians through obituaries, as well as with considered comment on current political or social

³¹ See Hubert Watkin-Smith, ‘Ardill, George Edward’ and ‘Ardill, Louisa’, *ADEB*.

³² The *Australian Christian World*, in particular, carried these reports, by which it was hoped Christian compassion would be aroused.

³³ University of Melbourne Archives, Melbourne City Mission Papers Accession No. 89/90, File 15/13, Melbourne and Suburban City Mission Journal of Thomas Murray, Missionary, Hotham, pp. 46-7, 55.

³⁴ See Robert Linder, ‘William Henry Fitchett (1841-1928): Forgotten Methodist “Tall Poppy”’, in Mark Hutchinson and Ogbu Kalu (eds.), *A Global Faith. Essays on Evangelicalism and Globalization*, Sydney, 1998, pp. 209-12. Linder’s excellent summary of the paper under Fitchett’s editorship implies that he established the paper. In fact, it was started in 1874 under the Rev. Cameron, who died in 1877. It is not clear who carried on the editorship in the intervening period. A complete run of the *Southern Cross* is available in the State Library of Victoria, unfortunately not yet microfilmed or digitised. See also A. Thomson Zainu'ddin, ‘Fitchett, William Henry (1841-1928)’, *ADB*.

issues. The work of luminaries such as C H Spurgeon, D L Moody, and George Müller was highlighted, often with extracts from their sermons or writings.

Hilary Carey has pointed out that during and after the gold rushes, the Australian colonies were ‘linked into a busy network of international migration, trade, and cultural contact’ in which ‘religion was one of the many commodities exchanged.’³⁵ Bollen indeed claims that ‘So strong were the ties of race and faith that colonial Protestantism accepted the British *imperium* as one of the orders of creation...’³⁶ So for a population in which the majority of adults were migrants from the British Isles, or only one generation removed, and regarded themselves as British, British news was not just incidental copy, but the actual news. What happened in Britain mattered, and colonial editors could influence opinion and action by what they selected and copied.³⁷ Thus items about Moody’s meetings in the British Isles were deliberately included, piquing interest and generating a desire for such meetings in Australia.

This interest was underpinned by a rising literacy rate, especially following the introduction of ‘free, secular, and compulsory’ education in most states in the 1870s,³⁸ and by the desire for respectability and status which was evident following the cessation of transportation to the convict colonies of NSW and Tasmania, and the settling-down period which ensued after the gold rushes.

The importance of media coverage was acknowledged by H B Macartney junior; he was ‘thankful that the work of God is very fairly reported in the daily papers...’ and that ‘church papers are to a large extent in the hands of the evangelicals.’³⁹ The evangelical weeklies carried extensive coverage of the major

³⁵ Hilary Carey, *Believing in Australia*, St Leonards, 1996, p. 83.

³⁶ Bollen, *Protestantism and Social Reform*, p. 71.

³⁷ John Hirst, ‘Quite contrary: turning over Australian history’, Eldershaw Lecture 2010, *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, Vol. 58, No. 1, April 2011, p. 13: ‘the British news was real news and news of great significance.’ See also Francis Barrymore Smith, ‘Religion and Freethought in Melbourne, 1870-1890’, MA thesis, University of Melbourne, 1960, pp. 1-2: the majority of adults in Australia in the 1860s thought of themselves as part of English society, ‘and maintained a serious, well-informed interest in British politics and current social and religious controversies.’

³⁸ See C M H Clark, *A Short History of Australia*, Ringwood, 1995, pp. 166-172.

³⁹ *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad*, January 1894, p. 14, from a paper read at the World’s Conference of the Evangelical Alliance in Chicago.

missions considered in this study, but so did many of the denominational papers, and some secular dailies to varying degrees. This was in addition to topics as varied as disestablishment of the Church of England, synod reports, debate about the deceased wife's sister's marriage bill, the opening of new church buildings, district reports, and music and poetry. Such issues as evolution, Catholic belief and activity, and the Sabbath rest⁴⁰ - should trains run on Sundays?⁴¹ Should the Public Library be open to improve the minds of the poor on Sundays?⁴² - were matters of constant debate.

An early attempt (1872-78) at a non-denominational, revivalist-oriented paper was Hobart's *Christian Witness*. In the late 1870s two other papers were briefly added to the mix: *Willing Work*, non-denominational but published by the Brethren Philip Kitchen, and *Words of Grace*, edited and published by evangelist W Corrie Johnstone. Both of these sprang to life out of the heightened evangelistic activity of 1877 and lasted for a few years, giving detailed reports of meetings and conferences.

External influences

Events elsewhere made a significant impact on the evangelistic movement in Australia, and indeed the church in general. The main streams of influence were the rise of revivalism, the Ulster and Scottish Revival of 1858-9, the increasing emphasis on feeling or emotion in religion, the growth of the modern holiness movement, and such theological influences as interest in eschatology. The evangelical movement was influenced by Darwinism or evolutionary theory

⁴⁰ For a good discussion of this issue, which was under constant debate in the 1870s and 1880s, see W J Lawton's chapter 'Where no Sabbath dawns, no Sabbath is o'er', in his *The Better Time to Be: Utopian Attitudes to Society among Sydney Anglicans, 1885-1914*, Kensington, 1990. In 1880, the editor of the *Southern Cross* complained bitterly about the Victorian elections being held on a Saturday, so that 'crowds were waiting in Collins Street till long after midnight to learn the result ... [and] the *Herald* published a Sunday edition.' 6 March 1890, p. 1

⁴¹ See, for example, the letter to the Minister for Railways and proposed deputation from representatives of various denominations in 1877. *Age*, 18 December 1877, p. 3. Another protest was reported in 1879: *Southern Cross*, 12 April 1879, p. 3. Well known evangelicals such as Dean Macartney, the Rev. John Watsford, James Mirams MLA, and Edwin Good subscribed to the protest.

⁴² See, for example, *Argus*, 31 October 1871, p. 6; 1 February 1873, p. 2 Supplement; 17 October 1874, p. 5; 18 May 1878, p. 4, and many more references which may be readily found through Australian Newspapers online.

mostly in the negative – that is, in reacting against it rather than engaging with its ideas.⁴³

The impetus for this activity grew out of a change in attitude to revivalism arising from the influence of American evangelist and Oberlin College principal Charles Finney's teaching on revival in the 1830s and 1840s. In his *Lectures on Revivals*, Finney argued that revivals could be understood scientifically, that they proceeded according to laws, in much the same way as did the orderly universe – a concept of the Enlightenment. His proposition was that if certain measures were taken, such as prayer and aspects of organisation of the meetings, they would lay down the context in which God might bless with revival.⁴⁴

Revival of the first kind seemed to happen in the US and Britain in 1858-60. This has been discussed and described in many formats, both in hagiography and in sympathetic or unsympathetic historical critique.⁴⁵ Whatever one's view of those years, it is incontrovertible that as a result, large numbers of people experienced evangelical conversion or a renewal of faith, new churches were formed (including many independent fellowships in Ireland and Scotland which eventually came under the Brethren aegis),⁴⁶ lay involvement burgeoned, and a number of gifted evangelists began working in the ensuing decade, some reaching Australia by the mid-1860s. That Australian Christians were aware of these events is demonstrated by an editorial comment as late as the end of the century:

The American revival of 1858, in which it is estimated that some 500,000 conversions took place ... has left an abiding impress of the Christian life of

⁴³ An exception to this was Henry Drummond's *The Ascent of Man*, for which he was criticised by both scientists and evangelicals, from opposing points of view, although the book sold quite well on the strength of his name.

⁴⁴ See, for example., D W Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, Downers Grove, 2005, pp. 106-7; Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865*, Westport CT, 1978, pp. 73ff.

⁴⁵ Without categorising any of them, major modern works which cover these years include Edwin Orr, *Light of the Nations*; Edwin Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings in the South Seas*, Minneapolis, 1976, ch. 7; John Kent, *Holding the Fort: Studies in Victorian Revivalism*, London, 1978; and Janet Holmes, *Religious Revival in Britain and Ireland 1859-1905*, Dublin, 2000. A balanced assessment of these years can be found in Kenneth Hylson-Smith, *Evangelicals in the Church of England 1734-1984*, Edinburgh, 1989, pp. 186-190.

⁴⁶ F R Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement*, Exeter, 1968, pp. 167ff; Tim Grass, *Gathering to His Name: The Story of the Open Brethren in Britain and Ireland*, Milton Keynes, 2006, pp. 117-125.

America. The revival in the north of Ireland ... was no less striking ... and equally enduring in its results.⁴⁷

One aspect of revivals that was both desired and feared was the element of emotion. The growing emphasis on feeling in religion was evinced in such widely separate contexts as the Anglo-Catholicism of the Tractarian movement and the repentant tears of revival meetings. Indeed, the fact that people were moved to tears seems to have often been a marker for the success of a meeting. Bebbington has rightly drawn attention to this aspect of evangelicalism, showing it to be part of the Romanticism which underlay nineteenth-century arts and philosophy and indeed still informs our thinking today.⁴⁸ In respect of revivalist meetings, it can be seen in the language of many sermons, the similes drawn from nature, the anecdotes from family life and relationships, and the emotional appeal in many of the songs. The emphasis was on a change of heart rather than a mere change of mind.

This is also seen in the rise of the holiness movement by the 1870s, which spread to Australia. During the 1860s, in the aftermath of the 1859-60 Revival, there was increased interest in a deeper spiritual experience. In England this was fostered by Hannah Pearsall Smith's book *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life*⁴⁹ and the visits by Hannah and her husband Logan in the 1870s for conferences at Broadlands and Brighton.⁵⁰ The Keswick conferences which developed subsequently, and the already existing Mildmay conferences convened by William Pennefather,⁵¹ gave expression to this yearning for a greater awareness of the Holy Spirit's power in overcoming sin and resting in Christ. Their emphasis was that the believer had received this 'sanctification' at conversion, but needed to appropriate it by faith to receive the full blessing.

⁴⁷ *Southern Cross*, 29 September 1899, p. 959.

⁴⁸ Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, chapter 5: 'The Permeation of Romanticism'.

⁴⁹ This book is still readily available, through Christian outlets and internet bookstores. On Smith and her husband, see M E Dieter, 'Hannah Whitall Smith', in Larsen (ed.), *Biographical dictionary of evangelicals*, pp. 616-18.

⁵⁰ Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, p. 207.

⁵¹ See M Smith, 'William Pennefather', in Larsen (ed.), *Biographical dictionary of evangelicals*, pp. 514-6; D W Bebbington, 'Pennefather, William (1816-1873)', *ODNB*.

Such conferences also fostered a growing interest in foreign missions, and a strong strand of premillennial eschatology was a basic motivational factor. This last was almost a given for most evangelicals of this sub-culture, but was of surprisingly recent origin. It came into the general evangelical world from Edward Irving in the 1830s⁵² via J N Darby, the controversial yet charismatic early Brethren leader. The premillennial view of the end times, in its simplest form, was that Christ would return before the millennium to take His chosen people home. Darby's dispensational system related Daniel's prophecies and those in the book of Revelation to historical events, dividing time into eras or dispensations, and in this interpretation the current dispensation was the 'day of grace', in which people were being called upon, and indeed given the opportunity, to repent and believe.⁵³

A corollary of this view was that Christ could return at any moment. These beliefs gave great urgency and point to evangelism both at home and abroad, and were a major driver for foreign missionary effort.⁵⁴ In fact, one view was that increasing the number of believers, of 'every tribe and tongue',⁵⁵ would hasten the Second Coming by completing the number of those who were to be saved. That the 'blessed hope'⁵⁶ was a major motivating factor was explicitly articulated: for example, Corrie Johnstone wrote of Henry Varley in 1877, 'He is ... a fervent believer in the speedy coming of the Lord, and it is the deep impression which this truth has laid upon his mind that has led him almost to deem "the world as his parish"''.⁵⁷

⁵² See Tim Grass, 'Edward Irving: Eschatology, Ecclesiology and Spiritual Gifts', in Crawford Gribben and Timothy C F Stunt (eds.), *Prisoners of Hope? Aspects of Evangelical Millennialism in Britain and Ireland, 1800-1880*, Milton Keynes, 2004, pp. 95-121.

⁵³ A good outline of Darby's views and their influence can be found in Ernest Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930*, Chicago & London, 1970, pp. 39-41. There is much recent scholarship on Darby, including Timothy C F Stunt, 'Influences in the Early Development of J N Darby', Gribben and Stunt, *Prisoners of Hope?*, pp. 44-68, and Gary L Nebeker, ' "The Ecstasy of Perfected Love": The Eschatological Mysticism of J N Darby', in Gribben and Stunt, *Prisoners of Hope?*, pp. 69-94.

⁵⁴ This point is made about evangelical Anglican missionaries by Andrew Porter, 'Late nineteenth-century Anglican missionary expansion: a consideration of some non-Anglican sources of inspiration', in Derek Baker (ed.), *Religious Motivation: Biographical and Sociological Problems for the Church Historian*, Oxford, 1978, pp. 357-8.

⁵⁵ Revelation 5:9.

⁵⁶ Titus 2:13: '... the blessed hope – the glorious appearing of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ.'

⁵⁷ *Words of Grace*, October 1877, p. 16.

In 1899, Mrs Howard Taylor⁵⁸ spoke on this very topic at a conference on the Second Coming in Melbourne. She named her father (H Grattan Guinness), Hudson Taylor of the CIM, George Müller, and Dr Gordon⁵⁹ as missionary statesmen with wide influence who ‘owed their missionary enthusiasm largely to their belief in the speedy return of Christ’.⁶⁰ Grattan Guinness and his wife Fanny not only ran a training college for missionaries and supervised a number of missions, but also wrote books on prophecy which sold in their tens of thousands.⁶¹ Their son’s biographer wrote that they watched current events closely to see how they fitted what they believed to be the ‘divine Programme’, and ‘every fresh discovery they felt as a fresh responsibility laid upon them.’⁶²

Sandeen asserts that the groups who held this view of the end times were the Brethren, most Baptists, some Anglicans (especially evangelicals, but even some Tractarians), and members of the Free Church of Scotland.⁶³ It will be seen in this study that most of the most active supporters of evangelistic missions in Australia, and most of the evangelists themselves, came from these groups. Methodists were not on his list, yet they were a grouping which was almost expected to espouse a revivalist form of evangelism. The basis of this went back earlier, to the eighteenth century and their Wesleyan and Arminian roots, and most Methodists threw their weight behind the various missions that were held.

Networks

It is thus possible to identify what might be called a revivalist ‘sub-culture’ among evangelicals, members of whom were very committed to evangelism of all sorts

⁵⁸ She was born Geraldine Guinness, Harry Guinness’ sister - see Chapter 3. She married Howard Taylor, son of Hudson Taylor.

⁵⁹ I believe this to be a reference to Dr A J Gordon of Boston, whose Bible college trained missionaries. See Ernest B Gordon, *Adoniram Judson Gordon, A Biography*, New York etc, 1896, especially chs. XVII-XX. Available online at <http://www.archive.org/stream/adoniramjudsongo00gord/page/n9/mode/2up>.

⁶⁰ *Southern Cross*, 14 July 1899, p. 667.

⁶¹ One of the most popular was *The Approaching End of the Age in the light of history, prophecy and science* (1878), which went through fourteen editions in the next forty years. W B Owen, rev. Brian Stanley, ‘Henry Grattan Guinness’, *ODNB*.

⁶² C W Mackintosh, *Dr Harry Guinness: The Life Story of Henry Grattan Guinness, MD, FRGS*, London, 1916, pp. 18-19.

⁶³ Sandeen, *Roots of Fundamentalism*, p. 40.

(partly underscored by their premillennial beliefs in the imminent return of Christ). They welcomed the opportunity offered by visiting evangelists to stage large meetings where numbers of the unchurched or lapsed could be gathered in. These networks crossed denominational boundaries and were bound together by networks of personal friendship and almost subliminal nuances of belief. The nuances were often evident in phrases such as ‘found joy and peace through believing’, ‘full salvation’, and ‘Jesus only’, which were identifiers of groupings that thought the same way, and which were particularly evident among the Brethren and those in their orbit.

An American Quaker has well expressed this sense of intangible links, often forged by personal communication rather than formal networks:

For the great majority of people the geographical community is the community of identification. For nonconformists, it often is not. The community to which the non-conformist body looks for support is a community of like-minded people who may be scattered all over the earth...⁶⁴

In the case of Australia, this was certainly true. The links grew across colonial borders and internationally, and perhaps to really flourish at this stage, they needed the influx of fresh blood from overseas which they obtained from the evangelists. Over and over again, the same names are seen on committees for the various outreaches, on the platforms at the meetings, and on YMCA boards and the like. Names such as James Balfour, H B Macartney junior, David Beath, Theo Kitchen and Rev. Allan Webb in Melbourne, T B Tress in Sydney, McNaught in Brisbane, Silas Mead in Adelaide, and Dr Benjafield in Hobart are almost ubiquitous in the relevant years.⁶⁵

The cohesion of this sub-culture was not unnoticed. In fact, a Melbourne correspondent, reporting on the nineteenth Christian convention there in 1892, felt that not only was ‘one side of the truth ever presented’ but that ‘the same names

⁶⁴ Elise Boulding, an American Quaker quoted in the novel by Irene Allen: *Quaker Indictment*, New York, 1998, page not noted.

⁶⁵ For a fuller list, see Appendix E.

appear as speakers year after year'. The writer thought that it would be valuable to have

the views of all sections ... on some of the grave and difficult problems of the day. But it seems that those who at present manage these Conventions never have a doubt themselves, nor do they seem to think that any others have a right to doubt either.⁶⁶

While the closeness of the links gave a sense of camaraderie and shared purpose – the identity and security referred to above – there was also inherent in them the danger to which this reporter referred, of being a closed clique sharing the same views to their own satisfaction.⁶⁷ Bebbington makes a similar point with reference to evangelicals associated with the holiness movement centred around the Keswick convention in England and its concomitant activities: 'Keswick ... fits all the standard criteria of a sect – a voluntary association, exclusiveness, personal perfection as the aim, and so on – and especially of a conversionist sect ... The adherents of Keswick were turning in on a shared but private experience.'⁶⁸

While aspects of this assessment might have applied to the revivalist sub-culture in Australia, their driving concern for evangelism was the key link and mitigated the tendency to introversion. Billington has argued that 'the values and preoccupations [of this sub-culture] were only of marginal interest to the great majority of church and chapel goers'.⁶⁹ While this may be true, their commitment to the cause and their emphasis on outreach ensured that their voices were heard.

A central figure in Melbourne evangelicalism, H B Macartney junior, illustrates the linkages of this sub-culture through his indefatigable correspondence, visits for parish missions, and family and friendship networks through much of

⁶⁶ *Australian Christian World*, 18 August 1892, p. 334.

⁶⁷ An Anglo-Catholic critic wrote in 1882, 'Does he [Macartney] suppose ... that the "faith of Christ" is limited to his own little clique of Evangelical Churchmen, and the *olla podrida* of Anglo-Saxon sectarianism?' S P G, letter to the editor, *Church of England Messenger*, 8 March 1882, p. 12, apropos of Macartney's speech at the opening of Protestant Hall. 'Olla podrida' = a Spanish stew with all kinds of ingredients, hence a hotch-potch (OED).

⁶⁸ David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, London, 1989, pp. 179-80.

⁶⁹ Louis Billington, 'Revivalism and popular religion', in Eric M Sigsworth (ed.), *In search of Victorian values: aspects of nineteenth-century thought and society*, Manchester, c1988, p. 158.

Australia and even New Zealand.⁷⁰ He edited a monthly periodical, *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad*, which published news of missions and evangelistic work. His name appears in almost every relevant milieu – Bible Reading Union, Bible Society, Evangelisation Society of Victoria, YMCA, and Scripture Union among many others – and he constantly fostered a concern for foreign missions, notably through the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, the China Inland Mission,⁷¹ and in the 1890s the Church Missionary Association.



1: Hussey Burgh Macartney junior⁷²

⁷⁰ Darrell Paproth, 'Hussey Burgh Macartney Jr: Mission Enthusiast', paper delivered at ANZ Missionaries, At Home and Abroad: 1st Biennial Trans-Tasman Mission History Conference, Canberra, Australia, 8-10 October 2004, rspas.anu.edu.au/pah/TransTasman/papers.php

⁷¹ Macartney was a founding member, and indeed instigator with the Rev. C H Parsons (his curate), the Rev. W Lockhart Morton (Presbyterian), and the Rev. Alfred Bird (Baptist), of the CIM Australian Council. Marcus Loane, *The Story of the China Inland Mission in Australia and New Zealand 1890-1964*, Sydney, 1965, p. 6; W Lockhart Morton, *Drifting Wreckage*, London, 1913, pp. 260-1.

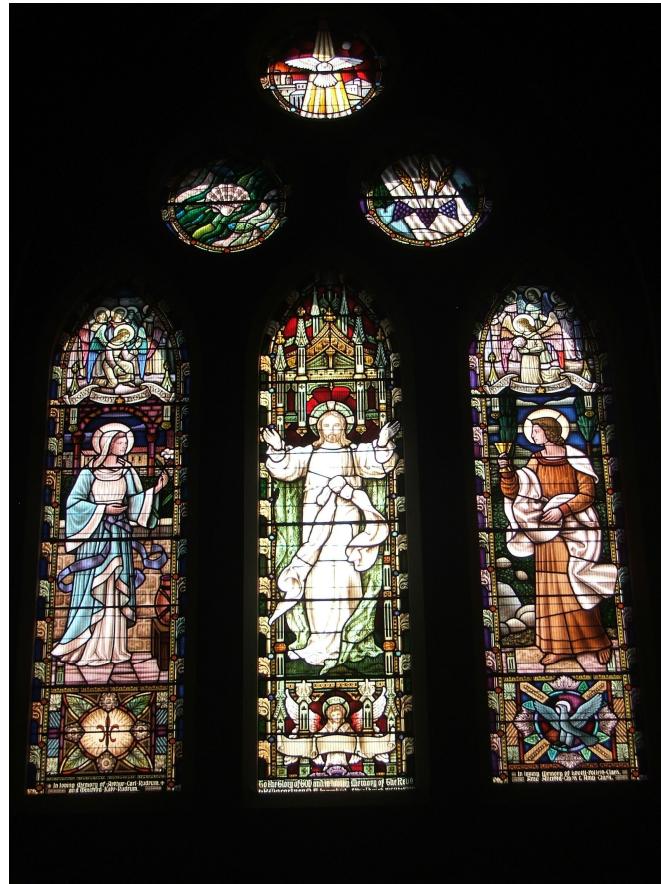
⁷² *Words of Grace*, February 1878, p. 175, 'from a photograph by Mr Chuck, Royal Arcade'. Any photographs labelled Hussey Burgh Macartney which have been digitised and are readily available are of his father, the 'venerable Dean'.

At his farewell meeting before his departure to England to be the home secretary of the Bible Society, tributes flowed. Bishop Goe said that 'he had endeared himself to a large circle of friends, and had won the sympathy, respect and affection of ministers and friends of the various religious denominations'. The Dean, perhaps reflecting the ambivalence with which some people viewed Macartney's activities, said that 'even those who differed from him most knew how to value him.' John Watsford spoke of his 'work for the furtherance of every branch of evangelical effort throughout the whole of the community', and James Balfour, a leading lay Presbyterian and former MP, 'thought that the Church of England had hardly appreciated Mr Macartney. When he had gone they would recognise their loss.'⁷³ Twenty years earlier, Corrie Johnstone had expressed something of the same thoughts:

We have not always agreed with him, but even when we have differed most he has commanded our respect, admiration, and esteem. We could name many men in our community of loftier genius and greater intellectual ability; many men who surpass him in scholarly attainments and in eloquence of tongue, but we know of no-one who has more consistently exhibited in his daily conversation and behaviour what a Christian ought to be and may become through living union with his living Lord.⁷⁴

⁷³ *Church of England Messenger*, 1 April 1898, pp. 50-1.

⁷⁴ *Words of Grace*, February 1878, p. 175.



2: Stained glass window, St Mary's Church, Caulfield, Melbourne. The central window is a memorial to Rev. H B Macartney jnr. who was the minister there for thirty years..⁷⁵

Ways in which 'revivalist evangelicals' were linked included personal contact through visits overseas or visits to the colonies by like-minded people; newspapers such as the *Christian*, which was founded as the *Revival* to perpetuate and publicise the Revival of 1859-60; letters between friends both within Australia and overseas; and conferences and conventions, a phenomenon of the 1870s onwards both here and in Britain.

It is not easy at this remove to chart all these influences, but some examples may be given. Personal contact happened surprisingly often. In the 1870s, Theo Kitchen travelled to England and evidently talked to Henry Varley about coming

⁷⁵ Photograph taken by Elisabeth Wilson, October 2010.

to Australia,⁷⁶ thereby setting in train a long line of events and the periodic presence in the colonies for over three decades of a fiery and outspoken social critic and evangelist. H B Macartney junior visited England in 1878. His account of this time away, ostensibly for a rest but for what appears to have been a constant round of meetings, reads like a Cook's tour of many key evangelical figures (mostly evangelical Church of England or Brethren) and meetings: Mildmay, Keswick, R C Chapman, Edward Denny, Sir Arthur Cotton, Lord Radstock's sister, Hudson Taylor, and many others.⁷⁷ His aim was quite explicit: to meet 'men of the Church of England who were systematically seeking to promote the spiritual growth of all believers by Scriptural meetings, papers, and addresses ...'⁷⁸ and to attend conferences where he would meet 'men of like mind'.⁷⁹ A similar visit in 1893 resulted in even more contacts,⁸⁰ inevitably including one with R C Morgan, the editor of the *Christian*, and in his involvement as a speaker at the Keswick convention.⁸¹ Macartney was well aware of the familial and other links between many of these people and described these exhaustively in his reports back to Australia.⁸²

David Beath was another Victorian who regularly travelled between Australia and the UK.⁸³ These journeys and those of many others maintained personal contact between the evangelical leadership in both places, cemented the links, and forged new ones. They also made colonial evangelicals aware of new developments in

⁷⁶ Darrell Paproth, 'Henry Varley and the Melbourne Evangelicals', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 25, No. 2, June 2001, p. 176 and footnote.

⁷⁷ See reports in *The Missionary*, *At Home and Abroad*, May 1878-July 1879, and especially H B Macartney [Jnr], *England, Home, and Beauty: Sketches of Christian Life and Work in England in 1878*, London, [1879].

⁷⁸ *The Missionary*, July 1878, p. 103.

⁷⁹ *The Missionary*, July 1878, p. 104.

⁸⁰ For example, at Mildmay he mentions meeting Miss E S Elliott, 'the gifted hymn writer', Hudson Taylor, H Guinness, Matthew Burnett, and F B Meyer, the well-known Baptist/independent preacher and writer. *The Missionary*, September 1893, pp. 142-3. Of interest to me is the brief mention he makes of coming across my great great grandfather, Cheyne Brady, 'whose excellent tracts we often meet with in Australia', at Cannes: *The Missionary*, June 1894, p. 99. On his first trip he wrote of a long walk on the road towards Nice with him: *The Missionary*, August 1879, p. 123. To be able to recognise each other they must have met at a conference or meeting, or been previously introduced. Alternatively they may have known each other in Dublin when Macartney was studying there and Brady was the Official Receiver in Bankruptcy. Both were graduates of Trinity College Dublin, though Brady was a generation older.

⁸¹ *Another Glimpse of "England, Home and Beauty"*, *Sketches of Christian Life and Work in England in 1893*, Melbourne, [1895].

⁸² See, for example, his description of his fellow passengers on the ship to England, who included Mary Reed. Her connections with Hudson Taylor and the Guinesses are thoroughly explored. Macartney, *Another Glimpse*, pp. 7-8.

⁸³ See reports or letters in *The Missionary*, e.g. September 1884, pp. 137-9.

evangelism. Philip Kitchen wrote reports in 1880 which included a description of the new Children's Special Service Mission (CSSM) seaside services,⁸⁴ and articulated his aim in doing so: he was hopeful that the details would stir up 'some of the young Christian men of Melbourne and elsewhere, possessing suitable natural gifts, to go and do likewise ... at Queenscliff or Sorrento ... or even Brighton...'⁸⁵ He also explained how the newly formed Salvation Army was operating.⁸⁶

While it is true that by instinct, inclination, and experience, colonial Christians' minds turned to Britain for their connection to the wider religious world, the contacts were not necessarily all within the British Empire. Both Macartney and Beath, at least, visited the Continent more than once as well, and in 1893 a paper by Macartney on the 'religious condition of Australia' was read at the World's Conference of the Evangelical Alliance in Chicago.⁸⁷

The *Christian* was a seminal channel of information about the revival scene.⁸⁸ It was read and circulated in Australia, and it also reported on events in Australia, so that there was a two-way flow of information. This seems to have been done somewhat informally, in that articles and reports seem to have been mostly from personal correspondents to the editor, Richard Morgan, or articles taken from Australian papers. In this way, readers here were able to feel part of a world-wide, or at least Empire-wide, Christian movement – a source of inspiration (to do likewise) and encouragement.⁸⁹ Of course evangelistic work in Australia was also reported in other newspapers; Varley in particular was reported in secular papers at times, and denominational papers picked up key events. For example, Brethren workers reported back to the missions monthly *Echoes of Service*.

⁸⁴ CSSM beach missions have been held in Australia for well over 100 years. The movement merged with Scripture Union and the missions are now known as Scripture Union Family Missions (SUFM).

⁸⁵ *Willing Work*, 5 November 1880, p. 620.

⁸⁶ *Willing Work*, 14 May 1880, p. 421.

⁸⁷ The whole paper, which makes interesting reading, is printed in *The Missionary*, January 1894, pp. 11-14. From other evidence it does not seem that Macartney delivered it in person.

⁸⁸ See P G Scott, 'Richard Cope Morgan, Religious Periodicals, and the Pontifex Factor', *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter* (16), 1972, pp. 1-14, and Deane, 'Contribution', pp. 26-7.

⁸⁹ Deane, 'Contribution', pp. 26-7, emphasises the importance of the *Revival*, which became the *Christian* in 1870.

It is a truism that letters were the crucial conduit for the exchange of information and ideas, but it is nonetheless easy to overlook them.⁹⁰ It has proved disappointingly difficult to find collections of letters of the main protagonists in this thesis, but two collections held in private hands give some indication of what passed between people. Hobart Brethren leader Henry Lewis Garrett kept a diary in which, among other details, he recorded the letters he wrote and received.⁹¹ Their sheer number and length is astonishing; one wonders how he managed to do this amount of writing along with his paid work as an accountant for the Hobart Savings Bank, his pastoral role with an active assembly, his evident attention to his growing family, and his regular outreach activities, not to mention recreational pursuits such as bush walking. Be that as it may, the letters and diary show that he was in constant touch with men like Macartney, with booksellers, with Brethren leaders interstate and in New Zealand, and with those in whom he had a pastoral interest. Much as emails do today, these letters kept him abreast of developments and enabled him to contribute to the revivalist conversation.

Another set of letters comes from the Brethren evangelist Charles Perrin.⁹² Most of these are to his wife Sarah, during his times away from home on itinerant evangelism and church planting, mostly in Tasmania. Again, the length and detail is astonishing considering the long days (and nights) he spent in preaching and personal conversations, but clearly, in the absence of conversation via telephone, literate people were used to expressing their thoughts on paper swiftly. From references in the letters and a list in pages torn from a notebook, it is obvious that Perrin kept in touch with others in a similar way, although not quite so frequently. In the list, which appears to be made in 1873-4, recognisable names are family

⁹⁰ Deane, 'Contribution', also makes this point, p. 25.

⁹¹ Garrett's diaries 1877-1893 and the remaining copies of his letters concerning the Brethren assembly and associated people and events are held by his great-grand-daughter Mrs Jennifer Atkinson. They have been scanned by Hope Christian Centre, the successor church of the Hobart assembly of Garrett's day. See Elisabeth Wilson, "'Do the next thing': Harry Garrett and the evolution of the Hobart Brethren assembly", *Tasmanian Historical Studies*, Vol. 10, 2005, pp. 96-112.

⁹² See below for biographical details. The letters are held in the Hope Christian Centre archives as of 2010. Sarah Perrin used and quoted extensively from these letters in her biography of her husband, *"One Thing I Do": Memorials of C F Perrin by his widow*, Melbourne, [1878].

members,⁹³ fellow evangelists,⁹⁴ Tasmanian and Victorian Christians of varying ilk,⁹⁵ and well-known English Christians.⁹⁶



3: Envelope in Perrin's handwriting, addressed to his wife⁹⁷

A good example of how these links worked may be seen in a letter from 'Little Mother', a regular correspondent to the *Southern Cross*. In a single letter in 1899 she mentions getting the *Christian* sent to her through the kindness of a friend in England, noting a report in a recent edition by F B Meyer,⁹⁸ with a concomitant connection to a brother of Mrs John Mott who had recently visited Australia with her husband.⁹⁹ She also enclosed a letter from Mrs Saunders whose daughters had been martyred in China,¹⁰⁰ and said she herself would be grateful if anyone could

⁹³ E Perrin, 'Mother', 'Father', Alfie, Harry, Richard Perrin, Joseph Deacon.

⁹⁴ E Moyse, H Rainy [sic].

⁹⁵ Gibton, Shekleton, Drysdale, Mather, T Orsmy, Dowling.

⁹⁶ G Müller, Hurditch.

⁹⁷ C F Perrin, Letters to his wife Sarah née Deacon 1860s-1875, copies of letters to some other recipients, notes of addresses, UK, Victoria, Tasmania (Hope Christian Centre archives)

⁹⁸ See Ian M. Randall, 'Meyer, Frederick Brotherton (1847-1929)', *ODNB*. Meyer was originally a Baptist minister who was 'essentially transdenominational. ... He related to both the more liberal and the more conservative wings of evangelicalism. In this, as in his unique ability to combine social action and Keswick devotion, he was the most important bridge builder in the evangelical world of his day.'

⁹⁹ John Mott was the General Secretary of the World Student Christian Federation, and visited Australia in 1896 encouraging university students to form Christian groups. Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, word and world*, Melbourne, 1996, p. 95; William H Sallmon, *Among Australasian Students*, Sydney, 1900. See also B Stanley, 'John R Mott', in Larsen (ed.), *Biographical dictionary of evangelicals*, pp. 451-3.

¹⁰⁰ See Ian Welch, 'Nellie, Topsy and Annie, Australian Anglican Martyrs, Fujian Province, China, 1 August 1895', paper delivered at ANZ Missionaries, At Home and Abroad: 1st Biennial Trans-Tasman Mission History Conference, Canberra, Australia, 8-10 October 2004, http://rspas.anu.edu.au/pah/TransTasman/papers/Welch_Ian.pdf.

pass on their copies of *Southern Cross* to her when they had finished with them!¹⁰¹ Within the space of one paragraph she had thus illustrated the network of papers and letters that criss-crossed the evangelical world and the way in which names were made and kept familiar to readers.

H B Macartney junior was a pivotal link in much of this correspondence; Garrett was often in contact with him for literature or information, for example. A vignette from the 'Chronicle' of his parish, St Mary's Caulfield, gives a picture of the sheer amount of his correspondence: as late as 1937 the old verger remembered 'seeing two maids carrying a clothes basket on many occasions filled with missionary correspondence and literature, from the Vicarage to ... the old pillar box...'¹⁰² Macartney was probably exceptional,¹⁰³ but certainly not unique.

Familial links were also very strong. Such families as the Beaths¹⁰⁴ and Kitchens¹⁰⁵ in Melbourne, the Reeds in Tasmania (to be discussed below), the Guinnesses from England,¹⁰⁶ the Youngs and Decks in New South Wales and Queensland,¹⁰⁷ to name but a few, became involved in the revivalist sub-culture and mission in general over several generations, and some members inter-married.

Businessman and philanthropist Henry Reed deserves a special mention of his own. He had made his fortune during an earlier migration to Tasmania in the

¹⁰¹ *Southern Cross*, 28 April 1899, p. 400.

¹⁰² 'St Mary's Church 'Chronicle', Caulfield, October 1937.

¹⁰³ When he left Australia to work for the British and Foreign Bible Society, publication of *The Missionary* ceased. It had been increasingly hard to finance it, and he had subsidised it from his private means towards the end. He also wrote that it was 'still more unlikely that [anyone] would be able to master the network of foreign and local correspondence which has become so much a part of my daily life.' *The Missionary*, Jan/Feb/March 1898, p. 3.

¹⁰⁴ To my knowledge, no work has been done on the Beaths, a quite remarkable family. David Beath was almost as ubiquitous as Macartney at evangelical events in Melbourne. Beath was a wealthy and generous Melbourne businessman, and a member of the Brethren. Three daughters became missionaries and another married Sydney businessman and key evangelical James Beath Nicholson. At least four grandchildren became missionaries and another married one of the founders of the Borneo Evangelical Mission. Two great-grand-daughters are currently missionaries, one being Dr Catherine Hamlin of the Addis Ababa Fistula Hospital. I am grateful to the other, Dr Alison Howell of Ghana, for alerting me to much of this information.

¹⁰⁵ See Christine Dyer, 'The role of the Kitchen family in the history of Victorian evangelicalism', *Our Yesterdays*, Vol. 9, 2001, pp.4-17.

¹⁰⁶ See Chapter 3, section on Harry Guinness.

¹⁰⁷ See articles on John Northcote Deck, Norman Cathcart Deck, Charles Ernest Young, and Florence Selina Young in *ADEB*.

1830s and 1840s, and returned with his second wife and large family in 1873.¹⁰⁸ Despite his money-making enterprise and success, Reed's passion was evangelism, and for the few remaining years of his life (he died in 1880) he continued a pattern of involvement and financial encouragement which was carried forward by his wife Margaret and some of his children. Among many other actions and gifts, in England he had helped finance William Booth's fledgling Salvation Army, and in Launceston he purchased an old tavern and turned it into a mission hall. Nearly all the evangelists considered in the main part of this study spent some time with the Reeds at one or other of their properties, Mount Pleasant or Wesley Dale, and, though Margaret Reed's influence may not always have been welcome, it was pervasive.

Reed was an individualist who left the Wesleyan church late in life over the issue of collections and offerings in gospel meetings,¹⁰⁹ and there is evidence that he did not always see eye to eye with others in the revivalist sub-culture. It would be surprising if there were not some areas of disagreement in a group of men with such initiative and drive, but this is the only obvious one for which I have found evidence. Reed evidently upset some listeners, including, at least initially, Macartney, by his frank comments on 'fashion and worldliness and spiritual death' at the 1875 Caulfield conference, and despite Macartney's subsequent urgings his talk was not published in the proceedings.¹¹⁰ Macartney's generous assessment, either from belated conviction or a desire to foster Christian unity, was that Reed had spoken with 'extraordinary zeal and animation'.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ See Margaret Reed, *Henry Reed: an eventful life*, London, n.d. [1906]; Hudson Fysh, 'Henry Reed, 1806-1880' in *ADB*; Hudson Fysh, *Henry Reed, Van Diemen's Land pioneer*, Hobart, 1973.

¹⁰⁹ Reed, *Henry Reed: an eventful life*, pp. 100-1. For a critical comment of this move, see W H Fitchett's 'Easy Chair Chat' column in the *Spectator*, 8 December 1877, p. 376.

¹¹⁰ Reed, *Henry Reed: an eventful life*, pp. 175-6: 'After addressing a number of Christian people at a conference there, the chairman, as soon as I had done, spoke to me regretting the way I had addressed them, and the others upbraided him for allowing such a man to speak. I had to speak lovingly to their wives too about dress. I left the meeting with a dark cloud over me. However, he asked me to send him a copy of my address. I told him I could not, that for twenty years I had not written a word beforehand on any subject I spoke about. I have since had a letter from him telling me that he had heard of good that had been accomplished through my address, and urging me to do my best to furnish him with the substance of it that it may be printed and circulated.'

¹¹¹ H B Macartney [Jnr] (ed.), *Conference Addresses delivered at St. Mary's Caulfield by ministers and laymen of different denominations July 1875*, Melbourne, 1875, page not noted.

Forerunners

Revivalist meetings had been part of the Australian church scene since at least the 1850s. Meetings with the specific aim of evangelism or revival were regarded as quintessentially Methodist, and Methodist ministers such as the Rev. John Watsford ¹¹² and the Rev. William G Taylor ¹¹³ took meetings with holiness/revival/evangelistic aims in these decades. ¹¹⁴ They were regularly requested and widely-travelled speakers, and Watsford, in particular, was regarded as the father-figure of the holiness movement – indeed, he was affectionately referred to as ‘Father Watsford’. ¹¹⁵ Referring to him as a ‘noble veteran’, one Christian paper said that ‘the very sight of the speaker was a more powerful sermon than any words he could utter’ ¹¹⁶ and that ‘the G.O.M. is a living power’. ¹¹⁷

¹¹² John Watsford, *Glorious Gospel triumphs, as seen in my life and work in Fiji and Australasia*, London, 1900. It is surprising that there is no *ADEB* article on him.

¹¹³ William G Taylor, *The Life Story of an Australian Evangelist*, London, 1920; Don Wright, ‘Taylor, William George (1845 - 1934)’, *ADB*, Vol. 12, Carlton, 1990, pp. 188-189; Don Wright, ‘William George Taylor’, *ADEB*; K R Manley, ‘William G Taylor’, in Larsen (ed.), *Biographical dictionary of evangelicals*, pp. 662-3.

¹¹⁴ Barry Chant, ‘The Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Origins of the Australian Pentecostal Movement’, in Mark Hutchinson, Edmund Campion and Stuart Piggin (eds.), *Reviving Australia: essays on the history and experience of revival and revivalism in Australian Christianity*, Sydney, 1994, pp. 99-102.

¹¹⁵ E.g. Thomas Cook, *Days of God’s Right Hand: Our Mission Tour of Australasia and Ceylon*, London, 1896, p. 156.

¹¹⁶ *Australian Christian World*, 21 January 1892, p. 5

¹¹⁷ *Australian Christian World*, 25 February 1892, p. 5.



4: John Watsford¹¹⁸

His early experience as a missionary in Fiji, his commitment to evangelism in his pastoral positions in South Australia and Victoria, and his evident skills in this area saw him appointed as the General Secretary of the Methodist Home Mission Society in 1875, a position he held for eight years.¹¹⁹ He was a warm-hearted man whose emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit, though sometimes seen as a survival of old-time Methodism, was also widely respected within the newer interdenominational revival movement.¹²⁰ Blamires and Smith, writing when Watsford was still very much alive and active, described him as a ‘strong man in physical energy, in intellectual force, and in religious and revival enthusiasm.’ Interestingly, they commented that he suffered from mood swings (‘constitutionally alternating between the sanguine and the melancholic’, a description which would match bi-polar disorder), but they admired him as an ‘indefatigable worker ... and ardent lover of every good cause’.¹²¹ They themselves were not so much part of the revivalist scene, and felt he was ‘not as tolerant as could be wished, of the opinions of other people who cannot see

¹¹⁸ Image from State Library of South Australia, SRG 4/108/2/20.

¹¹⁹ Watsford, *Glorious Gospel triumphs*, p. 172 ff.

¹²⁰ See, for example, a page-length article in the *Queensland Evangelical Standard*, 3 August 1878, p. 3.

¹²¹ W L Blamires and J Smith, *The early story of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Victoria*, Melbourne, 1886, p. 114.

through his glasses' but even so they acknowledged that he was 'catholic-spirited, tender-hearted, charitable'.¹²²

Complementing Watsford's long and consistent career was the much shorter time in Australia of the major forerunner of the evangelists in this study, the Californian-based Methodist William Taylor. While he was acclaimed by Watsford as 'the grandest evangelist that ever visited Australia',¹²³ and rightly considered by Clancy to be 'the first of a long line of evangelists from America and England',¹²⁴ I have not started my major study with him for a number of reasons. Firstly, he was American, and all but one of the rest of major nineteenth-century evangelists were British.¹²⁵ Secondly, there was a gap of several years between Taylor's visits and the beginning of the series of inter-denominational visits which this thesis discusses. Thirdly, a seminal link between nearly all the later evangelists was the influence of D L Moody – in most cases personally, and in all cases through the style of meetings and the music used. There does not appear to be any such link between Taylor and Moody. Fourthly, Taylor was avowedly Methodist and all his work was done within that denomination, although many non-Methodists attended and some were converted.

Taylor's visits to Australia (June 1864 – late 1865 and fourteen months in 1869-70) were notable for the sustained evangelistic activity in Methodist churches over these months, the number of converts,¹²⁶ the money raised to settle his debts and help local efforts, and the resulting increase in evangelistic energy in Methodist

¹²² Blamires and Smith, *The early story*, p. 115.

¹²³ John Watsford, *Glorious Gospel Triumphs*, p. 139.

¹²⁴ Eric G Clancy, 'William ("California") Taylor, First Overseas Evangelist to Australia', *Church Heritage*, Vol. 6, No. 3, March 1990, p. 41.

¹²⁵ Another Methodist, John Inskip, was the only other Wesleyan American (see Chapter 3). The temperance evangelist Booth was American but came to Australia via the UK. The Christian Endeavour leader and founder, Francis Clark, visited in 1892, and Charles Yatman toured the eastern colonies in 1899 with the YMCA after a brief visit to Sydney in 1896.

¹²⁶ Clancy, 'William "California" Taylor', p. 55, citing Taylor's autobiography, says that 'in the first three annual [Methodist] Conferences covering the period of his first visit an increase of over 11,000 members was reported,' and that the Wesleyans showed 'a net increase of 21,000 members over the seven years covered by his two visits.'

circles. They clearly made a deep impression on Methodism and were referred to many times in the ensuing years.¹²⁷

Another forerunner of the major evangelists considered in this study was Matthew Burnett, (1839-1895),¹²⁸ the temperance evangelist. For the sake of coherence his career will be outlined in Chapter 2, but he first came to Australia in 1863.¹²⁹ An immigrant evangelist who had a long and sustained career in Australia, Burnett was a Yorkshireman and converted alcoholic. As a temperance speaker and evangelist who worked mostly within single churches, usually Methodist, and one who was here from the 1860s, he falls outside the main scope of this thesis. However, this earlier career, in which he undertook mainstream revival campaigns in many churches (mostly Wesleyan) in Victoria, was one which helped to establish patterns of evangelism and expectations for the more major campaigns which followed from the 1870s.

Throughout his career he emphasised the need for the inward change of conversion if the outward change to temperance was to succeed. As his biographer wrote, 'All his discourses, whether non temperance or gospel subjects, wound up with the invitation, *Come to Jesus. He alone can do helpless sinners good.*'¹³⁰ Evans' claim that he was Australia's greatest evangelist and social reformer¹³¹ overstates the case, but certainly in terms of consistency and number of places visited, and indeed numbers spoken to, he has to be considered an important participant in the evangelistic network.

¹²⁷ Robert Evans, *Early Evangelical Revivals in Australia*, Adelaide, 2000, pp. 38ff and 194ff particularly, looks at and gives sources for Taylor's visits to NSW and Victoria.

¹²⁸ H Glenny, *Reminiscences of the life and labours of Matthew Burnett*, Melbourne, [1898] is a late Victorian biography written by a close friend just after Burnett's death. Robert Evans, *Matthew Burnett: The Yorkshire Evangelist*, Hazelbrook, 2010, is both a biography and collection of sources, mainly from Methodist papers. See also Robert Evans, 'Matthew Burnett in South Australia, 1880-1882', *Church Heritage*, Vol. 13, No. 2, September 2003, pp. 62-83, which gives details of his early years. Unfortunately there is no entry for him in *ADEB*.

¹²⁹ He arrived in August 1863 with his wife Sarah on the *Norfolk*. Public Record Office of Victoria, Index to Unassisted Inward Passenger Lists to Victoria 1852-1923:

http://proarchives.imagineering.com.au/index_search_results.asp?upto=51&cont=yes&month_to=&year_to=

¹³⁰ H Glenny, *Reminiscences*, p. 15.

¹³¹ The claim is made in the subtitle to Robert Evans, *Matthew Burnett*.

This chapter argues that one of the ways in which revivalist methods and ideas were spread was by British speakers who quite consciously sought to spread the influence of the 1859-60 Revival in Ireland and Scotland. Brethren had been an integral part of the British revivals of 1859-60¹³² and indeed the movement had experienced considerable growth because of this. It was natural therefore that they sought to spread more of the same success in evangelism. Brethren influence (both positive and negative) was at its peak in Australia in the 1860s and 70s. In particular, it is argued that it was through 'Brethren' evangelists that the concept of inter- or non-denominational meetings became more acceptable. This is not to say that Baptist and Church of Christ (and other) evangelists were not active, but that because of some ideas peculiar to Brethren, their influence, even if only to provoke controversy, was more far-reaching.

The Brethren movement had started in Ireland in the late 1820s, with a group of friends meeting simply as Christians in the way in which they believed the early church met. However, the impetus for the pioneer evangelists in Australia came out of the 'second wave' of Brethren growth which resulted from the 1859 Revival.¹³³ This handful of men, whose work was only coordinated through friendship and informal networks, established a number of 'assemblies', as Brethren call their church fellowships, across Tasmania, from the Huon to Scottsdale and in particular in the north west.¹³⁴ With others, they helped fellowships grow in several areas of Melbourne, and in Geelong, Ballarat, Bendigo and other smaller places in Victoria.

They would have argued, however disingenuously, that they were 'unsectarian', merely gathering together groups of born-again believers, not establishing a new denomination, a concept which was abhorrent to them. This makes their work harder to trace and has meant that to some extent their wider impact has not been considered by researchers. Lamb has drawn attention to some of them,

¹³² Janet Holmes, *Religious Revivals in Britain and Ireland 1859-1905*, Dublin, 2000, pp. 142-4.

¹³³ See Ian McDowell, *A Brief History of the 'Brethren'*, Sydney, 1968, p. 31; F R Coad, *A History of the Brethren Movement*, Exeter, 1968, pp. 167-174; Tim Glass, *Gathering to His Name: The Story of the Open Brethren in Britain and Ireland*, Milton Keynes, 2006, pp. 117-120.

¹³⁴ About a dozen by the early 1880s.

particularly Perrin, and emphasised the influence of Brethren ‘out of all proportion’ to their numbers per head of population.¹³⁵ Newton outlines the careers of most of those discussed below,¹³⁶ and McDowell does likewise for a few of them,¹³⁷ but I believe they do not go far enough in delineating their wider influence in this period.

The main evangelists who made up this group were Walter Douglas, William Brown, Charles Frederick Perrin, and Edward (sometimes Edwin) Moyse.¹³⁸ Others about whom less is known were Charles Maguire, who worked with Brown in church planting during the 1870s; Henry Rainey, a gifted young Englishman who came to Australia to try and cure his TB, to which he eventually succumbed in 1881;¹³⁹ and Samuel Carter, who had a brief but extremely productive couple of years in Ballarat and Bendigo. More widely known evangelists who came out of the same milieu were Harrison Ord and Douglas Russell, who had large meetings in Victoria, Tasmania and New Zealand in 1876-7, and John Hambleton¹⁴⁰ a converted actor who, like Ord, eventually settled in Australia. The quasi-Brethren Henry Varley will be considered in detail in Chapter 2.¹⁴¹ Two others of more local provenance were W Corrie Johnstone and Stephen Cheek. It is instructive to consider the work and impact of these men in more detail.

¹³⁵ Margaret Lamb, ‘“Out of All Proportion”: Christian Brethren Influence in Australian Evangelicalism, 1850-2000”, in Mark Hutchinson and Ogbu Kalu (eds.), *A Global Faith. Essays on Evangelicalism and Globalization*, Sydney, 1998, pp. 87-110. She emphasises Perrin’s contribution and does acknowledge Moyse and Brown.

¹³⁶ Kenneth Newton, ‘A History of the Brethren in Australia’, PhD thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1990, especially pp. 40-52.

¹³⁷ Ian McDowell, ‘Historical Notes on the Brethren Assemblies in Australia’, *Emmaus Journal*, 1995, pp. 61-71.

¹³⁸ Not to be confused with his Church of Christ contemporary C Bickford Moysey.

¹³⁹ He was most probably the Mr Rainey aged 27 who arrived January 1874 on the *Malabar* - http://proarchives.imagineering.com.au/index_search_results.asp; microfiche 324, p. 002. He was active in evangelism, visiting country areas of Victoria, Tasmania and NSW, and teaching, until his tuberculosis took hold again in 1879. He died, much loved and mourned, in Harrison Ord’s home on 7 December 1880 (*Missionary Echo*, March 1881, p. 42, letter from John R. Kenny). See obituary in *Willing Work*, 31 December 1880. His sister, Elizabeth S H Rainey, evidently a gifted lady of independent means, helped at the Maloga Mission among other activities, and wrote children’s pages for *Words of Grace*.

¹⁴⁰ See [John Hambleton], *The Converted Actor or, Buds, Blossoms, and Fruits of the Revival, being the Remarkable Life-Story of John Hambleton, Actor, Goldminer, Explorer, Evangelist, and Pioneer in the Gospel*, 5th edition revised and completed, Glasgow: Pickering and Inglis, London: Alfred Holness, n.d. [after 1889]. Pickering and Inglis and Holness were leading Brethren publishers.

¹⁴¹ See Elisabeth Wilson, ‘“An emissary of the Plymouth Brotherhood” ? Henry Varley’s interactions with Australian society in the late nineteenth century’, submitted for publication to the *Brethren History Review*.

Walter Douglas (1822-1890s) was originally American, but had drifted to England after losing his wife, and had been converted literally from the gutter in the 1860s through a London mission to down and outs.¹⁴² As a result, his preaching was fiery and often uncouth: the *Circular Head Chronicle* criticised his ‘excitement of manner and coarse declamatory style of personal abuse ... his lamentable want of tact and violence of demeanour ... his extreme vanity and sensitiveness to criticism.’¹⁴³ He originally went to New Zealand about a year after his conversion, then arrived in Melbourne in June 1866. Here he conducted successful missions, often in Baptist churches, although not without controversy about his ‘howling or declamatory style’ and his meetings which continued into the early hours of morning, considered unwise for the ‘nervous and impulsive people who flocked to hear him.’¹⁴⁴

From October 1869 to 1872 Douglas was based in Tasmania, taking large meetings which were often noisy, disrupted by objections from members of the audience to Douglas’ outspoken criticism of them, and sometimes descending into near-riots.¹⁴⁵ Readers of newspapers saw the usual reports of halls ‘crowded to suffocation’,¹⁴⁶ with Douglas preaching in ‘numerous congregations’,¹⁴⁷ but they would have been intrigued and probably somewhat horrified by descriptions in the newspaper.¹⁴⁸ One article headed ‘Disgraceful scene’ described how Douglas ‘prayed in offensive language for some of his hearers ... spread his hands over them and prayed that the Lord would descend and cut to pieces those whom he designated as scoffers’, and how after further altercation the meeting in Hobart’s beautiful Town Hall ended in near riot.¹⁴⁹ An advertisement referred to ‘diabolical and dangerous mischief’, offering a £10 reward for information leading to the

¹⁴² See [no author, possibly W J Lewis], *Lifted Up: the life of Walter Douglas*, London, [1873?], chapters I, II and IV.

¹⁴³ *Circular Head Chronicle*, 20 March 1871, p. 383.

¹⁴⁴ See the *Argus*, 27 December 1869, p. 5, and reply 28 December 1869, p. 5.

¹⁴⁵ Stones were thrown into the Presbyterian chapel at Stanley: *Circular Head Chronicle*, 20 March 1871, p. 383. There was a major disturbance at the Town Hall in Hobart (*Mercury*, 13 December 1869 ff), and an arrest for disturbance of the peace at a meeting at the People’s Hall in Bathurst Street (*Mercury*, 3 February 1870, p. 2).

¹⁴⁶ *Mercury*, 6 December 1869, p. 2.

¹⁴⁷ *Mercury*, 4 December 1869, p. 3.

¹⁴⁸ *Mercury*, 1 February 1870, p. 1.

¹⁴⁹ *Mercury*, 13 December 1869, p. 2.

conviction of anyone who 'did maliciously tamper' with the gas connection of the People's Hall 'to the great danger of fire' during Douglas' campaign there.¹⁵⁰

Douglas' meetings aroused strong feelings on both sides of the fence, from angry opposition through ambivalence to warm approbation. These typified the range of reactions to the major inter-denominational campaigns in this study. Douglas came into the Australian religious scene much like a meteor – blazing a fiery trail and leaving some debris behind him – but he had pioneered the idea of non-denominational revival meetings in the areas where he preached. This foundation was built on by those who followed him, and indeed they may well have been made aware of colonial spiritual needs through him, as his work was consistently and sympathetically reported in the *Christian*, for example.

Douglas was really a freelance evangelist not formally associated with the Brethren, if in fact formal association was possible. Nor was he overtly connected with them in the public mind, which was probably largely unaware of such a group at this stage, and he generally preached in Methodist or Congregational meeting places or secular halls, but after his visits to Hobart and Launceston, in particular, embryonic fellowships formed which became the nucleus of the assemblies in both cities.¹⁵¹

The trio who made a major impact on Tasmanian rural communities represented three of the four parts of the British Isles. Scotsman William Brown (1835-1911), who was converted during the 1859-60 Revival, came to Australia in 1867,¹⁵² first to Adelaide,¹⁵³ then to Tasmania from 1872. He traversed the island for the next few years, with breaks to work in country Victoria. He saw fellowships established at Sheffield (70 breaking bread), Sherwood, Northdown (50),

¹⁵⁰ *Mercury*, 1 February 1870, p. 1, repeated on 2 and 3 February.

¹⁵¹ He was in Hobart October 1869-February 1870; Launceston April and December 1870, and August, September, October 1872; Circular Head and north west coast January to March 1871.

¹⁵² James Anderson, 'A Brief record concerning the early days of the assembly in Lesmahagow' (photocopy of handwritten memoir, 1960, in Christian Brethren Archive, John Rylands University Library, Manchester), p. 75. This contains copies of letters from William Brown.

¹⁵³ James Anderson, 'A Brief record', p. 79.

Sassafras (40),¹⁵⁴ writing from Sheffield in 1875 that ‘Brother M (Maguire) and T had the joy of beholding, as far as we know, 140 souls brought to Jesus.’¹⁵⁵ He was also involved in strengthening or starting meetings in the Esperance area, Scottsdale, and Circular Head. Eventually he went on to Canada, and then back to Scotland. Not long before he died he wrote to Reuben Austin of Kentish, showing his continuing close interest in the progress of those who had professed conversion under his ministry.¹⁵⁶ He died in 1911.¹⁵⁷

Brown worked closely with Irishman Charles Frederick Perrin (1842-1875), who had first travelled to Australia in 1859-61 during a restless late adolescence. On his return to Ireland he experienced an evangelical conversion, partly as a result of hearing of the sudden death of Prince Albert, the Prince Consort. In 1866 he and his bride sailed for Australia,¹⁵⁸ working mostly in Collingwood and Geelong; after a time back in the UK in 1870-71,¹⁵⁹ they worked in Melbourne and Bendigo. An invitation to join in the first believers’ conference in Wynyard in January 1873 brought Perrin to Tasmania, after which he had very successful meetings with Brown in the Circular Head area. This pattern was repeated in 1874 and 1875, extending the areas of influence to Scottsdale, and to the Huon where Brown had previously pioneered.

¹⁵⁴ *Northern Witness*, February 1876, p. 25-6.

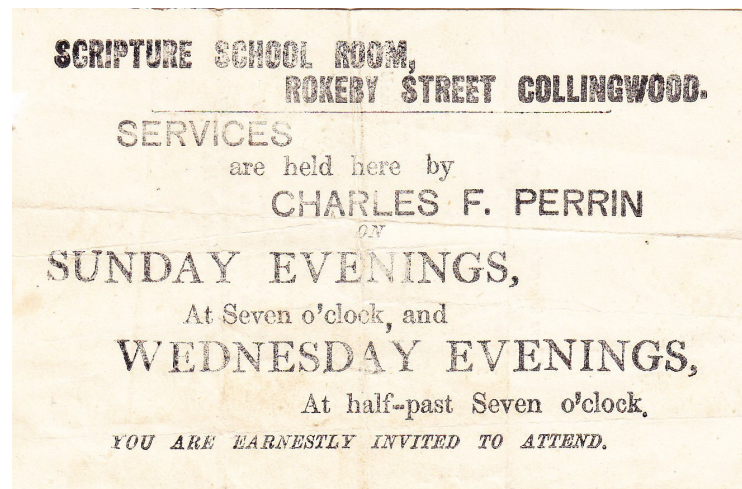
¹⁵⁵ *Northern Witness*, February 1876, p. 25.

¹⁵⁶ Letter copied by Alan Dyer, Sheffield, from original in Cyril Austin’s possession, Launceston.

¹⁵⁷ Brown died 16 December 1911: *Believers’ Magazine*, No. 22 June 1912, p. iv.

¹⁵⁸ He had just married his cousin, Sarah Deacon. They arrived in Melbourne on the *Staffordshire* in June 1866. Public Record Office of Victoria, Index to Unassisted Inward Passenger Lists to Victoria 1852-1923. For Perrin’s life, see [Sarah Perrin], *One thing I do, or, Memorials of Charles F. Perrin / [compiled] by his widow*, Melbourne, 1878. Perrin’s letters are currently in the archives at Hope Christian Centre but it is planned to deposit them in the Tasmanian Archive and Heritage Office.

¹⁵⁹ They returned on the *George Thompson* in August 1871, with 3 year old Charles. Public Record Office of Victoria, Index to Unassisted Inward Passenger Lists to Victoria 1852-1923.



5: Flyer for Perrin's outreach meetings in Collingwood.¹⁶⁰

However, in 1875 Perrin died at Forth of rheumatic fever, brought on by an horrendous journey in appalling weather,¹⁶¹ just as he was planning to establish himself and his family in Tasmania for a longer stay with the aim of strengthening the converts and establishing church fellowships.¹⁶² His deliberately unsectarian approach is evidenced by a review of his wife's memoir, which says that 'he seems to have been connected with the Plymouth Brethren, but it must in all fairness be stated that the peculiar views of that body are never offensively obtruded.'¹⁶³

The third member of this trio was Englishman Edward Moyse or Moyes, of whose background almost nothing is known.¹⁶⁴ He arrived in Hobart from Melbourne in March 1871¹⁶⁵ and his gifts were particularly evident in church planting and consolidation. He greatly strengthened the Hobart 'Brethren' fellowship, travelled

¹⁶⁰ Hope Christian Centre archives.

¹⁶¹ [Sarah Perrin], *One thing I do*, pp. 147ff; Alan Dyer, *God was Their Rock*, Sheffield, 1974, pp. 10-14.

¹⁶² 'The work had so grown here, and the need of the hundreds of young saints was so great as to call loudly for help, and besides, all over the island the bush districts are opening up to the Gospel, and richly rewarding the labourer for his work.' Letter to a friend in London, 5 April 1875, [Sarah Perrin], *One thing I do*, p. 142.

¹⁶³ *Southern Cross*, 28 September 1878, p. 3.

¹⁶⁴ English BDM indexes give an Edward MOYES born Settle, Yorkshire, between Jan-March 1847 (Vol. XXIII, p. 596). Edward MOYSE births are in 1838, 1841, 1854. The MOYES birth fits with the shipping list entry below in 1880.

¹⁶⁵ Alan Dyer (draft of Tasmanian Brethren history) says that he arrived on 31 March 1871, on the *Southern Cross*. I cannot see his name on the relevant shipping list in the TAHO Marine Board series MB2/39/32. There is an entry for a Mr E Moyes on the *Southern Cross* on 27 June 1866: MB2/39/30, p. 333. A Mr E Moyse, aged 34, arrived in Melbourne from New Zealand on the *Rotomahana* in April 1880.

through the Huon and Esperance area for the next eighteen months bringing about a number of conversions and the formation of a gathering at Dover, and later (1874/5) was very active in the Kentish and Scottsdale areas, helping Brown establish the new groups in their faith. His contemporary, G B Moysey of the Church of Christ, wrote that he was ‘a man of but ordinary ability as a preacher [but] his zeal, devotion, and extraordinary *persistence* in private visitation were such, that much success attended his labours, and several assemblies were formed.’¹⁶⁶



6: L to R: Perrin, Brown and Moyse¹⁶⁷

He seems to have gone to Victoria in early 1876, and after visiting Tasmania again in 1880-1 he went to New Zealand where he established a number of Brethren fellowships, in particular around Nelson and on the west coast of the

¹⁶⁶ *Australian Christian Watchman*, 1 November 1883, p. 58. Emphasis in original.

¹⁶⁷ Carte de visite by ‘William Paul Dowling, Artist and Photographer, opposite Brisbane Hotel, Brisbane Street, Launceston’, possibly taken in March 1875 when all three evangelists may have been in Launceston for a conference. Hope Christian Centre archives. A mirror image of this photograph is reproduced in K J Evans, *To the Ends of the Earth*, Smithton, 1988, p. 13, with no attribution.

North Island in the Taranaki region.¹⁶⁸ Apart from a visit to Tasmania in late 1881 and early 1882 for conference meetings and consultations, he seems to have ended his evangelistic career in New Zealand. To the shock and heartbreak of his Tasmanian colleagues and converts, in 1883 he was found to have had a homosexual relationship with another evangelist, and correspondence across the Tasman ensured that he would never be welcomed here again.¹⁶⁹ It is not known where or when he died.¹⁷⁰

Stephen Cheek (1851-1883)¹⁷¹ was born in England but emigrated to Tasmania with his parents at an early age.¹⁷² His life exemplifies the fluidity possible for those for whom truth and spiritual reality was more important than denominational allegiances. Brought up as a Congregationalist, some controversial correspondence in the Hobart paper *Christian Witness* in 1874¹⁷³ alerted him to the idea of believer's baptism. As a result, he corresponded at length with G B Moysey of the Church of Christ,¹⁷⁴ but in the end he was baptised by Edward Moyse and threw in his lot with Brethren.¹⁷⁵ His gifts as an evangelist and pastor were quickly recognised,¹⁷⁶ and his inner compulsion to reach out led him to help fellowships form in the Huon Valley and the Tasman Peninsula, and later in country Victoria. When he gravitated to the Church of Christ in about 1880, these fellowships followed him into that fold. He died suddenly early in

¹⁶⁸ Peter Lineham, *There we found Brethren*, Palmerston North, 1972, pp. 61, 67-9. Lineham spells the name Moyes. He also says that he was older than his fellow evangelist at the time, Charles Hinman.

¹⁶⁹ Information in letters and diary of Henry Lewis Garrett, correspondent of the Hobart assembly, 1875-1893, courtesy of Mrs Jennifer Atkinson, Garrett's great-grand-daughter. The letters show that it had emerged that similar behaviour may have happened in Tasmania.

¹⁷⁰ I cannot see Moyse's name in the New Zealand deaths index online.

¹⁷¹ Cheek's short but influential life was chronicled in great detail by G B Moysey over several issues of the Church of Christ newspaper *Australian Christian Watchman* (which was renamed *Australian Christian Standard* in 1885) between 1883-1886. Also see R J Clow, *Evangelism in Australia: the life of Stephen Cheek, pioneer of the Churches of Christ, Queensland*, Warwick, Qld, 1933; R Ely, 'Communities of generation, communities of choice: Stephen Cheek at Bream Creek', *Lucas* no 12, December 1991, pp. 6-41; and R Ely, 'Stephen Cheek', in *ADEB*.

¹⁷² *Australian Christian Watchman*, 1 July 1883, p. 187.

¹⁷³ The *Christian Witness* 14 November 1874, p. 144, inadvertently published a letter from the Anglican Rev. Stackhouse on baptism, in reaction to the Brethren evangelists' work in Scottsdale. Although it did not usually publish such divisive material, the editor was away. He then felt it only fair to accept a long letter in reply from Moysey on 28 November 1874, pp. 155-6, and a detailed discussion again on 10 December, p. 168. A long letter from Stackhouse on 24 December 1874, p. 178-9, was deemed the end of the correspondence.

¹⁷⁴ *Australian Christian Watchman*, August-October 1883.

¹⁷⁵ *Australian Christian Watchman*, 1 November 1883, p. 58.

¹⁷⁶ James Park commented on the first time he heard him preach, 'This was the first time I ever saw Stephen, and then not to remember much about him, only that he preached, and was thought much of.' *Australian Christian Watchman*, 1 November 1883, p. 58.

1883 in Queensland, where he was doing pioneering church planting on behalf of the Church of Christ.¹⁷⁷ As with Perrin, his premature death triggered a eulogistic view of him, but even so the sheer amount of travel, teaching and establishment of fellowships he managed in a short career of about seven years, mostly while still in his twenties, is testament to his personal impact. From 1879 until 1883 he also produced a paper called *Truth in Love*, which consolidated and extended his influence.

W Corrie Johnstone is an interesting case of someone whose sympathies with the ideas of non-denominationalism espoused by the Brethren eventually led to his joining them. At first a Presbyterian,¹⁷⁸ he was a freelance evangelist in the late 1870s and early 1880s, having declined ordination or a licence to preach as a Presbyterian, ‘preferring to hold himself free for evangelistic work’.¹⁷⁹ He took gospel missions in Victoria, South Australia, and NSW,¹⁸⁰ and in 1876 started producing *Words of Grace*, a newspaper with evangelistic news, improving stories, children’s items, and gospel messages – intended for handing out on visitation or to contacts, as much as for Christians’ edification. He settled in Christchurch, New Zealand, in the early 1880s, and continued in evangelism with Brethren, mostly within the Exclusive branch, and in writing tracts against Freethought or about Brethren church matters.¹⁸¹

However, when in 1876 Johnstone took part in a meeting where Harrison Ord and Douglas Russell baptised by immersion thirty converts from their mission, he was at pains to point out that, although he was happy to wish them well, ‘he [did] *not* want to be identified with the “Brethren”’. At that point his position [was] that of an evangelist willing to cooperate with other Christians of any or all

¹⁷⁷ Clow, *The Life of Stephen Cheek*, pp. 38 ff.

¹⁷⁸ Lineham, *There we found Brethren*, 1977, p. 107, says that Johnstone studied for the ministry at Knox College – presumably the one in Dunedin. (Lineham spells the name ‘Johnson’, but it is consistently spelled ‘Johnstone’ in Australian papers, including his own.) However, an article in *Truth and Progress*, June 1877, p. 65, outlining his career, says that he originally studied at Glasgow University and the Free Church Divinity Hall, and after a break in New Zealand for his health, went to Victoria and completed his studies there.

¹⁷⁹ *Truth and Progress*, June 1877, p. 65.

¹⁸⁰ Reports were often printed in *Southern Cross*.

¹⁸¹ Lineham, *There we found Brethren*, pp. 107-8, and pp. 112-114.

denominations in doing work for Christ.’¹⁸² Clearly he was already attracted to the principles of fellowship with all Christians espoused by the more ‘open’ Brethren, but not yet affiliated with them.



7: Douglas Russell about 1910¹⁸³

Visiting evangelists usually came first to Melbourne, and this was the case with Brethren evangelists Harrison Ord (1833-1907)¹⁸⁴ and Douglas Russell (1842-1933)¹⁸⁵ who visited in the second half of 1876. Both had been heavily involved in evangelism in the British Isles since the 1860s, two of the many independent evangelists who were linked more or less closely to Brethren.¹⁸⁶ They were evidently also close friends. Macartney publicised Ord to his readership as ‘well-known as a lecturer ... and as a “Tent Preacher”’, and Russell as ‘a much younger man, [who] has had great experience of blessing, both in Canada and in England ... a fellow worker with Mr Moody in the British revival.’¹⁸⁷

¹⁸² *Southern Cross*, 18 November 1876, p. 1. Emphasis in the original.

¹⁸³ R. Seymour Benson [ed.], *A Photographic Pedigree of the Descendants of Isaac and Rachel Wilson 1740*, Middlesbrough, 1912, p. 171.

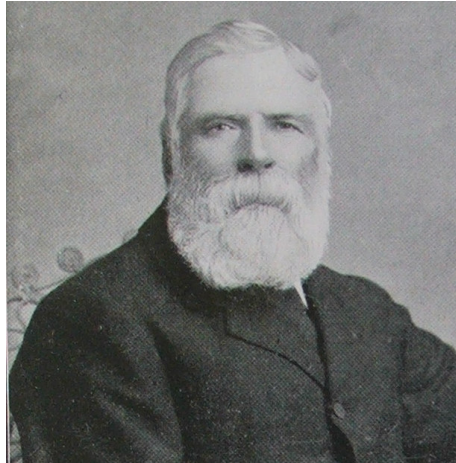
¹⁸⁴ Ian McDowell, unpublished biographical notes on Harrison Ord; H Pickering (ed.), *Chief Men Among the Brethren*, pp. 163-166. This article was written by Russell.

¹⁸⁵ I am greatly indebted to members of the Brethren historians’ network, especially Dr Timothy Stunt, for leads to information about Russell. He pointed me to Benson, *Photographic Pedigree*, for a picture of Russell and his wife, his parents’ names, his date of birth, and his address in about 1910. This book is available online:

<http://www.archive.org/stream/photographicpedi00bens#page/170/mode/2up>.

¹⁸⁶ See Janet Holmes, *Religious Revival in Britain and Ireland 1859-1905*, Dublin, 2000, pp. 142-144.

¹⁸⁷ *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad*, September 1867, p. 131.



8: Harrison Ord¹⁸⁸

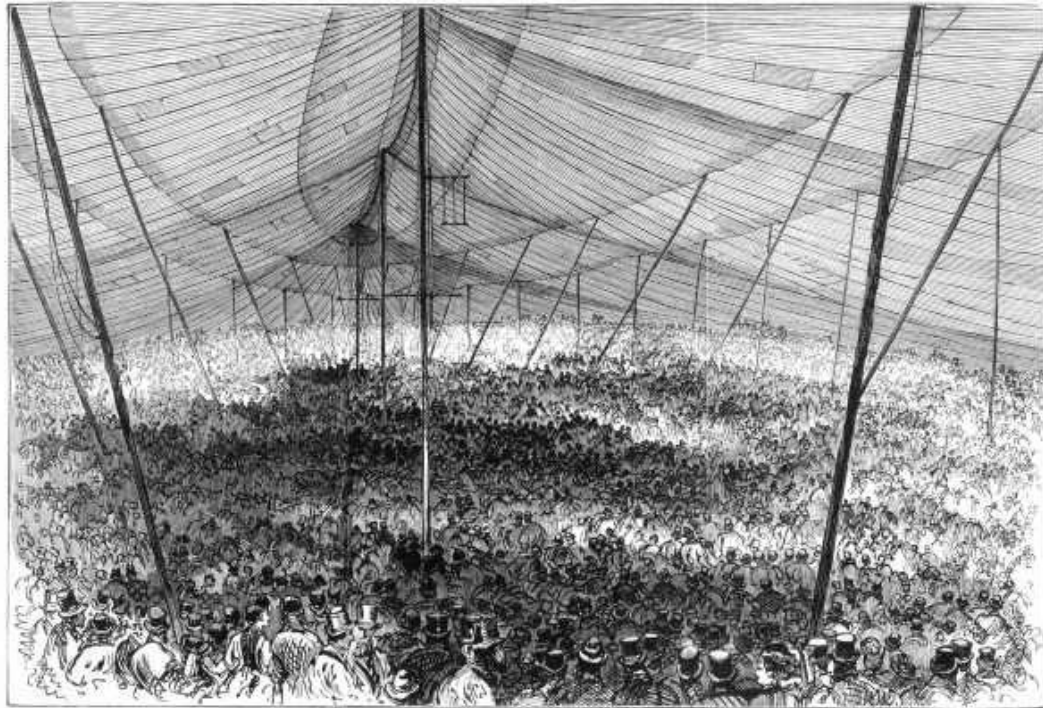
Ord came to Australia to recuperate from a breakdown in health and the loss of his wife; as he regained his voice and his purpose, Russell came out to team up with him. Their meetings were in many ways a foretaste of those of Somerville and Varley in the next two years. They held meetings in the Assembly Hall in Collins Street in the centre of the city, the main ones advertised being on Sunday evenings. Though there was no particular effort to make the meetings appear undenominational, they seem to have been well-accepted. The *Southern Cross* reported them as being ‘under the auspices of the “Plymouth Brethren”’, with about thirty converts being baptised in the Albert Street Baptist church, lent for the occasion.¹⁸⁹ The campaign culminated in large meetings in Wilson’s Circus,¹⁹⁰ after which they toured Tasmania and later New Zealand.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ H Pickering (ed.), *Chief Men Among the Brethren* 2nd ed., London, c. 1930, facing p. 168.

¹⁸⁹ *Southern Cross*, No. 106, 11 Nov 1876.

¹⁹⁰ Ord wrote home that ‘Our last gospel service was a glorious sight – four thousand people seated in a broken-down wet circus, listening to the message of life for two hours. But for the storm that night we should have had the largest concourse of people I had ever spoken to.’ *Missionary Echo*, February 1877, p. 28. Russell later wrote, ‘... the final Gospel meeting [was] transferred to Wilson’s Circus, where 4000 or 5000 were estimated to be present.’ Article on Ord, in Henry Pickering (ed.), *Chief Men among the Brethren*, 2nd edition, London etc, [n.d., c. 1930], p. 165.

¹⁹¹ Reports in *Willing Work* and *Echoes of Service*, and places summarised by Russell in Pickering, *Chief Men*, p. 165.



A SUNDAY SERVICE AT THE CIRCUS.

9: Almost certainly Ord and Russell's closing service in Melbourne¹⁹²

Harrison Ord also settled in Australia, as did John Hambleton,¹⁹³ and it is clear from reports back to England that they regarded Australia as a needy mission field.¹⁹⁴ Hambleton established an itinerant Bible carriage ministry, and Ord continued to take evangelistic services into the 1890s. Indeed, in 1898 he undertook another series of meetings in the South Island of New Zealand.¹⁹⁵

There were several ways in which these Brethren missionaries made an impact on the Christian community in the 1860s and 70s. The first was their emphasis on conversion, which was not appreciated by everyone in the community. A *Tasmanian Mail* columnist who wrote 'Trifles by the Way' was critical of Varley and Mrs Baeyertz for talking of

¹⁹² A Sunday service at the circus. Date(s) of creation: November 25, 1876. Print: wood engraving. State Library of Victoria, Accession No: A/S25/11/76/132, Image No: b50271.

¹⁹³ Ian McDowell, unpublished biographical notes on Hambleton; John Hambleton, *The Converted Actor*.

¹⁹⁴ The Brethren missionary paper *Echoes of Service* published reports from Grove, Manders, and others into the early 1900s, under the 'Australasia' heading.

¹⁹⁵ There are a number of advertisements and reports in NZ newspapers. These are readily searchable at <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast>.

“saving souls”, as the result of their labours, as being as certain of success as a fisherman ... of obtaining a haul of fish of some kind ... The conceit of some of those self-called upon people, female and male, who fancy themselves possessed of a special mission and power to subjugate sin ... would be worth no more than a contemptuous sneer, but for the ineffable impudence of the whole thing.¹⁹⁶

His criticism may well have been the result of several years’ observation of evangelistic work: the clear object of all Brethren evangelists’ preaching was indeed to ‘save souls’. This is the consistent and urgent aim expressed in reports back to England, and in the 1870s and early 1880s they were successful in achieving it. One estimate is that in the years 1872-1875, over 500 people in Tasmania alone professed conversion in response to these evangelists, mainly in the Huon, Scottsdale, Kentish, and Circular Head areas.¹⁹⁷ As a result, by the end of the decade there were Brethren-type meetings at Port Esperance, Hobart, Launceston, Scottsdale, Sheffield, and several places on the north west coast including Burnie, Boat Harbour, Montagu and Circular Head. There were also the promising groups on the Tasman peninsula which followed Cheek into the Church of Christ.¹⁹⁸

This is an astonishing burst of growth in a small state, and insured that the north-west coast of Tasmania retained one of the highest concentrations of Brethren in the world into the late twentieth century. This growth was matched to some extent in Victoria in the large fellowship (around 200) in the centre of the city meeting in the Assembly Hall, and in hundreds of converts in Bendigo and Ballarat.¹⁹⁹ The magazine *Willing Work* kept this aim of conversions before their readership, and Brethren activity in this regard, one-eyed as it must have sometimes appeared, acted as a spur to like-minded evangelicals. Brethren were also represented on

¹⁹⁶ *Tasmanian Mail*, 30 Mar. 1878, p. 13 col. 1.

¹⁹⁷ Alan Dyer, draft history of the Brethren in Tasmania, personal collection.

¹⁹⁸ Richard Ely, ‘Communities of generation’, pp. 6-41.

¹⁹⁹ Samuel Carter was the main evangelist here around the turn of the decade, but Perrin had worked in Sandhurst (Bendigo) in the early 1870s. Carter’s evening meetings in Ballarat in 1880-81 grew to between 800-1,000 in attendance. *Willing Work*, 18 March 1881, p. 86; 26 August 1881, p. 195. This is corroborated by Arthur Parsons’ ‘Reminiscences of Ballarat Assembly’, 6pp pencil written document dated 15 June 1938, given to Thomas R Gordon (personal collection). Parsons came to faith in these early 1880s meetings and joined the Ballarat assembly.

evangelistic committees in numbers out of proportion to their size in the community.

The second way in which Brethren evangelists made an impact was in their effect on existing church communities, either by the rejuvenation of existing members, or by the loss of some to new fellowships. Sometimes ‘conversions’ were more an awakening to spiritual life or assurance of salvation and deeper connectedness by people who were already active church members, but seeking something more.²⁰⁰ This could not have happened without receptive minds and hearts. Dissatisfaction with the mainline churches, lack of churches altogether in remote districts, dry preaching, and an awareness of spiritual need were some of the factors which made people receptive to the evangelists’ message. Thus in many instances, the evangelists were finding a response with people who already felt an unmet spiritual need.

There was of course deep resentment at what was regarded as sheep stealing, especially in places where churches had been established. A critic wrote, ‘... in many places in Tasmania, Church members have become disaffected, and some have given up Church fellowship through the teaching and efforts of these travelling Evangelists.’²⁰¹ Moysey wrote of Moyes that on the one hand he was resented by those (unbelievers) who rejected his assertion that ‘all who did not trust in Christ were going to hell’, and on the other opposed by those Christians who did not like ‘his denunciation of the sects, and the fact that his teaching drew many away from the churches’.²⁰² Brethren were even seen as getting hold of converts from other missions: an Anglican writer warned that, if converts from Somerville’s meetings were not followed up well, ‘they will most probably be got hold of by some of the various sects in which the “Brethren” or “Disciples of

²⁰⁰ A letter in 1875 makes this point, noting how ‘converts’ of Brown, Moyse and Perrin were already members of churches but did not have the conviction that they were the Lord’s – in other words, they lacked assurance of salvation. *Christian Witness*, 6 March 1875, p. 226.

²⁰¹ *Christian Witness*, 19 September 1874, p. 95.

²⁰² *Australian Christian Watchman*, 1 November 1883, p. 58.

Charts” have split up ... [and] ... be ... lost to usefulness in the Christian Church.’²⁰³

Infuriated church leaders found it very difficult to counter such an ostensibly well-meaning group which yet divided existing congregations.²⁰⁴ The evangelists were aware of these criticisms: Brown commented that ‘The devil is raging against us, ministers are saying that we are breaking up their churches, stealing their best sheep. We just tell them there must be something the matter with their fences, or they would never get out.’²⁰⁵

This resentment was fuelled by the fact that, when they first arrived, the evangelists were welcomed as genuinely independent and non-denominational. Many people would have echoed the statement in a critical contemporary article in Britain, that ‘when they first appear in a district, they profess simply to preach the gospel, and ... conceal all their ecclesiastical and doctrinal peculiarities’ until they have converts.²⁰⁶ To be fair, Douglas was probably genuinely independent. He wrote home, ‘As soon as it was known that I had arrived in Hobart Town, I was waited upon, and was invited, in the name of the Evangelizing Association, to preach in the People’s Hall.’ Douglas wrote that ‘a dear brother in Christ ... a member of the Society of Friends’ had seen an account of his remarkable conversion from the gutter in the paper *The Revival* and had prayed for him to come, which had happened ‘without any communication whatever between the parties’.²⁰⁷

In general the evangelists usually spoke in any church which would accept them. As well as the People’s Hall, Douglas preached in all types of Methodist churches – Wesleyan, Primitive, and United²⁰⁸ - and as his meetings grew they moved to the

²⁰³ *Church of England Messenger*, 9 August 1877, p. 3.

²⁰⁴ This resentment is discussed in some detail in Lineham, *There we found Brethren*, pp. 45-48.

²⁰⁵ *Northern Witness*, February 1876, p. 26.

²⁰⁶ [no author], *Plymouth Brethrenism: its Ecclesiastical and Doctrinal Teachings; with a sketch of its history*, London, 1874 (reprinted from British Quarterly Review, October 1873), p. 6.

²⁰⁷ *Christian*, 10 February 1870, p. 25. The secretary of the Association was R A Mather, an evangelical Quaker and leading businessman. See *Cyclopedia of Tasmania*, Hobart, 1902, p. 327.

²⁰⁸ *Mercury*, 4 December 1869.

Town Hall.²⁰⁹ In Stanley, he preached in a Presbyterian chapel. In 1872, William Brown wrote that

The Wesleyans have got letters from their President, not to let me preach in their chapels, whilst the Primitives, Presbyterians, Church of England, and Baptists, offer me, yea, press on me to preach in theirs...²¹⁰

In many areas, this built on a spirit of non-denominationalism which had been evident for years because of isolation. 'E W B' reported from Scottsdale in 1874 that Brown and Perrin's visits had been the continuation of work by lay preachers and a number of visiting clergymen, although by the early 1870s there was no resident pastor of the Union Church. They went there by invitation, and the writer attributed the remarkable results to prayer, and 'a growing concern in reference to their spiritual interests' on the part of many in the district. He also noted that respondents were 'adherents of many Christian denominations'.²¹¹ In 1872, the Rev. Richard Smith reported from Wynyard that 'lovers and promoters of Christian unity will be glad to hear' that the Wesleyan minister there had encouraged Brown's work at Circular Head, and let him use their place of worship, as he recognised 'that the work was of God ... If all would reason and act in that way, we should soon have no disunion amongst those who really belong to Christ.'²¹²

This was a society where sectarianism was rife,²¹³ as evinced for instance by the intensity of feeling over state aid to church schools.²¹⁴ Thompson calls it the 'primary Protestant-Catholic political battleground.'²¹⁵ Even though such sectarian feeling was often deplored, this insistence on only bearing the name Christian was a novelty. Brown reported that on his voyage to Australia, there were two other 'fine Christians' who 'cannot see through why I will not go under the name of any

²⁰⁹ *Mercury*, 13 December 1869.

²¹⁰ *The Latter Rain*, 1 February 1873, p.27.

²¹¹ *Christian Witness*, 5 September 1874, p. 82. From a later letter (17 October 1874) it appears E W B was E W Bonner, almost certainly Edward William Bonner whose will is preserved in TAHO, AD960/1/22, p. 152, will No. 5150.

²¹² *Christian Witness*, 21 September 1872, p. 114.

²¹³ See Hilary Carey's brief but clear summary in *Believing in Australia: A Cultural History of Religion*, St Leonards, 1996, pp. 93-5.

²¹⁴ See, for example, R P Davis, *State Aid and Tasmanian Politics, 1868-1920*, Hobart, 1980, chs. 2 and 3.

²¹⁵ Roger Thompson, *Religion in Australia*, Oxford, 1994, p. 18.

particular sect.’²¹⁶ Some years later Harrison Ord wrote back to England, ‘We all desire to try and make Christians forget their differences, and remember “Jesus only”, but never compromise truth.’²¹⁷ This was not an attitude which recommended itself to staunch churchmen. In 1891 an Anglican writer worried that converts in the Grubb mission might not be strongly enough attached to the church and might become, in the words of a quoted anecdote, ‘nothing – only Christians.’²¹⁸ Nevertheless, however misunderstood and at times confusing the Brethren message of fellowship with all Christians might be, the discussion and argument that it aroused must have planted seeds of co-operative possibilities in some minds.

Although the evangelists were linked through the Brethren network, they were adamant that they were not part of a denomination, but encouraging Christians to meet as simply as the early church did. While in the end, this ideal was not possible to maintain in practice, it was one which had an influence none the less. The concept was relatively radical: although at much the same time (1873-5), Moody and Sankey were in the UK holding the enormous non-denominational meetings that made their names, the influence of their meetings was not yet as great as it later became.

In general the Brethren were viewed with caution. As Richard Ely writes, ‘It wasn’t simply Brethren success which irritated ... other mainstream Protestant denominations, but Brethren willingness to attract sheep from other folds, Brethren anti-clericalism ... and Brethren verbal aggression.’²¹⁹ In the 1870s, the number of Brethren assemblies in Australia grew from under five to around fifteen by the end of the decade.²²⁰ In both Melbourne and Hobart, personal

²¹⁶ James Anderson, ‘A Brief record’, p. 77.

²¹⁷ *Christian*, 19 July 1877, p. 494, from a private letter, possibly to Richard Morgan, the editor.

²¹⁸ *Church of England Messenger*, 2 October 1891, p. 173.

²¹⁹ Richard Ely, ‘Communities of generation’, p. 11.

²²⁰ In 1877 there was a large assembly in central Melbourne (over 200 members), with a few others in the surrounding suburbs. There may also have been small groups in the provincial cities Ballarat, Bendigo (Sandhurst), and Geelong, all of which had flourishing meetings within a few years as a result of evangelistic activity. There were meetings in early stages of establishment in Sydney, Hobart, Adelaide, and Queensland, and strong fellowships in northern rural Tasmania: Scottsdale, Launceston, Sheffield, Table Cape, and Circular Head. The splits caused by Rice Hopkins and his teaching on reception in the early 1880s resulted in several more breakaway assemblies forming. See Newton, ‘A History of the Brethren in Australia’, ch. VII

acquaintance with leading Brethren businessmen, such as Charles Crosby,²²¹ the Kitchens,²²² and David Beath,²²³ gave evangelical leaders confidence in their integrity and Christian calibre, which to some extent protected the rest of the fledgling colonial movement from obloquy. It also seemed to Henry Rainey that 'The feeling among true-hearted Christians is now in our favour, owing to the hearty manner in which we co-operated with Bros. Dr. Somerville and Varley.'²²⁴ Even so, it was possible for the editor of the inter-denominational evangelical weekly *Southern Cross* to damn with faint praise, writing that '... the Plymouth brethren [sic] ... are making a contribution to the cause of truth by the manner in which they insist upon the immanency of the authority and power of the word of God,' no matter how 'faulty and misconceived ... some of their ideas are generally regarded.'²²⁵

In 1877-8 the controversy over Henry Varley's advocacy of adult baptism showed the ambivalence, apprehension and downright resentment of other Christians to the Brethren and damned him by association as a covert member. This was particularly evident after Varley baptised 130 converts at the St Kilda Baths just before he left Melbourne.²²⁶ By this stage his name was a household word in Melbourne, and this very public event was widely reported. It was referred to many times in the ensuing months, and aroused a storm of debate, mainly because

and Appendix 4, List of Australian Assemblies. Further research shows that great caution needs to be exercised with the dates in this list; as Newton warned, many dates of establishment are not exact. Some early assemblies are also missing.

²²¹ Crosby was a member of a prominent colonial shipping and importing family firm.

²²² Philip and Theo Kitchen were members of a family who have continued to be active in evangelical circles (mostly as Baptists) for the next four generations. Several members have been key figures in the support and organisation of the China Inland Mission, Scripture Union, Belgrave Heights Convention, the Melbourne Bible Institute, etc. In business they were soap manufacturers, eventually becoming part of the huge Lever & Kitchen consortium. See Christine Dyer, 'The role of the Kitchen family in the history of Victorian evangelicalism', *Our Yesterdays* Vol. 9, 2001, pp. 4-17. Varley's daughter Minnie married William Kitchen, son of Theo, in June 1889 (Varley, *Life Story*, p. 153).

²²³ Beath (c. 1835-1923) was a partner in the major textile importers and manufacturing firm Beath, Schiess, & Co. He was an active supporter of inter-denominational work such as the YMCA, Scripture Union, the CIM, and Christian conferences. He was a wealthy and generous man, a high proportion of whose descendants has been and is still involved in overseas and local mission work.

²²⁴ *Missionary Echo*, November 1878, p. 170.

²²⁵ *Southern Cross*, No. 151, 22 Sept. 1877, p. 2. A series of highly critical articles in the Sydney Church of England newspaper detailed supposedly heretical Brethren doctrines and questionable practices: *The Australian Churchman* 19 September, 1878, pp. 166-8; 26 September 1878, pp. 186-7; 7 November 1878, pp. 258-9. Some of the accusations seem to respond to Exclusive ideas. Although the most extreme, these were by no means the only articles of this sort.

²²⁶ St Kilda is an inner-city suburb on the shores of Port Phillip Bay. The baths are sea baths, and have recently been restored. See <http://www.southpacificchc.com.au/seabaths.html> accessed 24 Aug. 2007.

it was seen as proof that Varley was not the independent he claimed to be. News of it even reached England where Varley's defence was printed in the *Christian*.²²⁷

The final way in which Brethren made an impact was through 'believers' conferences'. The first conference of this type in the Australian colonies was held at Wynyard in Tasmania on 1 and 2 January 1873. Perrin wrote that it was

...promoted by a Mr Richard Smith, a Church of England clergyman, a dear godly man. It was in a very out of the way part of the North-West Coast of that very thinly populated island... I do not think I ever was at a similar meeting at home, or elsewhere, at which I more felt the power and presence of God.²²⁸

Similar conferences were held in ensuing years, and indeed as they evolved into Brethren conferences, were held for over a century in the Wynyard area, Circular Head, and Sheffield, and for many years in Launceston and Hobart. Reports of these early ones show that the speakers came from a variety of backgrounds – there were Anglican clergymen as well a number of laymen who had been influenced by the evangelists.²²⁹ The first conference held in Launceston was at Easter time in 1875, and William Ayton's preface to the printed proceedings indicates something of the environment in which it was held:

...some hav[e] charged the promoters with seeking to destroy every mode of Church government, as well as the disorganisation of the various religious sects, both in Launceston and elsewhere; when, in reality, they sought the co-operation ... of all who loved and served the Lord Jesus, irrespective of denomination, both clergy and laity ...²³⁰

Notwithstanding the opposition, people had come from all over the island colony (including a lady and her daughter who walked the 42 miles from Scottsdale!),

²²⁷ *Christian*, 19 September 1878, p. 704. They say that some Australian articles have been reprinted in English papers. His defence included the points that he had mentioned baptism only six times in 250 addresses, and never denominationally; many converts asked for baptism; he emphasised obedience to Christ, not church membership; he found a neutral place for the baptisms; had to have help because he could not do 120 baptisms himself; and that all sections of the church had reaped new members from his preaching.

²²⁸ *The Latter Rain*, 1 August 1873, p.117. The Hobart paper *Christian Witness* had a brief report which said that over 200 attended, including some speakers from Melbourne, and the Rev. W C Ogilvie of Circular Head, the Wesleyan minister. *Christian Witness*, 24 January 1874, p. 196.

²²⁹ For the 1874 conference, see a long letter from Rev. Richard Smith describing it: *Christian Witness*, 23 January 1875, p. 197.

²³⁰ *First Believers' Conference held in Launceston, Tasmania, at Mechanics' Institute, on Easter Sunday and Monday, March 28 and 29, 1875*, Launceston, [1875], p. 2.

with numbers going from 200 to 500 by the second day, and there were speakers from the Brethren, Congregationalists, Primitive Methodists, Wesleyans, Baptists, and Anglicans.²³¹ In many ways this was a high water mark for the ‘honeymoon’ stage of the movement in Tasmania. No conference quite like this was held again. No doubt the difficulties of travel from places as far away as Circular Head in the far north-west, Lymington in the south, and beyond Scottsdale to the north-east, contributed to this, as did the death of Perrin two months later, and the gradual introversion of the new fellowships which became increasingly identifiable as Brethren. Henry Varley did convene a believers’ conference in 1878 which had some of the same characteristics but not such a broadly-based clientele.²³²

Coming before the first ‘holiness’ conference in England,²³³ the inspiration for the Tasmanian ones could have been the Mildmay conferences convened by William Pennefather²³⁴ or merely a natural desire to bring new converts together for consolidation and encouragement. Another influence could have been the Dublin believers’ conferences held at Merrion Hall from the early 1860s, the Glasgow meetings held from 1865, and possibly the Yeovil conferences started in the early 1870s, all under Brethren auspices.²³⁵ Perrin would have been familiar with the Dublin meetings, and the Brethren evangelists would have known of them all by hearsay at least.

Inspired by the Tasmanian events, H B Macartney convened two conferences at Caulfield in Melbourne in 1874 and 1875.²³⁶ These two conferences were also

²³¹ This identification is based on descriptors in the conference proceedings, and other known denominational affiliation.

²³² For reports, see the *Examiner*, 1 May 1878, p. 2, and 3 May 1878, p. 2

²³³ The first conference for promoting practical holiness and a deeper spiritual experience in England was held at Broadlands in Hampshire in 1874. Kenneth Hyslop-Smith, *The Evangelicals in the Church of England 1734-1984*, Edinburgh, 1989, p. 191. Varley was present at the next one, in 1875. The first Keswick conference was later in 1875.

²³⁴ Rev. William Pennefather (interestingly, a nephew of J N Darby) had convened conferences at Barnet from 1856, and Mildmay from 1864, for Christian workers.

²³⁵ See Tim Grass, *Gathering to His Name*, Milton Keynes, 2006, pp. 156-160.

²³⁶ *The Missionary, at Home and Abroad*, April 1874, reprinted in *Christian Witness*, 16 May 1874, p. 299, shows that he was aware of what was happening on the N W coast of Tasmania, and had in fact visited one of the local meetings, and was obviously in close touch with the Rev. Richard Smith who was a speaker at the 1875 Caulfield conference. As I have shown, these were clearly not the first such conferences in Australia, as claimed by the St Mary’s Church publication *150 Years: ‘Naming the wells’*, Caulfield, 2008, facing p. 1, and also on their website – see link from

remarkable for the range and number of speakers, again from several denominations. In 1874 these included Perrin, Dean Macartney, Dr Singleton, and Watsford,²³⁷ and in 1875 they included Henry Reed, Corrie Johnstone, Rev. Richard Smith, W G Marsh from the YMCA, Rev. S C Kent (Congregational) and W C Bunning (Baptist).²³⁸ Macartney had close ties with Brethren leaders and much sympathy for Open Brethren thinking on fellowship with all believers, as evinced by his visits to leading Brethren in England in 1878,²³⁹ and possibly even by the style of his preaching.²⁴⁰ It is likely that this influence also underlay the united communion service at the end of the 1874 conference, a quite astonishing occurrence in an Anglican setting. Macartney wrote that ‘some 75 of the Lord’s people, from many sections of the Lord’s church, partook together of His own supper, as though barriers of sect were broken down at last, and we were all one in Christ Jesus.’²⁴¹

<http://www.smac.org.au/default.asp?MenuItem=1&DisplayPage=SiteHistoryAndEthos.asp>. Darrell Paproth has drawn attention to the link between Macartney and the Tasmanian Brethren in the chain of events leading to the establishment of conferences for the promotion of spiritual holiness in Victoria in his article ‘The deeper life movement in Victoria 1880-1914’, *Our Yesterdays*, No. 10, 2002, pp. 58-9.

²³⁷ H B Macartney [Jnr] (ed.), *Conference Addresses delivered at St. Mary’s Caulfield by ministers and laymen of different denominations July 1874*, Melbourne, 1874.

²³⁸ *Conference Addresses delivered at St. Mary’s Caulfield by ministers and laymen of different denominations July 1875*, Melbourne, 1875.

²³⁹ H B Macartney (jnr.), *England, Home and beauty: Sketches of Christian Life and Work in England in 1878*, London, [1879], gives a number of examples of his meeting leading Brethren: among others, p. 43, he went to a meeting at Edward Denny’s house; p. 46, he sat next to Lord Cavan at the Mildmay Conference; p. 49, he met Miss Hanbury and George Brealey of the Blackdown Hills mission; p. 207, he met Sir Arthur Cotton and Miss Waldegrave, Lord Radstock’s sister. Pages 177-184 give a detailed account of his stay with the saintly Robert Chapman of Barnstaple, and pp. 185-6 tell of his visit to George Müller’s orphanages at Bristol.

²⁴⁰ An ordination sermon he preached in 1896 shows very spiritualised and ‘typical’ thinking, reminiscent of Brethren. *Church of England Messenger*, 1 January 1897, p. 10.

²⁴¹ *Conference Addresses delivered at St. Mary’s Caulfield by ministers and laymen of different denominations July 1874*, p. 86. It is interesting to see the words (a quotation from Galatians 3:28) which became the Keswick motto used so early in Australia.



10: St Mary's Church, Caulfield, Melbourne, Victoria²⁴²

Numerous conferences and conventions followed in the ensuing years. There were regular YMCA conferences, Christians' or believers' conferences,²⁴³ conferences on the second coming, conferences on practical holiness.²⁴⁴ They were reported in detail in the religious press, particularly the interdenominational newspapers – detail which included lengthy summaries of sermons, songs sung, and the names and often the denomination of all major participants. They were in their turn the forerunners of the later Keswick-style conventions which were triggered by George Grubb's visit, but they were based on a foundation which went back to 1873 in Tasmania.

Thus Brethren contribution at its best was one which kept the priority of evangelism at the forefront, challenged denominational barriers and encouraged the latent stirrings of Christian unity. These were all arguably factors in the cooperation which underpinned Dr Somerville's and Henry Varley's meetings in 1877-8. Indeed, the Brethren Edwin Good was the secretary and often general factotum for Somerville, and at the same time editing *Willing Work*!²⁴⁵ In 1878 he

²⁴² Photograph taken by Elisabeth Wilson, October 2010. Apart from the cars, the scene is almost unchanged externally since the 1870s.

²⁴³ E.g. *Southern Cross*, 19 April 1879, p. 3.

²⁴⁴ E.g. *Southern Cross*, program 24 May 1879 pp. 1-3; editorial 14 June 1879, p. 2; report 12 July 1879, p. 3.

²⁴⁵ 'Edwin Good is now engaged as editor for ten weeks of an admirable little weekly penny paper, entitled *Willing Work*.' *The Missionary, at Home and Abroad*, October 1877, p. 146.

was appointed secretary of the United Evangelistic Association, and the *Southern Cross*, carefully avoiding any reference to his actual denomination, and possibly reflecting something of the caution with which others viewed the Brethren, said that

*... members of our churches may have perfect confidence in Mr Good's loyalty to church order. In full communion with one of our city congregations, and warmly attached to the denomination to which he belongs, he has shown no trace of denominational bias in prosecuting the labours of an evangelical character in which he has been so largely engaged.*²⁴⁶

Moody and Sankey

Many of the themes identified in this chapter came together in Moody and Sankey's meetings in England, which were seen at the time as hugely successful. A London commentator wrote:

On all hands the interest felt in what is called the revival movement is very great. The secular papers from the Times down to the most insignificant provincial sheet have all had something to say about Moody and Sankey. Go where you will, little else is talked of but the revival services, whether travelling by rail or in an omnibus, or paying a visit to a friend, or attending a public meeting, no matter for what purpose convened, or in any other way, jostling in the crowd and mixing with the busy mass of humanity, you are sure to be asked your opinion of the American Revivalists. The entire mass of society is permeated by an interest in this question.²⁴⁷

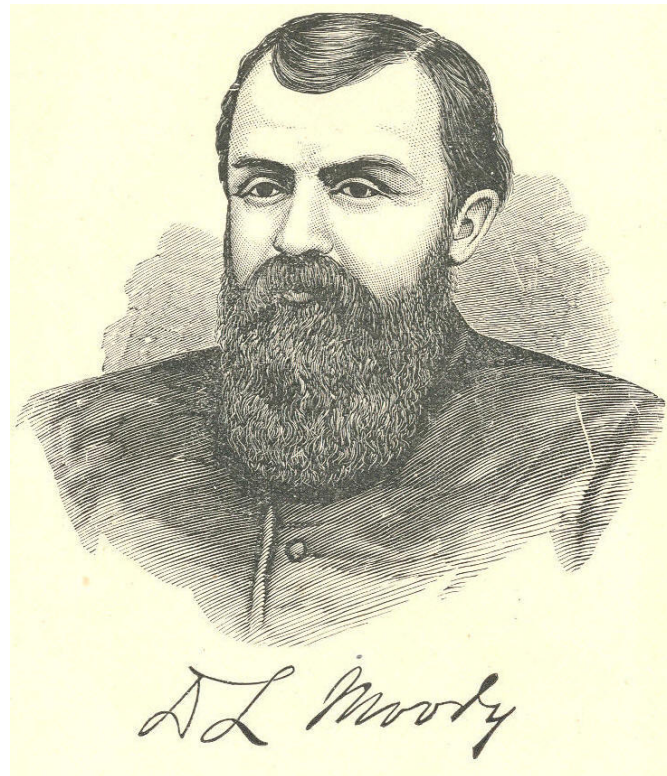
Connections between Britain and Australia ensured that colonial readers heard about these meetings. Major newspapers carried reports and comments for and against them.²⁴⁸ Many were items taken from British or American papers. There

²⁴⁶ *Southern Cross*, editorial 10 August 1878, p. 1. They said that he had showed 'foresight, promptitude and precision' in working with Dr Somerville, was very efficient, had 'business habits, large experience and the recommendation of success', had been associated with Moody and Sankey in London, had 'active superintendence of extensive evangelical organisation in the city of London', and had established a mission station in NSW incl. a large hall.

²⁴⁷ George Sexton, *An impartial review of the revival movement of Messrs. Moody and Sankey: a discourse delivered in Goswell Hall, Goswell Road, London, on Sunday evening, May 16th, 1875*, London: n. d. [1875?], p. 4.

²⁴⁸ E.g. letter to the Editor, *Hobart Mercury*, 24 July 1874, p. 3, arguing against an article by their Launceston correspondent which had commented adversely on religious revivals; *South Australian Advertiser*, 5 April 1875, p. 6, arguing against the *Argus'* opposition to religious revivals; *Argus*, 10 April 1875, p. 12; *Hobart Mercury*, 25 June 1875, p.3; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 August 1875, p. 5, 'The American Revivalists at Eton'; *Argus*, 19 May 1876, p. 3, 'Religious Insanity and the Moody and Sankey Revivals'; and many other references. Of course, religious newspapers carried even more articles; for example, Manley has noted the

were even articles of gentle satire, a sure indication of widespread knowledge of the topic.²⁴⁹ It was almost inevitable that local Christians would want to emulate what was seen as successful evangelism, and the bonds of Empire were quite consciously utilised and ensured that the colonial evangelicals copied the same methodologies that had been seen to be successful in Britain.



11: D L Moody²⁵⁰

many reports in the *Baptist Truth and Progress*. K R Manley, *From Woolloomooloo to 'Eternity'*, Vol. 1, Milton Keynes, 2006, p. 209.

²⁴⁹ For example, *Brisbane Courier* 3 November 1875, p. 5, taken from the *New York Herald*, pointing out with tongue in cheek that while they were Christianising England, America was getting more wicked, and vice versa: 'The success in England of Messrs Moody and Sankey in their efforts to Christianise that benighted nation has been so great ... that the magnanimous American people can only rejoice in their return for selfish reasons ... England may be better for their efforts to benefit its people, yet so much evil has been recently reported that we fear that Messrs Moody and Sankey abandoned their labours too soon ... It is impossible to preserve the balance of virtue throughout the world...' The article goes on to suggest that they go to Long Branch 'where the President has attracted some of the ablest politicians, and, therefore, some of the worst sinners in the Republic.'

²⁵⁰ From *Moody's anecdotes and illustrations, Related in his revival work by the great evangelist Dwight L Moody*, Fully illustrated from Gustave Dore, revised edition. Edited by Rev. J. B. McClure. Chicago, 1899. www.gutenberg.org/files/19830/19830-h/19830-h.htm

Bebbington has emphasised Moody's world-wide influence,²⁵¹ and Piggin calls his influence on Australian evangelicalism 'vast'.²⁵² He was the forerunner *par excellence* of the evangelists considered in this thesis. Most had personal connections with him, as will be seen, and his methods, and Sankey's music, were consciously used and imitated by most speakers. As Sizer says, Moody was the pacesetter in 'matters of organization, format, use of hymns and a song leader', even though all had been used before.²⁵³

Moody and Sankey were invited to Australia several times, but Moody's dread of extreme seasickness, as well as other commitments, prevented him coming. As early as 1875 it was reported that the Evangelical Alliance had 'determined to invite Messrs Moody and Sankey from England',²⁵⁴ and in 1879 the Victorian MLC James Balfour and others discussed inviting them to coincide with the 1880 Exhibition in Melbourne.²⁵⁵ In 1892 there was again disappointment. It was reported in Brisbane that

the prospect of a visit from the world-renowned evangelists, Messrs Moody and Sankey, is awakening a large amount of interest in Brisbane. A numerous and influential committee has been formed, including all the clergymen, to prepare for their coming, and the Monday noon-day prayer meeting at the YMCA is to be set apart for special supplication for blessings upon their work.²⁵⁶

But it was not to be. The *Australian Christian World* believed that Moody and Sankey would have received a 'universal and unhesitating welcome' and would have united 'all sections of the Christian Church in the common work of saving souls.'²⁵⁷ The last invitation was made just before Moody's death in 1899 when a petition with over 15,000 signatures was sent to him.²⁵⁸ His somewhat premature death was reported in practically every paper in Australia. Religious editors

²⁵¹ Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, pp. 49-51.

²⁵² Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia*, p. 59.

²⁵³ Sandra Sizer, 'Politics and Apolitical Religion: The Great Urban Revivals of the Late Nineteenth Century,' *Church History*, Vol. 48, No. 1. (March 1979), p. 82.

²⁵⁴ *South Australian Advertiser*, 5 April 1875, p. 6.

²⁵⁵ Balfour papers MS 12237, State Library of Victoria, Box 2874, 12 December 1879, including a discussion of money guaranteed and a list of invitees including H B Macartney and the Rev. Cairns.

²⁵⁶ *Australian Christian World*, 11 February 1892, p. 5.

²⁵⁷ *Australian Christian World*, 9 June 1892, p. 9.

²⁵⁸ Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia*, p. 59.

sprang to analyse his influence and his secret, which Fitchett defined as ‘that subtle, undefinable, mysterious, yet most real endowment called “power”’.²⁵⁹

Bebbington has also identified six key areas in which D L Moody made an impact on evangelicalism: interdenominational cooperation, lay participation, social reforms, Romanticism in theology, the use of techniques, and unity between different Christian schools of thought.²⁶⁰ All of these aspects were evident in the work of the evangelists under consideration, in varying degrees, and will be considered in more detail in the second part of the thesis. Thus in 1877 many parts of the Australian colonies were primed to accept, or at least investigate, major visiting evangelists, by the previous two decades of local evangelism and contemporary inspiration in the form of reports of Moody and Sankey in Britain.

²⁵⁹ *Southern Cross*, 29 December 1899, p. 1323.

²⁶⁰ David Bebbington, ‘How Moody Changed Revivalism’, *Christian History*, Vol. 9, issue 1, 1990, pp. 22-25.

Chapter 2: the 1870s and continuing

‘Well-meaning religious skirmishers’: international and inter-denominational speakers in or from the 1870s

The good effects of an occasional visit from men of exuberant faith, and life, and energy, and full of love of the souls of others, can hardly be over-rated...

Spectator, 7 July 1877, p. 111.

Introduction

As shown in chapter 1, there had been awareness of the movement of religious interest in Britain in the early 1870s, and Australian reliance on news from Britain bred familiarity with the better-known names. The fact that all but one of the major speakers considered by this thesis was born in the British Isles² is a forceful reminder of the continuing heavy reliance on British clergy³ or speakers in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. It is true that John MacNeil and Emilia Baeyertz had emigrated to Australia when young, but the fact remains that none was born in Australia. The lack of theological training available in Australia,⁴ and the respect for almost anything British, ensured that overseas speakers were sought or used for evangelistic campaigns, as indeed they were still for mainstream parish appointments.⁵

¹ Hobart *Mercury*, 31 January 1876, p. 2, quoting the *New York Herald*, 24 October 1875.

² The exception is George Müller, who was born in Germany and moved to England as a young man. Brief notice has been taken of the Americans Inskip (Methodist), Booth (temperance), and Yatman (YMCA).

³ I use the word ‘British’ advisedly, as four speakers were Scotch and two Anglo-Irish.

⁴ The first training college for Church of England clergy was Moore College in NSW, founded in 1856, but it was not a large institution in its early years. The Catholics continued to import many priests, mostly from Ireland, into the twentieth century, with St Patrick’s College, Manly, not opening until 1889. Other denominations were similar – for example, many Baptist pastors were recruited from Spurgeon’s College in London. The Victorian Baptist training college did not begin until the 1890s.

⁵ See Bruce Mansfield, ‘Thinking about Australian Religious History’, in Robert Withycombe (ed.), *Australian and New Zealand Religious History 1788-1988: A Collection of Papers and Addresses*, Canberra, 1988, p. 9.

In every campaign the focus was on the particular evangelist, so it is instructive to see how themes which will be considered in later chapters were reflected in microcosm in the individual evangelists. As there is a limited range of activities which can be undertaken in an evangelistic meeting (singing, prayer, preaching, possibly testimonies), the reputation, quality and personality of the speaker was paramount in order to make a series of meetings stand out and attract audiences. Indeed, this focus on the person rather than the campaign or mission reflected the Victorian cult of the hero, exemplified by the adulation given to men like Dr Livingstone or General Gordon by both secular and religious publications.⁶

As well as tours by 'big-name' evangelists, there were concerted evangelistic campaigns of various sizes within individual denominations during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, as there had been in earlier decades. The meetings held by Matthew Burnett, John Watsford, W G Taylor, Mrs Baeyertz and John MacNeil all come into this category. These campaigns kept the ideal of evangelism leading to conversion before the church-going public, and maintained a level of awareness of this methodology. These meetings in familiar surroundings helped to acclimatise church-goers and those on the fringes to the style of evangelism undertaken in the larger inter-denominational efforts.

However, although these speakers mostly took meetings within a single denomination, their appeal was much wider, and it is clear from either numbers at the meetings, reports of converts, or anecdotal evidence that attendees often came from outside that denomination. This was either because they were already well-known, or because curiosity was aroused by advertising or word-of-mouth. Thus, although the meetings cannot be called inter- or non-denominational, the evangelists merit inclusion in this thesis.

The major visitors studied in this thesis were Dr Alexander Somerville, Henry Varley, Mrs Hampson, Harry Guinness, George Clarke, George Grubb, and John

⁶ This focus has continued into the twentieth century. See Judith Smart, 'The Evangelist as Star: The Billy Graham Crusade in Australia, 1959', *Journal of Popular Culture*, Vol. 33, No. 1, Summer 1999, pp. 165–175.

McNeill. Their visits ranged between 1877 and 1894, and were complemented by more denominationally focussed speakers (Thomas Spurgeon, John Inskip, Edward Mateer and John Parker, the Mountains, Thomas Cook, Gypsy Smith), the temperance evangelists (Richard Booth, W T Glover, William Noble) and those whose ministry was mostly with existing believers (George Müller, General William Booth, Henry Drummond, Hudson Taylor).

A recurring theme of this thesis will be the influence of the foremost evangelist of the day, D L Moody. Dorsett has written, ‘it is arguable that no-one in the nineteenth century did more than Moody and Sankey to reach non-Christians, make disciples, train a new generation of home and foreign workers, and encourage others to commit their lives to gospel ministry.’⁷ Moody and Sankey’s general influence in style of meetings and music was of key importance, and several speakers had personal friendships with them. Somerville worked closely with them in Glasgow, and in a rare reversal of the trend, Varley influenced Moody. In an often-quoted incident, Varley said to Moody, ‘Moody, the world has yet to see what God will do with a man fully consecrated to Him.’ As a result of the conversation, Moody vowed to be that man.⁸ Varley remained friends with Moody and visited him in the last year of Moody’s life.⁹

Among the other major evangelists, George Clarke was converted under Moody,¹⁰ as was George Grubb.¹¹ Henry Drummond was drawn into Moody’s Scottish campaigns and remained a life-long friend – in fact, his career was altered irreversibly by this involvement.¹² The course of John McNeill’s ministry was also changed by Moody, who directly invited him to join in his work and urged him to take up full-time evangelism.¹³

⁷ Article on D L Moody in Timothy Larsen (ed.), *Biographical dictionary of evangelicals*, Leicester, England, Downers Grove, Ill., 2003, pp. 433-7.

⁸ John Pollock, *Moody without Sankey*, London, 1963, p. 94.

⁹ Henry Varley jnr., *Henry Varley’s Life-Story*, London, Glasgow, [1913], pp. 170-1.

¹⁰ See Chapter 4.

¹¹ See Chapter 4.

¹² See Chapter 4.

¹³ See Chapter 4.

Wishing to receive the benefits of Moody's actual presence, evangelicals in Australia extended several invitations to Moody, but he was never able to come. For example, George Clarke believed that he was chosen as a substitute for Moody in 1888.¹⁴ Then there was disappointment in 1892 when it became known that he and Sankey had turned down another invitation.¹⁵ The *Australian Christian World* expressed the ambivalence probably felt by many when it opined that

The unwisdom of some who have visited us in times past, as wandering stars, has compelled the churches to be cautious in encouraging sporadic missions. But Moody and Sankey would receive a universal and unhesitating welcome. Their presence would unite all sections of the Christian Church in the common work of saving souls.¹⁶

However, they felt that the churches should not rely on a 'passing mission' and overlook the 'steady toil of churches, and Sunday Schools, and undenominational Christian agencies ... the permanent means ordained of Christians' in achieving their goals. This was a frequent comment in assessments of evangelistic campaigns.

Moody was starting to think tentatively of a visit when he died suddenly in 1899, and Dr Torrey took up the challenge. It was as though in evangelism, Australians had looked to America far earlier than did the wider population socially or politically. However, Moody's enormous influence had been mediated through the successive visits of major British evangelists.

It might be thought that all evangelists share similar personality types, but this does not seem to be true. Obviously all the evangelists were more than capable of speaking confidently in public, but Varley, Grubb, Gipsy Smith and both MacNeil and McNeill were evidently extroverts, quick with repartee or amusing quips and given to extravagant statements at times. To a lesser extent this applied to Harry Guinness. Both William Booth and Varley welcomed controversy and reacted

¹⁴ *Brisbane Courier*, 8 May 1888, p. 3.

¹⁵ In Brisbane, for instance, 'a large and influential committee has been formed, including all the clergymen, to prepare for their coming, and the Monday noon-day prayer meeting at the YMCA is to be set apart for special supplication for blessings on their work.' *Australian Christian World*, 11 February 1892, p. 5.

¹⁶ *Australian Christian World*, 9 June 1896, p. 9.

pugnaciously to criticism, often seeing it as evidence that their efforts were successful enough to be attracting satanic attention. However, Somerville, Mrs Hampson, Mrs Baeyertz, and George Clarke seemed to possess steadier temperaments, and Drummond and Müller were happier in smaller and less public situations.

The evangelists involved in the big inter-denominational campaigns came from a spread of denominations. Of the major evangelists, Somerville and McNeill were Presbyterians; Mrs Hampson, Clarke, and Grubb were Church of England (although Mrs Hampson seems to have been associated with the Wesleyan Methodists by the time of her visit). Varley was fiercely independent, although linked in the popular and indeed scholarly mind with the Brethren and/or Baptists. Among the others were Brethren (Müller), independent with Brethren background and associations (Guinness, Hudson Taylor), Salvation Army (Booth), Presbyterian (Drummond), and Wesleyan (Cook and Smith).

There was a wide difference in the ages at which the evangelists came to Australia or did their major work here. Guinness and Spurgeon were in their early twenties and almost accidentally came to prominence as evangelists here, and Mateer and Parker had only just finished studying at Spurgeon's College. Mrs Baeyertz and MacNeil grew to maturity in Australia and their work and standing grew with them. Mrs Hampson, Varley, Clarke, Drummond, McNeill, Cook and Smith were all in their thirties or forties, all with an established or growing reputation in Britain. This was also the case with the temperance reformers. However, Somerville (64), Müller (81), Hudson Taylor (58) and General William Booth (61), were regarded as elder statesmen of the evangelical scene, and looked 'venerable' which was the way they were often described.¹⁷

¹⁷ In an age when the life expectancy of white males at five years (eliminating the worst of childhood diseases from the statistics) was still below sixty, this was a reasonable description. See <http://pages.uoregon.edu/maphist/english/US/US39-01.html>.

Organisation

As far as one can tell, the meetings under discussion were organised by local committees, even if some of these were fairly *ad hoc* organisations hastily gathered together at a fairly late stage. At other times, established organisations such as the Evangelistic Association of Victoria or the YMCA were involved in inviting the speaker and organising the itinerary from the beginning. In Somerville's case, the plan to send him here seems to have come from the Glasgow United Evangelistic Association,¹⁸ and Varley's visit in 1877-8 seems to have been on his own initiative in response to a general invitation. Although he had received a 'pressing and repeated invitation to spend some time in evangelistic work in Australia',¹⁹ there is almost a tone of surprise in the words of the editor of the *Southern Cross*, that 'even his personal friends ... are unaware of his coming.'²⁰ Conversely, he himself was surprised to hear that Dr Somerville would be in the colonies at much the same time.

A letter from Varley to an un-named friend gives an idea of the workings of the informal network that organised such meetings:

It would be well after waiting upon the Lord quietly to see a few of the devoted earnest men who are in sympathy with evangelistic work and seek their counsel. Perhaps the platform of the Young Men's Christian Association is best, but ... I feel no difficulty in working with all evangelical Christians. Can you make some arrangement as touching the formation of a choir? ... One of the first things I would suggest is the coming together of many brethren who believe in prayer...the evening meetings should be held in some large central building, and the afternoon Bible-readings wherever after wise consideration is deemed best. ...Then a daily prayer meeting is a most valuable adjunct, nay, I think it stands first. The Lord guide you about all these things. I shall be very glad on my arrival to see any of the ministers or brethren for prayer, welcome information and conference...²¹

¹⁸ See below.

¹⁹ Varley jnr, *Henry Varley's Life Story*, p. 121. The invitation may well have been that conveyed to him by Theo Kitchen.

²⁰ *Southern Cross*, 16 June 1877, page not noted.

²¹ *Southern Cross*, 14 July 1877, p. 1. The recipient of the letter could have been Theo Kitchen, his brother Philip Kitchen the proprietor of *Willing Work*, or Edwin Good, its editor, who may have been known to Varley through the Brethren network.

This letter exemplifies very well several themes which recur in the activities of these evangelists: cooperation with evangelicals in a non-denominational way, the use of the YMCA as a platform, the emphasis on a daily prayer meeting, and the use of music, especially Sankey's songs.²²

The really large campaigns (those of Varley, Somerville, Hampson, Guinness, Clarke, Grubb, and McNeill), and many of the smaller ones were coordinated by men from a cross-section of denominations. In chapter 1 I have shown that the revivalist sub-culture in Australia was intricately networked, and the evangelistic campaigns were but the very visible tip of the iceberg of Christian outreach activity. Darrell Paproth²³ and Stuart Piggin²⁴ make the point that, particularly in Melbourne, there was a coherent and highly motivated group of laymen and ministers who worked cooperatively and intentionally to organise outreach of this kind.

However, even where there was great respect for the preacher, the Church of England hierarchy remained at one step removed. Although not wanting to sound sectarian, Anglicans were somewhat chary of the whole notion of conversion, and generally thought that their own church was the right one for the nurture of new or renewed Christians.²⁵ Nevertheless, individual Church of England ministers, such as H B Macartney jnr. of Melbourne and T B Tress in Sydney, were not prevented from taking part in evangelistic meetings, and these two in particular were indeed pivotal to their organisation.

²² In a part of this paragraph omitted, Varley says that he is bringing 10,000 copies of word books of Sankey's latest edition. See chapter 6.

²³ Darrell Paproth, 'Henry Varley and the Melbourne Evangelicals', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 25, No. 2, June 2001, esp. pp. 182, and 185-6.

²⁴ Stuart Piggin, '“Not a little holy club”: lay and clerical leadership on Australian Anglican Evangelicalism, 1788-1988', in W J Sheils and Diana Wood (eds.), *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay, Papers read at the 1988 Summer Meeting and the 1989 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Oxford, 1989, esp. pp.376-7.

²⁵ Moorhouse, the Bishop of Melbourne, wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury of his misgivings of revival meetings, saying that despite this, 'I have resolved ... to go in the platform and support them if they come into my district; so that I may give help where I can, and direct penitents to the fold where I believe they will find the best shepherding of their souls'. Quoted in Janice Holmes, *Religious Revivals in Britain and Ireland 1859-1905*, Dublin, 2000, p. 87.

The remarkable and, as far as I can tell, unique united communion service²⁶ which constituted Dr Somerville's last meeting in Melbourne elicited these reservations in print. Although, as a columnist wrote, 'We share unreservedly in the longing for union', he also stated that 'We stand in the Church of England for an order of ministry and an order of worship, and it is not in the Holy Communion of all services that we may discredit the witness and teaching of our own church by accepting ... an insufficient ministry and an attenuated office.' He said this was not meant in 'churlish disparagement' of a reportedly 'solemn and joyous' occasion, but as an explanation of why the clergy in general felt unable to respond to the invitation to be part of such a service.²⁷

The preparation for George Clarke's meetings in the centenary year of 1888 was a good example of the co-operation possible at the widest possible level. In July 1883, just after Mrs Hampson's campaign, the United Evangelistic Committee (UEC) had been revitalised as the Evangelisation Society of Victoria, with a large (28 member) and widely representative committee.²⁸ It was a united and determined body with long-term goals for evangelism to the non-church-going population. As well as employing evangelists who carried out missions around the state, it decided to instigate a mission in the state during Australia's centenary year, which would link to the Centennial Exhibition. As Paproth notes, 'This was not to be a short, sharp campaign, but one spread over half the year ... in Melbourne ... the suburbs ... and country centres.'²⁹ At the annual meeting in December 1887, it was reported that Clarke was the proposed speaker for the Centennial Mission,³⁰ and Clarke's mission overall was a combination of week-long missions in Churches of England, and larger public meetings.

²⁶ Macartney had instigated such a service at the first conference for Christians in 1874 at Caulfield, but it does not seem to have been repeated. See above, chapter 1, and Hussey Burgh Macartney [jnr.] (ed.), *Conference Addresses delivered at St. Mary's Caulfield by ministers and laymen of different denominations July 1874*, Melbourne, 1874, p. 86.

²⁷ *Church of England Messenger*, 10 August 1878, p. 3.

²⁸ Darrell Paproth, 'The 1888 Centennial Mission in Victoria', *Lucas*, No. 1, Autumn 2009, p. 35. Members came from all the major Protestant groups – Church of England, Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Brethren – except the Salvation Army and possibly the Church of Christ. Its successor is still in existence as ESA Country Ministries: see <http://www.esa.org.au/index.html>. See Robert Evans, *The Evangelisation Society of Australasia: The First Thirty-Five Years, 1883-1918*, Hazelbrook, 2010.

²⁹ Paproth, '1888 Centennial Mission', p. 37.

³⁰ *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad*, Dec. 1887, pp. 184-5.

Harry Guinness' meetings came about more opportunistically. Mrs Henry Reed, a forceful (and wealthy) woman dedicated to the revivalist cause, was a friend of his parents, as Henry Reed had been, and may well have intended his visit for family reasons to become an evangelistic opportunity. She certainly recognised that his youth, qualifications, and personality would make him an attractive proposition on the platform, and she also seems to have hoped for and worked towards a marriage between him and one of her daughters.³¹

In any event, once the ball started rolling with local meetings in Launceston at the Reeds' Christian Mission Church, and then in Hobart, word spread among the evangelical network of which the Reeds were so much a part, and the visit was prolonged over eighteen months from May 1885 to November 1886. In some places he spoke on behalf of the YMCA,³² in others with the support of local clergy or a lay committee. A good example of how this worked may be seen in the memoirs of Lockhart Morton, then a minister in Ballarat.³³ A friend told him of Guinness' successful mission in Melbourne, and, after some unspecified difficulties were overcome, 'a large and representative committee was formed' in Ballarat, which organised the meetings.³⁴

In Grubb's visits we see the direct link with the revivalist/evangelical scene in Britain. Up to this point, the annual Keswick convention for the promotion of holiness had hesitated to send out its own missionaries, but after the committee put out feelers to ascertain whether such emissaries would be acceptable, money was put towards this end. Grubb's first mission was largely church-based (as was the second), but made an impact on those who heard the missionaries' message of surrender to Christ and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. This resulted in a further invitation for the following year, and the team were often referred to as Keswick missionaries.

³¹ Michele Guinness, *The Guinness Legend*, London, 1989, pp. 168-174. He married Annie Reed.

³² e.g. Brisbane: 'conducting an evangelistic mission under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association', *Courier*, 10 July 1886, p. 5.

³³ As well as his work as a rescue missionary of down and out men affected by alcohol, he was also an inaugural member of the first China Inland Mission (CIM) Council, and founded an institution in Adelaide to train missionaries. He was a close friend of H B Macartney. See David Parker, 'William Lockhart Morton', *ADEB*.

³⁴ W L Morton, *Drifting Wreckage*, London, [1913], p. 3.

In the case of John McNeill's meetings in 1894, it is not clear exactly who undertook the obvious organisation that must have gone into such enormous meetings – booking venues, organising ushers, choir, song books, etc. He was described in the press as being on a world tour, and in Melbourne, for example, he was reported as being there 'probably for several weeks to come',³⁵ which does not imply a strict timetable. There he was personally welcomed on arrival by the moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly, which was probably seen as fitting, but as someone whose fame 'overleaps denominational boundaries'³⁶ he met with 'representative clergymen' of the Presbyterian, Anglican, Wesleyan, Congregational, and Baptist churches that afternoon, and a similar spread of local ministers were on the platform at his welcome that evening.³⁷ A number of these ministers and probably laymen obviously banded together as a committee, as the *Southern Cross* was critical of the 'committee in charge' for choosing too small a building for the meetings.³⁸ The paper said they were 'utterly mistaken', and correctly predicted that the Town Hall would not suffice – in the end, after moving there, the meetings finished in the vast Exhibition Building. There is no surviving evidence that the Evangelisation Society had a formal hand in the organisation, as they had for George Clarke, for example. In Sydney, 'it was decided not to conduct the Mission on Presbyterian lines but to entrust the arrangements to the Minister's [sic] Association.'³⁹ Underlying these comments is the implied existence of a network whose members were in regular contact with each other.

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³⁵ *Argus*, 21 July 1894, p. 7.

³⁶ *Southern Cross*, 13 July 1894, p. 554.

³⁷ *Argus*, 21 July 1894, p. 7.

³⁸ *Southern Cross*, 13 July 1894, p. 554.

³⁹ *Australian Christian World*, 12 July 1894, p. 3.

1877-9: 'Proselytising evangelists'?⁴⁰

Dr Alexander N Somerville

The year 1877 saw the first real waves of what Stuart Piggin has termed the 'spiritual floodtide'⁴¹ which flowed from Moody and Sankey's work in England. It began with the Rev. Alexander N. Somerville (1813-1889), a Free Church minister from Scotland who had been a close friend of Robert Murray McCheyne, the loved and famous minister who had died young in 1843.⁴² Somerville had undertaken both successful parish work, and overseas mission work in several countries, and had been involved with Moody and Sankey's campaign in Glasgow.⁴³ Just before he left, he was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity by Glasgow University.⁴⁴ In Australia he was consistently referred to as Dr Somerville.

Somerville's visit was very much the outcome of heady years of the mid-1870s, and was the initiative of the Glasgow United Evangelistic Association (UEA). A report of the proceedings of the Glasgow Presbytery indicated that a deputation from almost all the evangelical denominations of Glasgow asked Somerville to relinquish his ministerial charge and go and preach to English-speaking peoples in foreign lands. Their motivation was 'the desire that that wave of spiritual blessing which has recently bathed our own shores should sweep round the globe, so that our country men in far distant lands might come under its influence.'⁴⁵ This quite explicit aim was backed up by their donation of £2000 so that Somerville's travel costs would be covered.⁴⁶ This certainly underlines the sincerity of the Glasgow UEA, as it is possible to view this move to export Somerville as an admission of

⁴⁰ *NSW Independent*, 15 October 1878, p. 9.

⁴¹ Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia*, Melbourne, 1996, p. 57.

⁴² Michael D McMullen, 'McCheyne, Robert Murray (1813-1843)', *ODNB*.

⁴³ E I Carlyle, 'Somerville, Alexander Neil (1813-1889)', rev. Lionel Alexander Ritchie, *ODNB*. The only biography of Somerville is George Smith, *A modern apostle: Alexander Somerville DD, 1813-1889, in Glasgow, Scotland, and Ireland; India and America; Australasia and Austral-Africa; Spain, France, and Italy; Germany and Russia; Greece and Turkey; Austro-Hungary and Slavonia*, London, 1890.

⁴⁴ Carlyle, rev. L A Ritchie, 'Somerville, Alexander Neil', *ODNB*.

⁴⁵ *Southern Cross*, 9 June 1877, p. 1.

⁴⁶ *Southern Cross*, 2 June 1877, p. 1, 9 June 1877, p. 1.

the dying down of revival interest in Glasgow. It is notable that theirs was not a 'missionary' vision, but one of sharing revival blessings with other Britons.



REV. A. N. SOMERVILLE, D.D.

12: Dr Somerville: an etching published in Melbourne in 1878, possibly based on a current photograph.⁴⁷

At 64, Alexander Somerville was one of the oldest speakers to come to Australia,⁴⁸ a fact that was constantly commented upon. His endurance and vitality for such a long tour of constant meetings was indeed remarkable, and it is not surprising that he suffered a serious illness in his last month in Australia.⁴⁹ His white hair seemed to confer respectability and trustworthiness upon him, which is a comment in itself on the susceptibilities of his observers. Descriptions such as

⁴⁷ Etching reproduced in *Words of Grace*, October 1878, p. 5.

⁴⁸ Only George Müller was older.

⁴⁹ He had to cancel attendance at some meetings. See for example *Willing Work*, 18 July 1878, p. 238.

‘this worthy and venerable man, who has ... reverend looking long white curls’⁵⁰ were common. A Tasmanian Presbyterian writer summed up this attitude well: ‘the venerable appearance of the preacher was such as at once to inspire trust in him and respect for his sayings.’⁵¹ However, his personality does not come across as vividly as those of some of the subsequent evangelists. Perhaps because of the respect in which he was held, reporters did not attempt the more dispassionate analyses which were published about later evangelists.

With his son Frank, who accompanied him as the harmonium player and choirmaster for the meetings (in much the same role as Sankey undertook for Moody), Somerville arrived in Melbourne on 22 June 1877 on the *Bangalore*.⁵² After initial welcoming meetings in various churches, he took large interdenominational meetings in the Temperance Hall, soon moving to the Town Hall for many of the night meetings. These meetings continued until their culmination in a ‘Christian Convention’ on 19 July,⁵³ after which he went to Ballarat, Ararat, Stawell, Geelong, Maryborough, Castlemaine, and Sandhurst (Bendigo) in a non-stop tour from then until the end of August. Ballarat, Geelong and Sandhurst had nine days each; most of the others, two days. The Somervilles then left for Sydney, travelling overland, arriving on 5 September.⁵⁴

The Somervilles were in Sydney until early October, before going on to Brisbane for meetings beginning 10 October. After three weeks there, they went to Toowoomba and Ipswich for a couple of days each, and then returned to Sydney, where the United Evangelistic Committee organised a Christian Conference on 15 November.⁵⁵ The last two towns visited in NSW were Bathurst from 18 November, and Orange from 25-28 November. The Somervilles then sailed for New Zealand where they spent the next five months, traversing the entire country

⁵⁰ *Argus*, 7 December 1877, p. 7.

⁵¹ *Tasmanian Presbyterian Magazine and Missionary Record*, July 1877, p. 25.

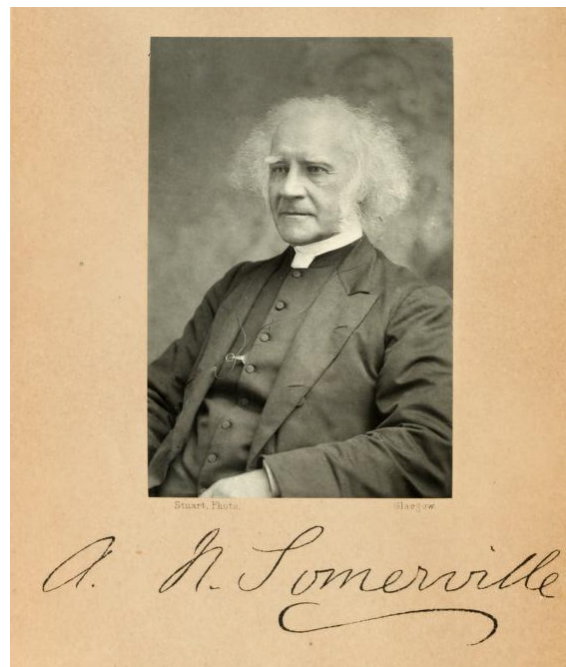
⁵² Public Record Office of Victoria, Index to Unassisted Inward Passenger Lists to Victoria 1852-1923, under ‘Rev. Dr’ and ‘Son’.

⁵³ Detailed report in *Southern Cross*, 28 July 1877, pp. 2-3.

⁵⁴ See Appendix A for details of dates spent in the various locations.

⁵⁵ *Australian Witness and Presbyterian Herald*, 24 November 1877, p. 2: ‘Dr Somerville arrived punctually at the hour appointed, accompanied by his son. Both had the evening before arrived from Brisbane, and the venerated Christian had suffered severely from mal de mer. His usual elasticity of mind and vigour of action were still apparent.’

and returning to Australia via Tasmania in June 1878, taking meetings in Hobart for a week and Launceston for a few days.



13: Dr Alexander Somerville – a later photograph. His long white hair is still evident.⁵⁶

Returning to Melbourne on 29 June, Dr Somerville spent the next month encouraging Christians – chairing the noon-day prayer meetings, speaking to Christian workers and women as to effective forms of outreach – before his visit culminated in an enormous united communion service (an unprecedented event in the 1870s) in Melbourne Town Hall on Thursday 1 August. He was able to preside at it although he had been seriously ill for the previous three weeks.⁵⁷ He and his son then left for Sydney, accompanied by Mr R Scott and C Edwin Good,⁵⁸ on 6 August.⁵⁹ He only attended one noon-day prayer meeting there before

⁵⁶ Frontispiece photograph in *Precious Seed sown in many lands, Sermons by the late A N Somerville*, London, 1890. Digitised at <http://www.archive.org/details/preciousseedsown00some>.

⁵⁷ *Southern Cross*, 3 August 1878, p. 1.

⁵⁸ Both men were associated with the Brethren. The seemingly indefatigable C Edwin Good was the secretary of the United Evangelistic Committee, accompanied Dr Somerville on his country missions, took some overflow meetings, organised the communion service, and was also the editor of the quasi-Brethren periodical *Willing Work*. It seems likely that he was the Charles Edwin Good who was born in London in 1845 (Stepney district, Jul-Sept quarter, Vol. 2, p. 692); was listed in the 1871 census as living with his parents William and Ellen and eight adult siblings in Islington East, many engaged in their father's rope manufactory; helped Moody and Sankey with their meetings; emigrated to Victoria in January 1876 on the *St Osyth* (Public Record Office Victoria, Index to Unassisted Inward Passenger Lists to Victoria 1852-1923, fiche 341, pp. 001 and

they sailed for America on 15 August. Friends in a chartered steamer following the ship to the Heads, singing such hymns as ‘There’ll be no parting’ and ‘Farewell faithful friends.’⁶⁰

Somerville travelled home through America, and for the remaining years of his life conducted evangelistic meetings in European countries, Russia, South Africa, and western Asia. Many of these were directed at British expatriates, but there was often interest from English-speaking locals. His meetings were regularly reported in religious and even secular newspapers in Australia, often taken from overseas sources.⁶¹ Active to the last, his ‘nondenominational approach did not prevent him’ from becoming moderator of the Free Church of Scotland General Assembly in 1886.⁶² He died in 1889.⁶³

005); established a mission hall in NSW (*Southern Cross*, editorial 10 August 1878, p. 1); married Sarah Cowie Scott, Robert Scott’s daughter, in 1882 (Victorian marriage registers 1882/2345); had three children with her (Victorian Pioneer and Federation Indexes); and died in Buninyong, Victoria, in 1895 aged 50 (register entry 1895/12405).

⁵⁹ *Southern Cross*, 10 August 1878, p. 3.

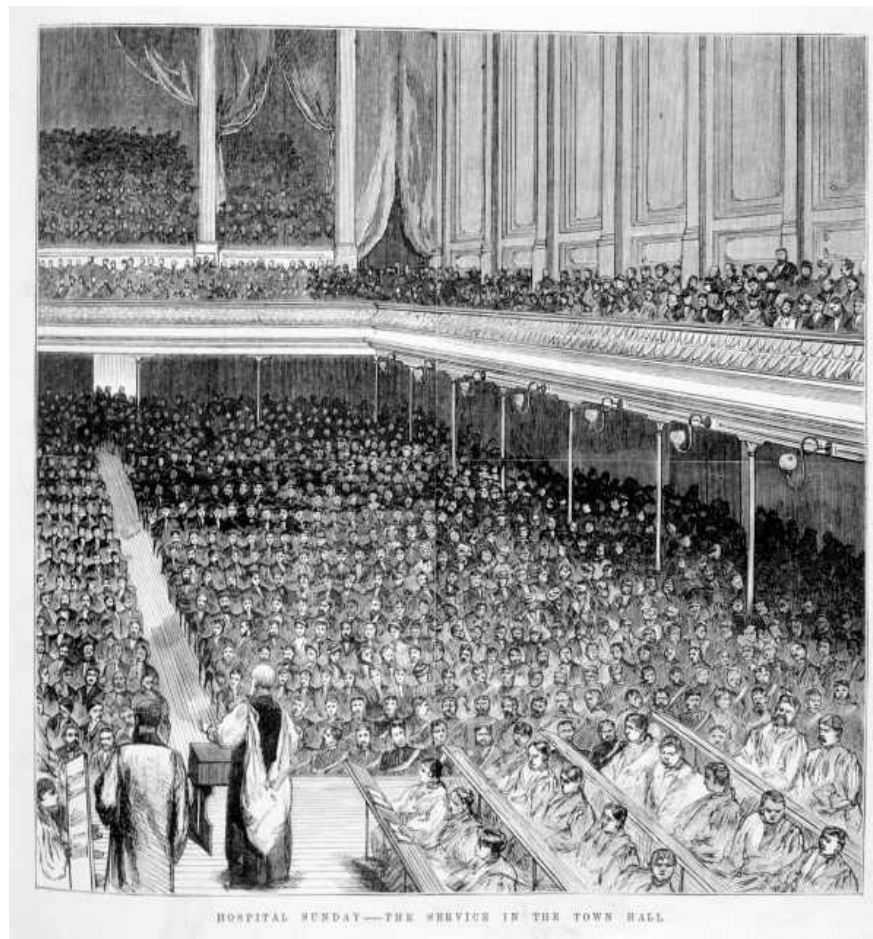
⁶⁰ *Southern Cross*, 24 August 1878, p. 3. The hymns are numbers 111 and 97 respectively in the early edition of Sankey’s *Sacred Songs and Solos*. The first verse of 111 reads:

Farewell, faithful friends, we must now bid adieu
To those joys and pleasures we’ve tasted with you;
We’ve laboured together, united in heart,
But now we must close, and soon we must part.

⁶¹ For example, there was an interesting account of his meetings in Germany in 1881 in the *Southern Cross*, 2 April 1881, p. 2. It had come from a German newspaper via the *Glasgow Daily News*. It showed that the Germans were a little bemused by Somerville.

⁶² E I Carlyle, rev. L A Ritchie, ‘Somerville, Alexander Neil’ in *ODNB*.

⁶³ Most Australian religious newspapers and some secular ones carried obituaries.



14: A view of the Melbourne Town Hall in 1880, which gives an impression of what it would have looked like for the united communion service.⁶⁴

Henry Varley

Overlapping with Somerville's visit was the first tour by well-known English evangelist Henry Varley (1835-1912).⁶⁵ Forced to leave home at eleven, he had worked his way up to owning his own business as a butcher. Experiencing an evangelical conversion in his teens, and succeeding in business in a short stay in Geelong during the gold rush, he quickly became financially secure enough to

⁶⁴ Hospital Sunday – The Service in the Town Hall. Shows crowded Town Hall with Bishop Moorhouse delivering the address. Accession number(s): IAN06/11/80/193. Date(s) of creation: November 6, 1880. *Illustrated Australian News*.

⁶⁵ See D M Lewis, revised Timothy C F Stunt, 'Varley, Henry' in *ODNB*; Varley jnr, *Henry Varley's Life Story*; Darrell Paproth, 'Henry Varley and the Melbourne Evangelicals', *Journal of Religious History* Vol. 25 No. 2, June 2001, pp. 173-187; Darrell Paproth, 'Henry Varley Down Under' Part I, *Lucas* No. 30, June 2001, pp. 34-68; D Paproth, 'Henry Varley', in Larsen (ed.), *Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals*, pp. 684-5.

leave butchering and preach full-time. Varley became the pastor of an independent 'tabernacle' in Notting Hill, London, attracting regular congregations of 1,000-2,000. Widening his ministry, he preached with success in the UK, USA and Canada.⁶⁶ Always a restless individual, and with independent means, Varley developed a virtually peripatetic preaching ministry. At the time of his visit to Australia, he was almost as famous as Moody.⁶⁷



15: Henry Varley as people saw him in Melbourne in 1877.⁶⁸

Varley arrived in Melbourne in July 1877, with his wife Sarah and two younger sons.⁶⁹ The same type of meetings developed as with Somerville, but the prior

⁶⁶ There are frequent mentions in his own words and in the literature of his having spoken to 20,000 people in the Hippodrome in New York: for example, Varley jnr., *Henry Varley's Life-Story*, p. 118. Edgar Goodspeed, in *A Full History of the Wonderful Career of Moody and Sankey, in Britain and America*, London, Ontario, 1876, p. 386, quotes a report to the effect that 15,000 crowded the building on a wintry night for the opening of Varley's meetings, with 'multitudes unable to gain entrance'.

⁶⁷ 'His name is scarcely less familiar with the Christian community than that of Mr Moody, for Mr Varley's labours in London, New York, etc, have been crowned with wonderful success.' *Weekly Advocate*, 11 August 1877, p. 151, quoting from the *Spectator*, 4 August 1877, p. 185.

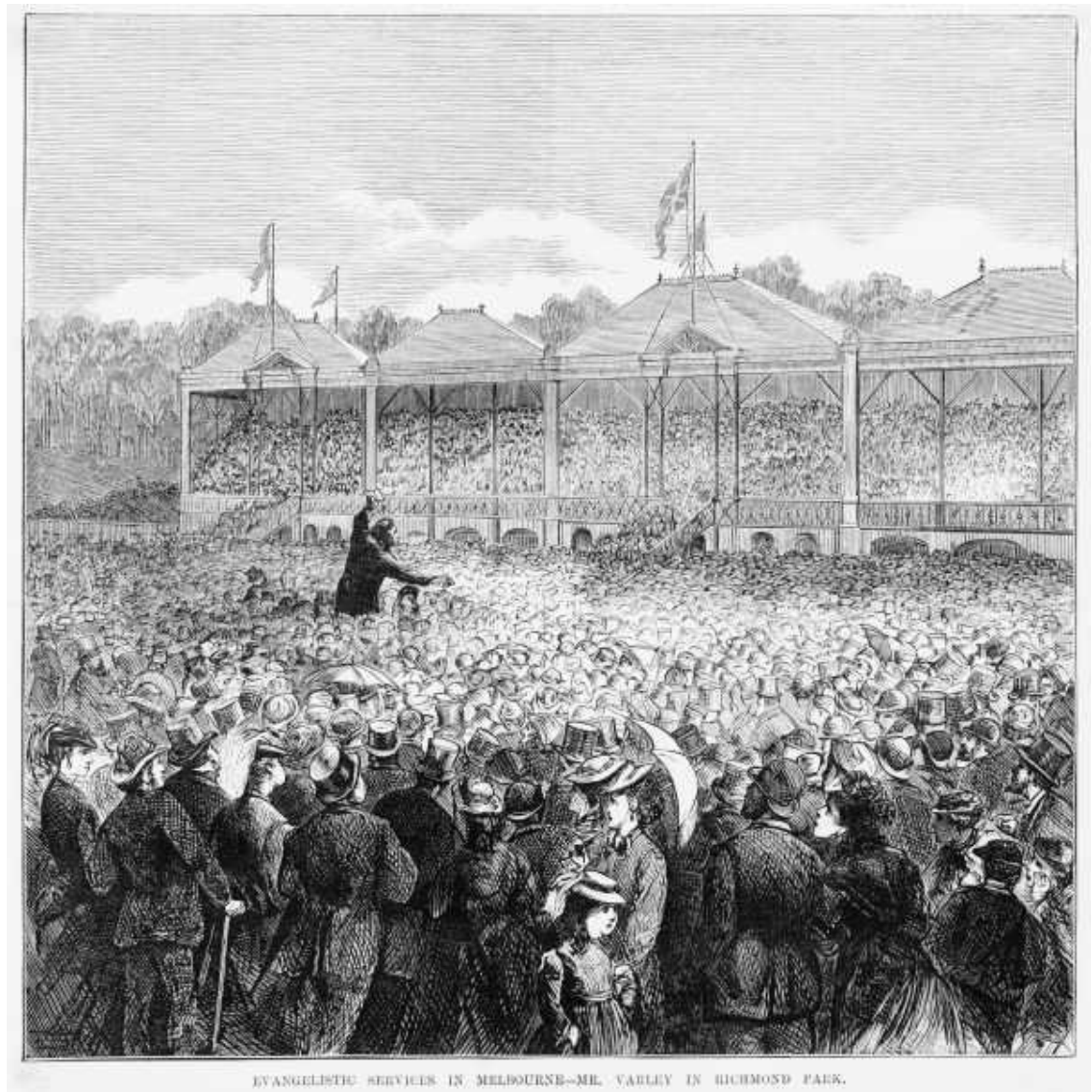
⁶⁸ Robert Stewart, photographer, Melbourne: One carte photograph of Mr. Henry Varley, 1877. State Library of Victoria, Accession number: H96.160/47. Call number: PIC LTAF 980

organisation was less prescriptive. Varley benefited from the processes and personnel already in place for Somerville's meetings, as the meetings almost overlapped. Varley planned an indefinite stay, so the program was not so intense. There were meetings in some of the bigger city churches, and a series of meetings in the Melbourne Town Hall. He held a service in front of the grandstand at the Richmond Paddock,⁷⁰ at which the Methodist *Spectator* estimated there were 10,000 present.⁷¹

⁶⁹ PROV, Index of Inward Passenger Lists for British, Foreign and New Zealand Ports 1852-1923, fiche no 352, p. 002.

⁷⁰ Now the Melbourne Cricket Ground.

⁷¹ *Spectator*, 22 September 1877, p. 248. See illustration.



16: Henry Varley's open air meeting at the Richmond Park⁷²

⁷² Evangelistic services in Melbourne – Mr. Varley in Richmond Park, October 3, 1877. print: wood engraving. State Library of Victoria, Accession Number: IAN03/10/77/145. Image Number: mp002679.

Varley continued to hold Sunday evening meetings in the Town Hall, with conjoint series of meetings in neighbouring suburbs – Sandridge (Port Melbourne), Collingwood, Prahran, Fitzroy, South Yarra, Brunswick, Carlton.⁷³ On Melbourne Cup Day he organised a rival activity, an excursion to and picnic at Brighton. Special trains were run for the approximately 10,000 people who attended. Despite the slightly inclement weather, Varley and others addressed the crowd (Varley for about an hour!), Sankey's songs were sung, and games were played.⁷⁴ The secular press reported the event with some bemusement, but not particularly negatively.⁷⁵

Varley's denunciation of the 'social evil' (immorality, in particular prostitution) was fearless or provocative, depending on one's point of view. It led to a public furore and his briefly being banned from using the Town Hall.⁷⁶ His criticisms of the clergy had also led to some disillusionment among the wider Christian public, and by the end of 1877 his main support base came from the Baptists, Brethren and those Anglican evangelicals like Macartney (jnr.) who were part of the revivalist sub-culture. He had been recommended by an English friend of Macartney as 'no sectarian ... [he] would ... rather cut off his right hand than weaken, by the introduction of denominational differences, any who are doing the Master's work',⁷⁷ but he committed a major ecclesiastical *faux pas* in February 1878 when he publicly baptised about 120 converts at St Kilda beach, assisted by Harrison Ord and Captain Probert.⁷⁸ This was interpreted by most commentators as showing his true colours as a closet member of the Brethren, and was widely and bitterly criticised.

After this Varley temporarily retired from the fray to Tasmania, where he stayed with the Reeds at Mount Pleasant.⁷⁹ In March he held meetings in Launceston,

⁷³ *Willing Work*, 1877, passim.

⁷⁴ *Willing Work* 10 November 1877, p. 26.

⁷⁵ E.g. *Argus*, 7 November 1877, p. 6.

⁷⁶ See chapter 7.

⁷⁷ *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad*, July 1876, p. 99. The recommendation came from A S Blackwood.

⁷⁸ For Harrison Ord see chapter 1. Captain Probert's name crops up in connection with meetings at the Assembly Hall, such as conferences, in correspondence, and in a list compiled by Alan Dyer of members of that assembly.

⁷⁹ For Henry Reed, see Chapter 1.

whose evangelistic effect was probably overshadowed by the storm he aroused when he publicly ‘named’ a local brewer and property owner (and Presbyterian elder), John Fawns, as tacitly responsible for immoral trade being carried on in one of his hotels.⁸⁰ A somewhat apprehensive Christian public, and wary newspapermen, awaited him in Hobart, but in the end the meetings, going into April, were a success from the point of view of crowds and converts.⁸¹ He also travelled to some country areas (among them Franklin and Deloraine) for meetings that lingered in the rural evangelical memory.⁸²

After a brief stay in Melbourne, Varley went to Adelaide. Again, the Fawns controversy had preceded him, but Adelaide ministers were relieved to experience nothing equivalent, and were overflowing in their praise by the end of the campaign, which lasted from June to August: ‘Two months labour had induced them to have implicit and perfect confidence in him as a man of God.’⁸³ Indeed, they wished that he could stay longer, or that he would return.⁸⁴ After another short sojourn in Melbourne, which had become his base, Varley launched himself on Sydney in October and November 1878. This was more of a challenge without the initial support of something like the Melbourne United Evangelistic Association. Varley inveighed against unsympathetic ministers, even though he had specifically stated his desire for independence. One meeting was advertised as his account of the stance he had taken on moral issues in Tasmania and Victoria – one feels that it might have been a ploy to boost failing numbers.⁸⁵

Following in Somerville’s steps, from Sydney Varley went to New Zealand, where he toured both islands over the summer months (December to February).

⁸⁰ See chapter 7.

⁸¹ See reports in the *Mercury*: 22 March 1878, ‘crowded’; 23 March 1878, p. 2, ‘crowded’; 25 March 1878, p. 2, ‘about eight hundred persons were present’; 26 March 1878, p. 2, ‘another crowded audience’; 28 March 1878, ‘not such a large attendance’; 29 March 1878, ‘a very large attendance’; 30 March 1878, ‘about seven hundred persons’; 6 April 1878, p. 2, ‘a large attendance again last night’; 8 April 1878, p. 2, ‘crowded yesterday afternoon’.

⁸² See Alan Dyer, *God was Their Rock*, Sheffield, Tas., 1974, pp. 18-21.

⁸³ *Willing Work*, 9 August 1878, p. 259.

⁸⁴ *Southern Cross*, (from *South Australian Advertiser*), 17 August 1878, p. 2.

⁸⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 October 1878, p. 1. A report the next day said that he ‘took occasion towards the close to refer to certain telegrams of a damaging character which some time since appeared in the Sydney papers respecting him from correspondents in Victoria and Tasmania, explaining some and refuting others; and asked as many present as deemed his explanation to be satisfactory to signify the same by a show of hands. A unanimous exhibition of hands was the response...’ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 October 1878, p. 5.

He returned to Melbourne via Tasmania, and there was a large meeting in April in the Town Hall to farewell him and present him with a purse of sovereigns.⁸⁶

Varley returned to Australia in the late 1880s and, as some of his family were here, Melbourne became a base. He was active in Tasmania, Melbourne, Adelaide, and Sydney until the mid-1890s, although his most notable effort was his crusade against vice in Melbourne in late 1890.⁸⁷ Paproth argues that, despite his hard-hitting style, orthodox evangelical theology, and recognition in the community, his independent streak and willingness to offend meant that he did not have the full support of the Melbourne evangelical leadership.⁸⁸ His vituperation when opposed or even teased did not endear him to people either.⁸⁹ As one reporter wrote, 'But how God's honour is to be jealously vindicated by fearful epithets ... puzzles me.'⁹⁰ He undertook several preaching tours in the United States throughout the 1890s,⁹¹ and eventually died in England in 1912.

Thomas Spurgeon

Manley says, 'To be a Baptist meant a commitment to evangelism, and for most this meant a commitment to the ideas and practices of revivalism.'⁹² Despite being a small denomination, Baptists were therefore heavily involved in most of the interdenominational missions being studied. They had a close affinity with Henry Varley, or perhaps vice versa,⁹³ and W R Hiddlestone conducted effective

⁸⁶ *Southern Cross*, 19 April 1879, p. 3

⁸⁷ See Chapter 7.

⁸⁸ Paproth, 'Henry Varley and the Melbourne Evangelicals', esp. pp. 182-4.

⁸⁹ For example, when Launceston columnist 'Tommy Trot' made reference to an 'itinerant gospeller' who filled up a donated blank cheque for £750, Varley took it personally, threatened a libel suit, demanded and got a retraction and apology from both journalist and proprietor, and spent parts of several meetings, even in different towns, rehashing the story and pouring scorn on the journalist with vehemence, rudeness and name-calling. See *Launceston Examiner*, 4 March 1891, Supplement p. 1; 23 March 1891, p. 3; 25 March 1891, p. 1; 27 March 1891, p. 3; 28 March 1891, p. 3; 1 April 1891, p. 3; 2 May 1891, Supplement p. 1. The whole matter seems to have resulted in 'Tommy Trot's' retirement from journalism: *Launceston Examiner*, 17 July 1891, p. 4.

⁹⁰ *Launceston Examiner*, 1 April 1891, p. 3.

⁹¹ Reports of these meetings, and indeed letters from him giving his impressions of America, regularly appeared in the *Christian*, and sporadically in the *Southern Cross* and *Australian Christian World*.

⁹² Ken Manley, *From Woolloomooloo to 'Eternity': A History of Australian Baptists*, Volume One, Milton Keynes, 2006, p. 221.

⁹³ Varley was independent, but was a close friend of C H Spurgeon, and often took meetings in Baptist churches. He practised believer's baptism by immersion, which aligned him with either Baptists or Brethren.

missions in various places in the 1870s and 80s as well as pastoring his own growing churches in three states.⁹⁴ But as far as itinerant evangelists were concerned, the 'name' that attracted attention was Thomas Spurgeon (1856-1917)⁹⁵, who turned 21 in his first year here.



17: Thomas Spurgeon in Victoria, c. 1878⁹⁶

He was the twin son of the world-renowned English Baptist preacher Charles Spurgeon and he arrived in Melbourne in September 1877 for his health, not to

⁹⁴ Manley, *From Woolloomooloo to 'Eternity'*, p. 216.

⁹⁵ W D Fullerton, *Thomas Spurgeon: A Biography*, London etc, 1919 and Craig Skinner, *Lamplighter and Son*, Nashville, 1984 are the two biographies. Fullerton's is the classic late-Victorian Christian biography, based on family papers, by one who was a friend of the family and who also wrote C H Spurgeon's biography; Skinner's seeks to show a real person, by use of dialogue and imagined scenes, but falls between the stools of good biography and historical novel.

⁹⁶ *Words of Grace*, October 1878, p. 29. Bardwell was a Ballarat photographer, some of whose photographs can be seen on the website of the State Library of Victoria. The photograph from which this etching was taken does not seem to be there, even as an unknown subject.

preach.⁹⁷ However, upon the colonials discovering, as his father wrote jocularly to a friend in Geelong, that he could ‘preach a bit’,⁹⁸ he was rapidly taken up by Australian Baptists and spent the next fifteen months responding to invitations in all the eastern states and South Australia.

Although his meetings were organised through the Baptist churches, and gave that denomination both publicity and some growth, they were often held in public buildings such as Mechanics’ Institutes or Town Halls because the drawing power of his surname was likely to attract crowds bigger than would fit in local churches, with many of the audience coming from other denominations. After three months in Victoria, he spent eight weeks in Adelaide and surrounds from mid-November, proceeding on to Tasmania where he was a house-guest of the Gibsons with Varley, a close friend of his father.⁹⁹ After a time of recuperation, he also took meetings in the main two cities (more in Launceston than Hobart) and other smaller centres such as Deloraine, Longford, Perth, and Chudleigh, where there were Baptist sympathisers, and took part in a Christians’ Conference organised by Varley on 30 April.¹⁰⁰ He was reported as having ‘preached a most impressive sermon ... [and been] listened to with great attention throughout.’¹⁰¹ He then went, via Melbourne, to Queensland, where again he addressed large congregations to some acclaim, mostly in Baptist churches but sometimes in other denominations. He was often used as a guest and drawcard for Sunday School anniversaries and openings of new buildings.

⁹⁷ He had chronic asthma and a tendency to bronchitis. See *Victorian Freeman*, December 1879 (page not noted): ‘What with continued moisture and weak lungs, I have been compelled to give up preaching [back in the UK] ... Australian sunbeams must have another try to put me to rights ...’

⁹⁸ Fullerton, *Spurgeon*, p. 62.

⁹⁹ Skinner, *Lamplighter*, pp. 42-3. William and Mary Gibson were wealthy pastoralists who were significant encouragers and benefactors of the Baptist cause in Tasmania. See *ADEB*, pp. 125-6, and Skinner, *Lamplighter*, pp. 40-41. This latter account is not always accurate – for example, the dates of Mrs Gibson’s conversion do not fit with Charles’ Spurgeon’s career. Laurie Rowston, ‘Spurgeon’s Men: The Resurgence of Baptist Belief and Practice in Tasmania, 1869-1884’, MA thesis, University of Tasmania, 2011, p. 37, makes it clear that she was heavily influenced by Spurgeon’s writings, rather than actually converted through him.

¹⁰⁰ *Launceston Examiner*, April and May 1878, passim.

¹⁰¹ *Launceston Examiner*, 1 May 1878, p. 2.

The appeal of his surname, ‘the magic name’,¹⁰² was enough to draw the crowds; his father was revered not only by Baptists but by thousands of others who read his sermons every week in local newspapers.¹⁰³ Any other young man with no reputation would only have been a temporary visiting novelty from the homeland. But Thomas’s hearers, who ‘welcomed [him] for his father’s sake and liked [him] for his own’,¹⁰⁴ were pleasantly surprised by his presentation, considering his youth and lack of training, and were prepared to allow him some leeway on account of this. A South Australian report said that he ‘modestly, but with some truth, ascribes the large audiences to his being the son of his honoured father.’¹⁰⁵

He evidently gained confidence as the number of meetings grew and he found himself enjoying them. His potential was hinted at in such comments as ‘The address ... gave promise ... of the future power and usefulness of the speaker’,¹⁰⁶ and ‘Mr Spurgeon is but a young man, but promises to make a powerful speaker. His expression is pleasing, and his enunciation clear and distinct, and he ... kept the attention of all present fixed on him.’¹⁰⁷ Critiques of his sermons were gentle; for example, the *Methodist Journal* wrote that his voice carried well, and that

Mr Spurgeon has made a good start ... and as years and experience are given him, we shall be surprised if the pardonable crudities of youth do not give place to the development of a vigorous style, a good intellectual grasp and a liberal measure of originality.¹⁰⁸

He was recalled home by the serious illness of his mother, reaching the UK in November 1878, where he started to undergo theological training.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰² Thomas Spurgeon’s phrase, in a report printed in *The Sword and Trowel*, 1878, p. 306, quoted in Ken R. Manley, ‘“The Magic Name”’: Charles Haddon Spurgeon and the evangelical ethos of Australian Baptists, Part 1’, *Baptist Quarterly*, Vol. 40, No. 3, July 2003, p. 174.

¹⁰³ Manley, ‘Magic Name’, p. 176.

¹⁰⁴ The *Moonta Advertiser*, quoted in Fullerton, *Thomas Spurgeon*, p. 65. In another example, a correspondent (D Wright from the YMCA) from New Zealand later said that he was well-received in Dunedin for his own and his father’s sake. *The Christian*, 21 July 1881, p. 556.

¹⁰⁵ *Words of Grace*, 5 January 1878, p. 147.

¹⁰⁶ *Launceston Examiner*, 3 May 1878, p. 2.

¹⁰⁷ *Launceston Examiner*, 18 June 1878, p. 2.

¹⁰⁸ *Methodist Journal*, quoted in Fullerton, *Thomas Spurgeon*, p. 64.

¹⁰⁹ Fullerton’s biography refers to, and quotes at length from, voluminous letters Spurgeon wrote to his parents, but I have been unable to locate them. My personal searches of the Spurgeon’s College archives (which hold some of his memorabilia and some later letters), and a request to the Angus Park Library, Regent’s Park College, Oxford, which has a large Baptist archival collection, failed to uncover this correspondence.

However, his health deteriorated in the damp climate, and he returned to Australia in late 1879.¹¹⁰ He spent some months recuperating in Tasmania with the Gibsons, and preaching in Baptist churches and public halls. After travelling to Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane, and Newcastle during the winter months, he returned to Tasmania. During this time he was involved in the establishment of the Deloraine¹¹¹ Blackwood Creek¹¹² and Longford¹¹³ Baptist church buildings, developments which were greatly aided by the Gibsons' liberality. He then went on to New Zealand, taking meetings from February to June in the Otago area, mainly in Dunedin, before going to Auckland where he eventually settled into a pastoral ministry and built up a large congregation and Baptist Tabernacle over the next eight years.¹¹⁴ He paid fleeting visits to Tasmania on his way to and from the UK for his father's fiftieth birthday in late 1884,¹¹⁵ and as part of his recuperation after resigning his pastorate in 1890.¹¹⁶ He then engaged in an itinerant gospel ministry in New Zealand in 1890 and 1891¹¹⁷ before returning to England, where he eventually (and controversially) took over the pastorate of the Tabernacle in 1894 after his father's death. He later became principal of Spurgeon's College, before his own early death in 1917.

1870s-1890s: 'Wandering gospel minstrels'?¹¹⁸

The late 1870s had thus seen a burst of evangelistic activity in Victoria, Tasmania, and to some extent NSW and South Australia, which at the time was sometimes

¹¹⁰ Although he is usually referred to as having a good carrying voice, his lungs were weak. His father wrote that 'a cough and great delicacy of the lungs render his stay with us in England very inadvisable' *Victorian Freeman*, December 1879. It is possible that he was tubercular. Several other young Baptist evangelists (and others, like the Brethren Henry Rainey and possibly Charles Perrin) came to Australia to combat incipient tuberculosis. Rowston, 'Spurgeon's Men', chapter 5.

¹¹¹ *Launceston Examiner*, 9 June 1880, p. 2.

¹¹² *Launceston Examiner*, 1 December 1880, p. 2.

¹¹³ *Launceston Examiner*, 6 December 1880, p. 4.

¹¹⁴ Skinner, *Lamplighter*, pp. 55-59. His health was again the reason that he did not stay in Dunedin, although it was congenial: 'His coughing and breathing problems returned with the first touch of autumn.' (p. 56).

¹¹⁵ See various reports in the *Launceston Examiner*, 1884: 17 May, p. 3; 20 May, p. 2; 24 May, p. 3; 7 August, p. 2, and 1885: 31 January, p. 2 and 3 February, p. 2.

¹¹⁶ Fullerton, *Thomas Spurgeon*, p. 137.

¹¹⁷ Fullerton, *Thomas Spurgeon*, pp. 138 ff, and Skinner, *Lamplighter*, p. 95.

¹¹⁸ *NSW Baptist*, 4 November 1886, p. 2.

seen as revival, or the stirrings of it. The most obvious signs of this were the large meetings of Dr Somerville's tour in all the eastern states and New Zealand from late June 1877 to August 1878, and Henry Varley's possibly more sensational meetings at much the same time, extending to April 1879 and including South Australia, referred to in the previous section.

However, during this evangelistic flurry and into the following decade, three other speakers emerged who drew crowds of several hundred on many occasions, and sometimes thousands. Matthew Burnett, the temperance evangelist, worked systematically and thoroughly throughout this period and well into the 1880s, and two others stood out: Mrs Emilia Baeyertz and the Rev. John MacNeil. Their constituencies overlapped, but, while none were taken up in quite the same way for inter-denominational campaigns as were Somerville and Varley, they had an appeal outside the denomination to which they were formally linked, and received acceptance across denominational boundaries. The other two men who warrant consideration in this section are John Watsford and William G Taylor, both Methodist ministers whose gifts were recognised by their communion and who were freed from direct pastoral work to undertake evangelism.

It is arguable that these smaller, more widespread geographically, and consistently presented meetings laid a groundwork of acceptance for the larger campaigns, in that this style of evangelism became embedded in the evangelical psyche. This was much more evident in the 'nonconformist' denominations such as the Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians and Brethren (who tended increasingly to have their own evangelists only), than in the Churches of England. At another level there were denominational evangelists of varying skill and importance, and inter-denominational speakers such as A J Clarke, who was employed by the Victorian Evangelistic Society in the early to mid-1880s to take meetings in country areas of Victoria.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ See reports in *Southern Cross*, passim, and Evans, *The Evangelisation Society of Australasia*, ch. 2..

John Watsford

Watsford's earlier career has been noted in Chapter 1, but his autobiography focuses on revival missions which he took in churches: he longed to see the power of the Holy Spirit in every-day Christians' lives. From the 1870s he was a regular speaker at the conferences for the promotion of holiness of various sorts. As he wrote, he 'preached frequently to Christians on Entire Sanctification, and the duty of individual effort to save souls [and to] sinners on instant surrender, and present salvation by faith alone in Jesus.'¹²⁰ A member of the 'Praying Band' or simply 'the Band' of ministers in Melbourne who met to pray for revival,¹²¹ he felt that some of the results of missions such as Grubb's, in particular, were the culmination of years of his and others' sowing and prayers. He was almost overcome as he summed up the closing meeting of the main part of the Sydney Convention in 1892:

Dear brothers and sisters, it is possible for one's heart to be so full as to make it difficult to speak. Oh, what a day this has been. The Lamb is all the glory of Immanuel's land. Glory to God, we are in Immanuel's land. Heaven on earth.¹²²

Watsford was warmly supportive of other more prominent evangelists, even when recognising their possible short-comings: for example, while he would have liked to see more 'instant decisions' from the Rev. John McNeill's great meetings in 1894, he thought his presentation was 'very striking and soul-searching' and that 'many must have received light and blessing'.¹²³ Likewise, he felt that in Thomas Cook they had seen 'a man of God, endued with power from on high', even though he also mentioned that there were people who thought that Cook did not stress repentance enough, or that there was not enough discernment in his use of

¹²⁰ John Watsford, *Glorious Gospel triumphs, as seen in my life and work in Fiji and Australasia*, London, 1900, p. 144.

¹²¹ Watsford, *Glorious Gospel triumphs*, p. 272; Darrell Paproth, 'John MacNeil 1854-1896: "Australia for Christ"', in R. Ward (ed.), *Presbyterian Leaders in Nineteenth Century Australia*, Melbourne, 1993, p. 156.

¹²² *Proceedings of the Christian Convention for the deepening of the spiritual life: held in the Centenary Hall, Sydney, Jan. 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th, 1892*. President: George Grubb, Sydney, 1892, n.p. but end of third day January 7th. The reference to Immanuel's land is to 'Rutherford's hymn' – 'The sands of time are sinking', by Anne Ross Cousin, in which one of the 19 verses ends 'The Lamb is all the glory / of Immanuel's land.' Every verse ends with the phrase 'Immanuel's land'. In *Sankey's Songs and Solos*, four verses are used, and the one with the whole sentence is verse 3. The hymn had just been sung before Watsford rose to close the meeting.

¹²³ Watsford, *Glorious Gospel triumphs*, p. 297.

the enquiry room, or that many of his so-called converts fell away.¹²⁴ Watsford was involved in many of the committees which organised the campaigns studied in this thesis, partly of course because of his position in Methodist home missions, but mostly because of his concern for

a great movement in all our Circuits in connection with the usual means of grace – ministers and officers and members of the church all baptized with the Holy Spirit, all living the Christlike life, and all labouring to win souls for Jesus.¹²⁵

William Taylor

W G Taylor¹²⁶ was NSW-based, compared with Watsford who spent the last four decades of his life based in Victoria. He too took revivalist meetings in churches, and was involved in interdenominational campaigns. For example, he was on the platform at the Grubb Sydney Convention, and led in prayer at least twice.¹²⁷ His pastoral ministries benefitted from his gift of evangelism, and, because his gifts and skills in this area were recognised, he was compelled to take on the almost defunct York Street Methodist church in central Sydney. He quickly transformed it into a major centre of innovative outreach and mission as the Central Methodist Mission, and triggered the building of the great Centenary Hall, which was used by others as well as Methodists for large celebratory or evangelistic events.¹²⁸ Taylor was ‘one of Australia’s two outstanding evangelists prior to World War I’,¹²⁹ and as well as his missions in many churches in Australia, he made two tours of England and the United States.

¹²⁴ Watsford, *Glorious Gospel triumphs*, p. 297

¹²⁵ Watsford, *Glorious Gospel triumphs*, p. 225.

¹²⁶ Don Wright, ‘William Taylor’, *ADEB*; W G Taylor, *The life-story of an Australian evangelist: with an account of the origin and growth of the Sydney Central Methodist Mission*, London, 1920; J E Carruthers, *Lights in the Southern Sky*, London, 1924.

¹²⁷ *Proceedings of the Christian Convention, Sydney*, n.p.

¹²⁸ See Taylor, *The life-story of an Australian evangelist*, p. 140, for the long list of the main agencies and buildings established under Taylor at the Central Methodist Mission between 1884 and 1913. An example of Centenary Hall being used for non-Methodist purposes included General William Booth’s meetings: *Christian*, 15 October 1891, p. 28.

¹²⁹ *ADEB*, p. 368.

Matthew Burnett

Matthew Burnett's earlier career has also been touched on in Chapter 1. He was a relatively systematic itinerant evangelist, working his way around the backblocks of Victoria as well as the inner city suburbs of Melbourne where his particular message was perceived as needed. After his first Sarah wife died,¹³⁰ he returned to England for two years (1872-3),¹³¹ where he evidently remarried, but he came back to Australia and worked from 1875-9 'under the auspices of the newly formed Home Missions Department of the Victorian Wesleyan Conference'.¹³²



18: Matthew Burnett¹³³

Religious papers such as the *Southern Cross* and the Methodist *Spectator* carried regular reports of his work, often in the form of his own letters, which he was

¹³⁰ Evans, *Matthew Burnett*, pp. 139-140. Victorian Pioneers Index: Sarah Middleton Burnett, b. Scarborough, d. 1870 aged 36, register entry 1870/8596.

¹³¹ The 'Revd M' is listed on the *Loch Maree* in April 1874. Public Record Office of Victoria, Index to Unassisted Inward Passenger Lists to Victoria 1852-1923:

http://proarchives.imagineering.com.au/index_search_results.asp?upto=101&cont=yes&month_to=&year_to=. As a Mrs Burnett is also listed, it is assumed he married again in England.

¹³² Evans, 'Matthew Burnett in South Australia', p. 65.

¹³³ Photograph reproduced in Evans, *Matthew Burnett*, between pp. 235 and 236, date and source unknown.

assiduous in forwarding. Indeed, he was almost the only evangelist in this study who engaged in this form of advertisement, couched in terms of accountability and requests for prayer. He was also 'obsessed with statistics', always keeping a total of pledges for temperance and reporting them. As Hunt states, some of them are hardly credible in relation to the population centres he cites.¹³⁴ A noticeable pattern of his life was that he would work extremely hard, often away from home, for months at a time, and then need a complete break because of physical and mental exhaustion.¹³⁵ So regular is this pattern that it suggests the possibility of some sort of bi-polar condition.

His meetings used methods which foreshadowed those of the Salvation Army: street parades and open-air preaching, lantern processions, music including brass bands and massed choirs, sign boards. Also like the Army, he was criticised for these methods, but their effectiveness with the unchurched masses was acknowledged – 'bringing all sorts of fish into the Gospel net.'¹³⁶ His biographer and friend Glenny thought that his 'organising power was one of his greatest gifts', shown in his marshalling of stewards, singers, praying bands, pledge takers, etc.¹³⁷ Blamires and Smith, historians of the Victorian Wesleyan churches, were ambivalent about him:

There were extravagances in his personal actions, exaggeration, apparently unwitting, in his assertions and published statements of success; a ... spattering with praise of all and sundry ... who helped him ... that did not commend themselves to persons of more sober thoughts and ways; but despite these drawbacks, he was the agent of reform of hundreds of drunkards, and of the conversion of a number of degraded sinners, and we, therefore, honour the man, and are glad for his mission.¹³⁸

Another observation, from someone writing in the 1870s, was more sympathetic: regretting that Dr Somerville had not been able to reach them, he referred to

¹³⁴ Arnold Hunt, *This Side of Heaven: A History of Methodism in South Australia*, Adelaide, 1985, p. 128.

¹³⁵ Evans, 'Matthew Burnett in South Australia', p. 63, comments on this, and it is obvious in reading through the various newspapers over a couple of decades.

¹³⁶ W L Blamires and John B Smith, *The early story of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Victoria*, Melbourne, 1886, p. 96.

¹³⁷ Glenny, *Reminiscences*, p. 15.

¹³⁸ Blamires and Smith, *Early story*, p. 96.

... the masses – those who never enter a church at all, and apparently cannot be induced to do so. This is the class Mr Burnett *goes out to*, and his method is so peculiar that for years he has had to endure an utter want of sympathy on the part of Christian people, who stood aloof at the display of so much zeal of such doubtful propriety.¹³⁹

The editor of the *Southern Cross*, a periodical which regularly and sympathetically reported Burnett's work, struggled to express a fair assessment in much the same way. While on the one hand his 'courage, faith, self-sacrifice, Christian devotedness, philanthropic ardour ... organising skill, practical shrewdness, knowledge of human nature, and an almost abnormal capacity and appetite for sustained labour' were recognised and greatly admired, on the other hand he had 'no ... great gifts of intellect or moving powers of oratory', and what was worse, 'not a few Christian people look with a certain degree of doubt on some of Mr Burnett's methods; and a still larger number have grave, though unexpressed suspicions as to the real extent, and permanency of his work.'¹⁴⁰ This was the crux of the matter: the outlandish methods were only acceptable if the results justified them.

Another problem with his work was the confusion of conversion with total abstinence. 'A Preacher of the Gospel' wrote:

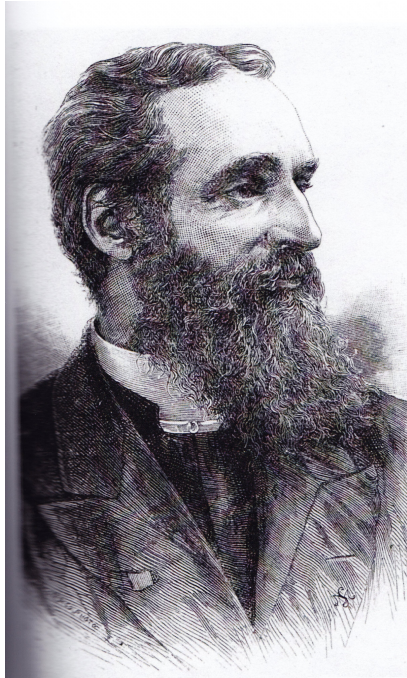
he appears to mix things up so much, that I am afraid his hearers don't know whether they are to become religious, by first becoming total abstainers, or whether they are to make their religion ... 'renouncing the devil and all his works' and beer.¹⁴¹

This was a difficulty shared by other temperance evangelists – which came first? They argued that it was only the power of Christ that enabled a person to give up alcohol, but in the public mind the two were intermingled.

¹³⁹ *Words of Grace*, October 1878, p. 38. Emphasis in the original.

¹⁴⁰ *Southern Cross*, 4 October 1879, p. 1.

¹⁴¹ *Southern Cross*, 17 May 1879, p. 3.



19: Matthew Burnett 1889 Brisbane¹⁴²

From 1880 to early 1883 he worked his way through South Australia, covering a large number of places, many quite isolated, and mostly working through and with Methodist churches.¹⁴³ However, at the end of this time, the Conference of 1883 decided, by a narrow margin, not to vote him a motion of gratitude for all his work in the colony.¹⁴⁴ Presumably after their initial welcome some had become disenchanted with his style of meetings or the results. During the rest of the 1880s Burnett worked his way around Tasmania in 1883-4, then through New Zealand. He returned to England in 1890, attending the May meetings at Exeter Hall, the great focus of triumphant evangelicalism, in 1892.¹⁴⁵ His death was reported in *The Christian* in early 1896.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² This photograph was taken in Brisbane in 1889, appeared as an engraving in the *Christian* in 1890, and is reproduced in Evans, *Matthew Burnett*, between pp. 235 and 236.

¹⁴³ Evans, 'Matthew Burnett in South Australia', pp. 65-7, and Evans, *Matthew Burnett* ch.4. Evans lists over fifty locations, to about ten of which Burnett returned at least once.

¹⁴⁴ Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, p. 128.

¹⁴⁵ Glenny, *Reminiscences*, p. 83.

¹⁴⁶ *The Christian*, 16 January 1896, p. 25.

Emilia Louise Baeyertz

The interesting phenomenon of a major female evangelist, Mrs Emilia Baeyertz, emerged first of all in Victoria. Her paths crossed those of Varley and Thomas Spurgeon¹⁴⁷ in the late 1870s particularly, and she was admired by Varley and shared the Reeds' hospitality with him at one point, as indeed did Thomas Spurgeon. Emilia Baeyertz née Aronson (1842-1926) was a converted Jewess who came to Australia in 1864 to recuperate after a nervous breakdown following the death of her fiancé.¹⁴⁸ Life in Australia restored her health completely, and she was later to fulfil schedules of large meetings with only short periods of respite in between – and indeed lived to the age of 84.¹⁴⁹

In Melbourne she secretly married committed Anglican Charles Baeyertz,¹⁵⁰ and after his fatal shooting accident, she was converted to Christianity as a result of reading the gospel of John, which convinced her that Christ was God.¹⁵¹ After moving to Geelong in about 1871, she undertook visiting in the gaol and hospital, took up regular house-to-house visiting and taught a large class of senior teenage boys in Sunday School.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁷ See chapter 3.

¹⁴⁸ Emilia Aronson arrived in June 1864 on the *Empire of Peace*: Public Record Office of Victoria, Index to Unassisted Inward Passenger Lists to Victoria 1852-1923, http://proarchives.imagineering.com.au/index_search_results.asp. The later World War I general Sir John Monash's parents were also on this ship.

¹⁴⁹ For Mrs Baeyertz, see the biography, approved by her and for which she gave sources: [Sydney Watson], *From Darkness to Light: the Life and Work of Mrs Baeyertz*, Melbourne: Varley Bros., [1910], and the article by John Walker in *ADEB*. Mrs Baeyertz has received some belated scholarly attention in recent years in Elisabeth Wilson, '“Totally Devoid of Sensationalism”: Mrs Baeyertz, the Jewish Lady Evangelist from Melbourne', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings* Vol. 9 No. 3, September 2002, pp. 153-166, and Shurlee Swain, '“In These Days of Female Evangelists and Hallelujah Lasses”: Women Preachers and the Redefinition of Gender Roles in the Churches in Late Nineteenth-Century Australia', *The Journal of Religious History* Vol. 26, No. 1, February 2002, pp. 63-77. Robert Evans has published *Emilia Baeyertz – Evangelist: her career in Australia and Great Britain. An Historical Study and a Compilation of Sources*, Hazelbrook, 2007. Many of the details in this chapter are taken from the research which underpinned my article. I am also very grateful to Robert Evans for generously sharing source material.

¹⁵⁰ The marriage does not appear in the Victorian Pioneer Index. Evans, *Emilia Baeyertz Evangelist*, p. 17, writes, 'They were married secretly at Christ Church, Hawthorn, on 16th October 1865', but gives no reference.

¹⁵¹ There is a detailed account of her conversion in Mrs Baeyertz, *The two offerings of Cain and Abel; The clean heart ; Seven steps to the blessed life ; The coming of the Lord ; The overcoming life: five lectures delivered by Mrs. Baeyertz, the converted Jewess, with the story of her conversion from Judaism to Christianity*, 2nd ed., Toronto: Printed for the authoress by Hill & Weir, 1891.

¹⁵² <http://www.canadiana.org/ECO/mtq?doc=91157>

¹⁵² Watson, *From Darkness to Light*, p. 39.



20: Mrs Baeyertz, probably taken in Launceston in 1886¹⁵³

The time in Geelong was formative in many ways. It was here that she first offered a prayer in public.¹⁵⁴ Her extreme nervousness offers a picture of the constraints women might feel at audible participation in religious or public activities,¹⁵⁵ especially as she was already active in other activities where she needed to be articulate. It was also here that she was baptised by immersion: many years later the Rev. W C Bunning recalled the time when he had ‘baptised thirteen believers ... one of them ... Mrs Bayertz [sic], the Evangelist’.¹⁵⁶ Finally, it was in Geelong that she had what would now be called a charismatic experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, which she felt gave her the power and strength to undertake her later ministry.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ *The Pioneer*, July 1886, front cover.

¹⁵⁴ Watson, *From Darkness to Light*, pp. 40-41.

¹⁵⁵ See Geoffrey Blainey, *A Land Half Won*, Melbourne, 1983, pp. 284-7 for a discussion of this issue. Stating that ‘most Australians as late as 1890 had not heard a woman preach in church or even speak from a political platform’, Blainey seems to be unaware of the activities of Mrs Baeyertz, Mrs Hampson, the female temperance speakers, and Salvation Army women.

¹⁵⁶ *NSW Baptist*, 3 December 1887, p. 37.

²² ‘The Baptism of the Holy Ghost’, in *Twelve Addresses* (n.d.).

Her next move was to Melbourne, where H B Macartney asked her to be a missionary to the Jews. She was often advertised as ‘the converted Jewess’, which gave her the advantage of being already rather unusual, if not an object of some curiosity, and her public speaking could be rationalised on this basis if necessary. However, the Jewish ministry was not successful (in fact she received death threats), and may not have been well-supported financially,¹⁵⁸ and she soon began work among factory girls. At first she held meetings in the dinner-hours, then by 1878, at the instigation of the Secretary of the YWCA, large night meetings in the Assembly Hall.¹⁵⁹ Hearing of her successes, with many girls experiencing an evangelical conversion, ministers began inviting her to their churches, wanting to see the same results there.

She did not undertake lightly speaking to mixed audiences, and her perplexity led to what she called ‘great darkness of soul’. In the end, she came to feel that the ‘mind of God ... on this matter, as regarded herself’¹⁶⁰ was that she should use her gift no matter what people thought. Mrs Baeyertz seems to fit into the category of women speakers who believed they had a special call from God, suited for the times: note the phrase ‘as regarded myself’. She was not claiming this right for every woman.¹⁶¹

She won support also because of her ‘quiet and ladylike demeanour, absolutely devoid of any peculiarity in dress, manner or language’¹⁶² and her ‘quiet, dignified manner’... ‘totally devoid of sensationalism’.¹⁶³ A description of Mrs Baeyertz

¹⁵⁸ See a plea in *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad*, November 1877, p. 163: ‘The Editor has for many reasons concealed from all but a small circle of friends the fact that for the last two years a most fitting agent has been employed to watch every opportunity of carrying the gospel to the Jews of Melbourne. The circle of private contributors has so seriously diminished that the Editor, half heart-broken at the apathy of the whole Church regarding the “Israel of God” ventures to ask some reader of *The Missionary* for £50.’ This may refer to Mrs Baeyertz.

¹⁵⁹ Reported in *Southern Cross* and *Willing Work*, passim.

¹⁶⁰ Watson, *From Darkness to Light*, p.46. Mrs Baeyertz was influenced by a book, Miss Cotton’s *The Coffee Room*, lent to her by a friend.

¹⁶¹ She also wrote a pamphlet defending her position. I am indebted to Robert Evans for pointing out to me that Mrs Baeyertz spoke on the topic ‘My Authority as a Woman for Preaching the Gospel’ in Ballarat in 1905. Evans, *Emilia Baeyertz Evangelist*, p. 340, quoting from the *Southern Cross*, 16 June 1905, p. 571. He has also seen a 1910 USA version of her biography which advertises a leaflet of the same name for 1½d. Personal communication 24 December 2007.

¹⁶² Watson, *From Darkness to Light*, p. 97.

¹⁶³ Watson, *From Darkness to Light*, p. 82.

from a Toronto newspaper bears out these comments and gives a picture of what she looked like:

She is a middle-aged lady, of striking presence – erect and commanding in figure, though not tall; with a dark countenance, brown eyes, firm chin, and characteristic nose. Her face is one that would arrest attention in a crowd. It is full of character – strong, eager, and expressive; and when lit up by the fire of her emotions while she is speaking, it is quite beautiful ...¹⁶⁴

In a seminal article, Olive Anderson distinguishes between earlier female preachers and those who emerged after the 1859 Second Evangelical Awakening in various roles.¹⁶⁵ She points out that any earlier preaching was usually simple evangelism by women of the lower classes, and fitted the prophetic or millenarian role. The later women preachers were generally middle-class or above, were inter-denominational in outlook, combined holiness teaching with evangelism, responded to specific invitations to lead missions (rather than merely itinerated), often spoke in town halls or theatres, and felt they were acting on the special call of God rather than from feminist arguments on equality.¹⁶⁶ However, care was taken to avoid any appearance of assuming a ‘position of spiritual leader in a large mixed gathering of the respectable’.¹⁶⁷ All these characteristics fit Mrs Baeyertz. Anderson argues that these women found what acceptance they did because of the enthusiastic spirit of the Revival, the thorough-going laicism that accompanied that revival, and its feature of deliberate sensationalism. In other words, preaching was *not* an activity the general public expected to see a woman doing.

Her biographer, who wrote a somewhat eulogistic work, does not mention any complaints about Mrs Baeyertz’ public preaching, but there are hints about how it was regarded in the real world. Writing about her ministry in the non-denominational (but Brethren sponsored) periodical *Willing Work*, the editor Edwin Good argued from pragmatism and also the feeling, common since the

¹⁶⁴ Watson, *From Darkness to Light*, p. 71.

¹⁶⁵ O Anderson, ‘Women Preachers in Mid-Victorian Britain: Some Reflections on Feminism, Popular Religion and Social Change’, *The Historical Journal* XII, 3 (1969), pp. 467-484 passim.

¹⁶⁶ Anderson talks about one of the distinguishing characteristics of female preaching of the period being its self-consciousness: ‘in some quarters there was a deliberate attempt to establish the special significance and acceptability to God at this particular juncture of the ministry of women, as opposed to that of men.’ Anderson, ‘Women Preachers’, p. 474.

¹⁶⁷ Anderson, ‘Women Preachers’, p. 468.

Revivals in Britain of 1859-60, that these were extraordinary times, possibly leading to the imminent Second Coming of Christ:

We are quite aware that different opinions exist as to the propriety and scripturalness of the public preaching of the gospel to a mixed audience by a lady ... It may be that God is giving special blessing to a weak instrument, partly as a reproof to the other sex, and partly as an encouragement to such as are qualified for this work ... or perhaps ... God is ... using extraordinary means "to compel them to come in" before the final closing of the door.¹⁶⁸

She herself wrote, in a tribute to 'that blessed man of God, Henry Reed', the Tasmanian Christian leader and philanthropist, that he had supported her 'in those early days, when I suffered much persecution because of the solitary walk as an evangelist which the Lord had marked out for me...'¹⁶⁹ *Willing Work* referred to 'much opposition [having] been stirred up' against her 'by a certain section of the church of Christ',¹⁷⁰ but their editorial opinion was that 'there cannot be a doubt that God in an especial manner has gifted this daughter of Abraham to proclaim salvation ...'¹⁷¹ Clearly she had her supporters and detractors, and the former were evidently largely convinced of the validity of her calling by the blessing of God, evinced by the large crowds and changed lives of her hearers.

However, notwithstanding the many positive comments, the group of Christians meeting in the People's Hall in Hobart (an embryonic Brethren assembly), where large congregations heard her speak in 1878-9, eventually asked her not to return as they had decided women should not be allowed to preach.¹⁷² Previously (in January 1878) a report had been sent to *Willing Work*, quoting the Launceston *Examiner* that the 'lady evangelist is attracting large congregations in the People's Hall in Hobartown' with her 'pathetic manner and earnestness in delivery being leading features.'¹⁷³ The meetings were supported by Christians of various denominations, and several hundred were turned away at the door, with people

¹⁶⁸ *Willing Work*, 15 February 1878, page not noted. Emphasis in the original.

¹⁶⁹ Margaret S E Reed, *Henry Reed*, London, n.d., pp. 237-8.

¹⁷⁰ *Willing Work*, 15 March 1878, p. 94.

¹⁷¹ *Willing Work*, 28 June 1878, p. 216.

¹⁷² Information from the diary of Henry Garrett, the first correspondent of the Hobart meeting of Open Brethren, 27 March 1880.

¹⁷³ *Willing Work*, 19 January 1878, page not noted.

coming out saying ‘they would have stayed all night’.¹⁷⁴ At Glenelg, South Australia, a few years later, the Congregational Church invited her for some meetings, despite ‘a great many objections [being] made by members of the Church.’¹⁷⁵ No doubt these divided opinions were repeated in many places.¹⁷⁶ Perhaps the opposition became more muted as Mrs Baeyertz’ evident godliness and abilities were recognised.

Clearly, her acceptance was based on the unusual and specific nature of her calling as an evangelist. She had no wish (and realistically no opportunity) to be the full-time pastor of a church, although in 1886 she stayed in Launceston ‘for two months to keep up the Memorial Church services until Mr George Soltau, the pastor, should arrive.’ It seems she mainly took the services rather than undertook an overall leadership role.¹⁷⁷ This was a non-denominational church, started and originally funded by Henry Reed and later his widow, with consequent close personal connections to Mrs Baeyertz, and she is warmly spoken of in *The Pioneer*, a periodical put out by that church for some years.¹⁷⁸

She combined evangelism with an emphasis on holiness, and, although she was always referred to as ‘the Jewish lady evangelist’, much of her preaching was on holiness.¹⁷⁹ In a period when a reasonable proportion of the population consisted of at least nominal churchgoers, some at least of the ‘conversions’ must have been renewals of lukewarm convictions. Also, it was probably more acceptable to use the word evangelist, as it was harder to argue against someone who was ostensibly winning souls for the Kingdom than against someone who might be taking the place of normal preachers.

Another of Anderson’s criteria fulfilled by Mrs Baeyertz was that she responded to specific invitations to preach. The invitations gave an added validity to her

¹⁷⁴ *Willing Work*, 29 March 1878, p. 109.

¹⁷⁵ *Truth and Progress*, 1 January 1883, p. 4, quoting from the *Christian Colonist*.

¹⁷⁶ E.g. *Victorian Freeman*, October 1880, p. 211: ‘There were many honest objections to a lady standing up to preach in the church, but the desire for good prevailed above them all...’

¹⁷⁷ Watson, *From Darkness to Light*, p. 59. This also states that she ‘had the joy of handing over to him a congregation of 1800 and 300 professed converts.’ For Soltau, see Chapter 4.

¹⁷⁸ *The Pioneer*, July 1886, p. 2, and August 1886, p. 2.

¹⁷⁹ See chapter 5, and also Appendix F.

work, in that the initiative did not entirely come from her. The revivalist network is also evident in David Walker's¹⁸⁰ letter of recommendation for the USA, (she was told that there was 'no opening for a lady in connection with the Association', until they received a letter of recommendation from him),¹⁸¹ and Henry Varley's introduction to people in London.

She worked both inter-denominationally and undenominationally. In the course of the biography and in the newspaper reports, meetings or campaigns in Anglican, Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist and (in the earlier years) Brethren churches are mentioned. She saw her ministry as based on fundamental Christian truths, common to all Christians.¹⁸² So did other people: a report from Geelong in 1880 said that 'We think that our sister belongs to, and should receive encouragement and support from every denomination in Victoria.'¹⁸³ In answer to the question 'which denomination does Mrs Baeyertz belong to?' the reply was

Mrs Baeyertz numbers among her personal friends, all over the world, a vast number of ministers, as well as laymen, of all denominations, but she has never left the Church of her early choice - the Church of England ... But in the widest and truest sense, Mrs. Baeyertz belongs to the whole Church of God.¹⁸⁴

Notwithstanding this, she had been baptised by immersion by a Baptist minister, as we have seen, and at one stage she identified as Brethren.¹⁸⁵ Certainly she had

¹⁸⁰ Secretary of the YMCA in Sydney.

¹⁸¹ Watson, *From Darkness to Light*, p. 67.

¹⁸² True adherence to these meant that 'then there would die the last sectarian feud; in one great common grave would be bundled the schism of isms, and then, too, would Christ's prayer be fulfilled – "That they ... may be one..."' Watson, *From Darkness to Light*, pp. 72-3.

¹⁸³ *Willing Work*, 23 July 1880, p. 502.

¹⁸⁴ Watson, *From Darkness to Light*, p. 41.

¹⁸⁵ Her son Charles' religion in the register for Wesley College for 1876 was given as 'Brethren': Joanna Woods, *Facing the Music: Charles Baeyertz and The Triad*, Dunedin, 2008, p. 22. Woods says that Brethren was a 'general term sometimes used to denote non-conformist Protestants', but I have never seen it used in this way in many years of research into the Brethren. Contemporary usage shows clear awareness of the Brethren as a distinctive group. Woods also says that there is no recorded contact of her with the 'exclusive Plymouth Brethren'. If by this she means the Darbyite Exclusives, this would be true; but as regards the Open Brethren, there is plenty of recorded contact including taking meetings at halls and conferences. This entry in the Wesley register also aligns with the very positive reports of Mrs Baeyertz in *Willing Work* during these years, and her acceptance in Brethren circles at this time. Woods is probably unaware of *Willing Work*, and may be unclear about the distinction between the open and exclusive arms of the Brethren movement.

no intention of forming her own church or promoting a personal following, as did the more charismatic American women preacher Aimee Semple McPherson.¹⁸⁶

Mrs Baeyertz pursued an evangelistic ministry from the late 1870s through the whole of the 1880s in every Australian state except Western Australia¹⁸⁷ and overseas until World War I.¹⁸⁸ Consistently large crowds, sometimes numbering thousands, are mentioned over a period of about 25 years. Key places were Melbourne, Adelaide and South Australia (where she spent most of the three years from 1880), Bendigo, Ballarat, Hobart, and Launceston. Most of her other meetings were in country Victoria, but it seems that she may have visited Sydney and even Brisbane at some stage. Following an invitation to New Zealand in 1889, meetings in Dunedin, Christchurch, Nelson, Wellington, Wanganui, and Auckland are mentioned.¹⁸⁹

In about 1891 she went to North America, taking large meetings in Los Angeles, Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal, followed by an invitation to Britain in 1892 where she spoke in London, Cardiff, Winchester, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Belfast, and Dublin.¹⁹⁰ Until about the middle of World War I she is regularly reported in the *Christian* as taking four or five campaigns in churches around the UK each year.¹⁹¹ She returned to Australia in 1905-6 for meetings in Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria and Tasmania.¹⁹² It is believed there was a measure of reconciliation with her family; her daughter married an English doctor and she eventually lived near her. She died in 1926 near London, aged 84.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁶ E L Blumhofer, 'Aimee Semple McPherson', in Larsen, (ed.), *Biographical dictionary of evangelicals*, 2003, pp. 400-404.

¹⁸⁷ She later went to Western Australia in her 1905 visit: Evans, *Emilia Baeyertz Evangelist*, pp. 333-6.

¹⁸⁸ See Appendix A. I am very much indebted to Robert Evans' generous sharing of his research, which complemented my own in working out the places and dates for Mrs. Baeyertz' meetings.

¹⁸⁹ The biography does not, I believe, from internal and external evidence, give every place at which Mrs Baeyertz spoke. However, they certainly included Melbourne, Adelaide and district, Bendigo, Ballarat, Hobart, Launceston, Tasmanian country districts, Dunedin, Christchurch, Nelson, Wellington, Wanganui, Auckland, Los Angeles, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, London, Cardiff, Winchester, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Belfast, and Dublin, over a period of about 20 years.

¹⁹⁰ One of those who responded to her message in Cork, Ireland, in 1892, before he moved to Australia, was the young T. C. Hammond, later Archdeacon of Sydney and a very influential Principal of Moore Theological College. *On Being*, April 1997, p. 41.

¹⁹¹ See *The Christian*, *passim*.

¹⁹² Evans, *Emilia Baeyertz Evangelist*, pp. 333-348.

¹⁹³ She died on 29 April 1926: GRO death index, Wandsworth district, volume 1d, p. 505. Her age was given as 86, and when probate was granted to her daughter Marion Kirkland her effects were valued at £94.15.11. Her son Charles went to New Zealand, where he became a prominent cultural critic and editor. See G A K

Little is known of other woman evangelists in Australia, apart from those in the Salvation Army, some Bible Christian Methodists like Serena Thorne Lake,¹⁹⁴ and Mrs Hampson, who made her notable tour of Australia in 1883-4.¹⁹⁵ But the acceptance that women such as Mrs Baeyertz received seems to have been the exception that proves the rule. They were regarded as unique specimens, and therefore not subject to quite the same restrictions as other women.

John MacNeil

The other import who came to Australia when young was John MacNeil.¹⁹⁶ Arriving early in 1861 as a six-year-old,¹⁹⁷ he was from a devout Scottish Presbyterian family. He worked on the railways before going back to Edinburgh for training in the ministry. His work in Australia really began in 1879, and, as well as having several pastoral positions,¹⁹⁸ he engaged in evangelistic work whenever possible, increasing this towards the end of his short life. The Presbyterian Church recognised his calling and gift in this area, and set him aside for evangelism from 1881 to 1885.

He must be considered with Mrs Baeyertz as one who kept the evangelistic pot simmering in between the visits of more prominent speakers. Preaching the same message, of personal salvation through Jesus alone and the indwelling power of

Baughen, 'Baeyertz, Charles Nalder 1866 – 1943', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007, <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>, and Joanna Woods, *Facing the Music*.

¹⁹⁴ See Arnold Hunt, 'Serena Lake', *ADEB*; Jennifer Lloyd, *Women and the Shaping of British Methodism: Persistent Preachers 1807-1907*, Manchester, 2009, pp. 167-171; Jennifer Lloyd, 'Women preachers in the Bible Christian Connexion', *Albion* 36:3 (2004), pp. 451-481. Lloyd calls Serena Thorne Lake 'the best-known woman preacher in Australia' (*Women and the Shaping of British Methodism*, p. 14), which is a claim that is hard to verify. Although part of a small denomination, she was extremely well-known in South Australia, and became more widely known through the campaign for female suffrage.

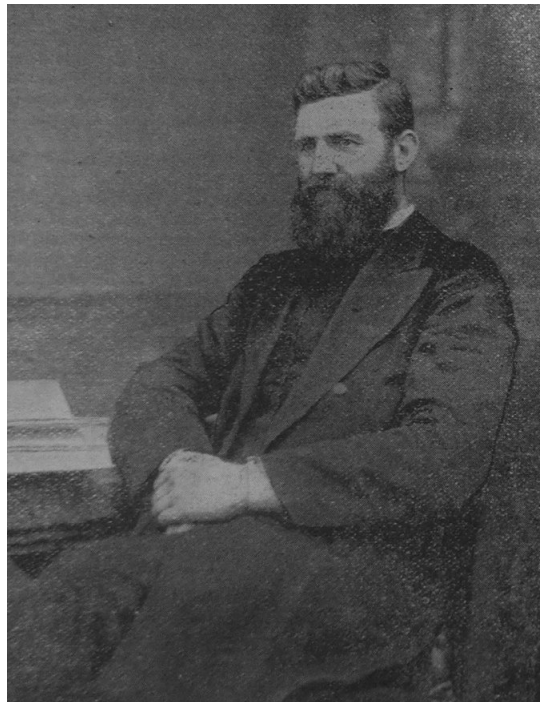
¹⁹⁵ See Chapter 3.

¹⁹⁶ Malcom D Prentis, 'MacNeil, John', *ADEB*; Hannah MacNeil, *John MacNeil, A Memoir by His Wife*, London, 1897; Darrell Paproth, 'John MacNeil (1854-1896): "Australia for Christ"', in R. Ward (ed.), *Presbyterian Leaders in Nineteenth Century Australia*, Melbourne, 1993, pp. 160-164.

¹⁹⁷ His father Neil had arrived in June 1860 on the *S Curling*; MacNeil arrived with his mother Elizabeth and two siblings on the *Marco Polo* in January 1861. Note that the name is spelt McNeil in the index. Public Record Office of Victoria, Index to Unassisted Inward Passenger Lists to Victoria 1852-1923: http://proarchives.imagineering.com.au/index_search_results.asp?upto=51&cont=yes&month_to=&year_to=

¹⁹⁸ Jamestown SA June 1879-January 1881, Waverley NSW May 1885-July 1888, and Abbotsford Victoria June 1889-April 1891.

the Holy Spirit, both found acceptance in a range of churches. MacNeil was mostly used by his own denomination, but Methodists in particular recognised a kindred spirit with what they saw as their heritage, and in many places other churches joined in when he was in the area. MacNeil was also close friends with several evangelical clergymen in Melbourne, notably H B Macartney, and initiated the 'Praying Band' or 'The Band' who met regularly early in the morning to pray for revival. Their influence (and from a Christian perspective, the effect of their prayers) was felt for many years, and they were the stimulus behind the Geelong Convention of 1891¹⁹⁹ and hence subsequent conventions there and eventually in the Dandenong Ranges at Upwey and Belgrave Heights.²⁰⁰



21: John MacNeil, Melbourne²⁰¹

MacNeil was somewhat unusual in the spread of his ministry. His vision was 'Australia for Christ', and he visited every colony (and New Zealand) at least once between 1879 and 1896,²⁰² dying suddenly in Queensland on his first visit to

¹⁹⁹ See the discussion of George Grubb in Chapter 4.

²⁰⁰ See <http://www.bhc.org.au/v2/index.php?id=59>.

²⁰¹ *Southern Cross*, 4 September 1896, p. 856

²⁰² See Appendix A.

the far north. Even so he would only have been heard by a small percentage of the population, but he became well-known especially in evangelical circles, to the extent that he was labelled 'the Australian John MacNeil' to distinguish him from his more famous international colleague and fellow-countryman. H B Macartney made his name known overseas when, in his report on the religious condition of Australia, he told the World Conference of the Evangelical Alliance in Chicago in 1893 that, although there were not as yet 'any very notable itinerant preachers ... the Presbyterian evangelist for Victoria, our Southern John MacNeill [sic], is as dear to us personally as ever your Northern John McNeill can be to you.'²⁰³

MacNeil was clearly an extrovert, but with a deep vein of personal spirituality. He had a good singing voice as well as an attractive demeanour, and often broke up a service with a song in order to keep wandering attentions. Tall, athletic, bearded, with a carrying voice, and natural energy and perseverance, he had a winning personality. Conventional church-goers were sometimes taken aback by his enthusiastic style and forthright comments; the *Southern Cross* somewhat primly commented in 1881 that

Probably some of Mr MacNeil's methods of conducting his services may be distasteful to regular church going people; but ... while Mr MacNeil aims at the good of all, his special object is to bring the Gospel home to the careless and outcast.²⁰⁴

He was not always supported whole-heartedly; there were missions which he felt were a failure despite good attendances,²⁰⁵ and in New Zealand in 1894 he struggled in Wellington particularly, where criticism from Dunedin, that heartland of transplanted Presbyterianism, affected the support he received from ministers.²⁰⁶ But more often the effectiveness of his preaching won over the doubters, and his personality seems to have done the rest.

²⁰³ *Christian*, 2 November 1893, p. 11.

²⁰⁴ *Southern Cross*, 25 June 1881, p. 1.

²⁰⁵ MacNeil, *John MacNeil*, p. 89-90: 'Many a night when an audience had left the church or Hall, delighted with the grand attendance... the evangelist himself would go to his own room, not to sleep, but to spend the whole night upon his face, because there had been so little result.'

²⁰⁶ MacNeil, *John MacNeil*, p. 235.

Contemporary accounts of his meetings, and later his obituaries, convey the attractiveness of his personality, the liveliness and humour which meant he ‘got away’ with comments and gestures which might otherwise have been deprecated, and the love and esteem which he engendered. This is evident from comments in his biography, even though this might be said to have been come from a partisan point of view, written by his devoted wife and edited by his friend H B Macartney. They included an account from the Hon. James Campbell, formerly the Postmaster-General of Victoria, who provided a reasonably balanced picture:

In his own way he is something of a phenomenon, namely, a Presbyterian revivalist, intensely Scotch in his doctrines and sympathies, and intensely American in some of his methods ... Some find fault with him for smiling too much ... [and there are] some defects of manner ... too great familiarity with his audiences ... [a tendency] to clip his words and rush out short sentences difficult to catch ... He moves about so often and so rapidly as to suggest restlessness ... [But] never have I heard a man who impressed me more with a sense of whole-hearted earnestness ... [He has] a message to deliver ... forcefulness, a clearness and a directness that goes straight to the heart. ... [He is] effectively dramatic [with] gestures appropriate and telling ... [with] no new creed, yet he does startle us and wake us up...²⁰⁷

²⁰⁷ MacNeil, *John MacNeil*, pp. 132-3.



22: John MacNeil – frontispiece to the memoir by his wife²⁰⁸

MacNeil appears to have been one of those who are driven to evangelise.²⁰⁹ While each of his pastoral commissions were productive of an enlivened and enlarged church, he was not able to settle down to a long term in one place, and an itinerant, or perhaps more accurately peripatetic, lifestyle seemed to suit him. This continued with his marriage and the rapid arrival of five children, to whom he was evidently devoted – his wife’s memoir talks about tearful meetings and partings, affectionate story and prayer times with them, and letters with sketches and endearments for the children.²¹⁰ One obituary comment gives the sense of urgency which seemed to characterise him: ‘He lived a long life in a short time, pressing the work of many years into the few he lived.’²¹¹

²⁰⁸ MacNeil, *John MacNeil*, frontispiece.

²⁰⁹ Darrell Paproth, ‘John MacNeil’ p. 150: ‘There was a certain impetuousness and nervous energy which so often characterise the itinerant evangelist.’

²¹⁰ MacNeil, *John MacNeil*, pp. 339-345.

²¹¹ *Southern Cross*, 18 September 1896, p. 903.

MacNeil's concern for evangelism was wider than his own ministry, and even when he was in Edinburgh doing theological training, he was writing back to Australia about his deep interest in Dr Somerville's campaigns – for example, 'I hope ... that multitudes may be won for Christ'²¹² and 'I have been wonderfully refreshed by hearing of Dr Somerville and his work'.²¹³ He had contact with American evangelists D L Moody and Major Whittle,²¹⁴ and was a leader in the network of Australian evangelicals who were concerned for revival and conversions. The "Praying Band" in Melbourne was the most obvious example of this, but he also welcomed George Müller to Sydney and coordinated his meetings after that;²¹⁵ admired and supported Mrs Baeyertz' work;²¹⁶ was very supportive of George Grubb's meetings in 1891, particularly the Geelong convention in September; and admired and respected John McNeill and managed to meet him, as has been mentioned above, writing that there was 'great excitement in Melbourne ... over John McNeill's visit. May thousands be won for Christ.'²¹⁷

He was conscious of being very much self-taught in his work as an evangelist, and this may account for some early crudeness of style. He had never heard Moody or Somerville, and it was not until 1894 that he heard McNeill once or twice, and also Thomas Cook and Gipsy Smith during the winter of that year.²¹⁸ His style was evidently deepening and maturing, and the *Geelong Advertiser* noted that, in what was one of his last Victorian campaigns, there was a marked 'absence of sensationalism and hysterical extravagances, while the interest in spiritual truth was unmistakeable'.²¹⁹

MacNeil's other major contribution to the Christian life of Australians, and indeed many overseas, was his book *The Spirit-filled Life*. Like Mrs Baeyertz, and no doubt others, he quite specifically prayed for the 'endowment' of the Holy Spirit in

²¹² MacNeil, *John MacNeil*, p. 71.

²¹³ MacNeil, *John MacNeil*, p. 72.

²¹⁴ MacNeil, *John MacNeil*, pp. 120, 121.

²¹⁵ MacNeil, *John MacNeil*, p. 170; *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 30 January 1886, p. 5.

²¹⁶ *Southern Cross*, 3 January 1890, p. 9: MacNeil was one of those mentioned at her farewell meeting in Melbourne.

²¹⁷ MacNeil, *John MacNeil*, p. 244.

²¹⁸ MacNeil, *John MacNeil*, pp. 242-4, 350.

²¹⁹ MacNeil, *John MacNeil*, p. 335.

a special way, to equip him with power for evangelism. He believed that he received this blessing on 13 February 1881 in Moonta, SA.²²⁰ He was influenced by his own felt need, and the mention of such an endowment by the Rev. Joseph Nicholson in a joint mission. Nicholson later wrote about how MacNeil took home armfuls of books on the ‘higher life’ – the relatively new Keswick teaching – and said that he was

fascinated by its attractive possibilities and its divine sanctions ... As the years passed, the doctrine of “Holiness” became more and more the delight of his life and the burden of his message to believers ... His book... is one of the clearest expositions of that Christian privilege.²²¹

It was published in the UK by Marshall Bros, and in American, French and Hindustani editions. Its influence was often mentioned in articles on his life; Moody was asked to bring out a cheap edition,²²² and early editions and recent reprints are still readily available from Internet booksellers.

There is something more than conventional expression in the deep grief shown at his unexpected and early death (at forty-one years old) from a cerebral aneurysm. Hannah MacNeil thanked people for the ‘hundreds of letters’ she had received to which it was impossible to reply individually.²²³ The veteran Methodist evangelist John Watsford wrote, ‘The better I knew him the more I learned to respect and love him’, later referring to him as a ‘beloved brother’.²²⁴ Many commented on his devotion to God and his deep awareness of the spiritual realities. His great friend H B Macartney said ‘It was love at the first sound of his voice’, and that he ‘never knew before that a Scotchman could be so like an Irishman; [he] never heard before singing introduced into a sermon; [he] never saw so much animation from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot; nor... ever, in all [his] life, heard a gospel more crystal clear!’²²⁵ Another believed that his ‘united missions, in which all evangelical denominations were joined, were most owned of God,’ but later

²²⁰ MacNeil, *John MacNeil*, p. 116.

²²¹ MacNeil, *John MacNeil*, p. 98. One of the books was A B Earle’s *Bringing in the Sheaves*; see also J Edwin Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings in the South Seas*, Minneapolis, 1976, p. 77.

²²² MacNeil, *John MacNeil*, p. 333.

²²³ *Southern Cross*, 18 September 1896, p. 901.

²²⁴ *Southern Cross*, 18 September 1896, p. 902.

²²⁵ *Southern Cross*, 4 September 1896, p. 856.

added that 'Bible study, private, family, public worship, liberality and labour for Christ, all revived in his presence and under his efforts.'²²⁶

* * * * *

It may well be that the more localised efforts of MacNeil, Burnett and Mrs Baeyertz and other lesser known denominational evangelists had a more sustained impact than the larger campaigns by the visiting evangelists. This is impossible to measure, but they certainly spoke to more people in places outside the metropolitan areas (as did some of the visitors of course), and over at least two decades exposed church goers and fringe dwellers to the revivalist mode and the evangelistic message.

²²⁶ *Southern Cross*, 11 September 1896, p. 881. The writer was possibly the editor, W H Fitchett.

Chapter 3: the 1880s

Introduction

In terms of notable visitors, there was a gap between Varley leaving in 1879 and Mrs Hampson arriving in 1883. However, as noted in Chapter 2, these were the years when Mrs Baeyertz and Matthew Burnett were widely and persistently active in South Australia, and a number of other more denominationally focussed visitors filled the gap somewhat, at least in Victoria and New South Wales. This chapter shows that they covered almost all denominations, and also much of the Eastern states. In this decade, international speakers had varied approaches and emphases, from temperance to apologetics and the life of faith, and a wide range of ages from early twenties to nearly eighty. Apart from Mrs Hampson, their meetings were more often church-based than Somerville's and Varley's had been.

*Early 1880s: 'Itinerant gossellers who go meandering around the colonies'*¹

John Inskip

In a rare example of an American visit, Episcopal Methodist preacher John Inskip² visited in 1881,³ but, although well-publicised, his meetings were almost always in Methodist churches and clearly not inter-denominational. In Melbourne's Wesley Church he 'attracted large numbers' and his style aroused some criticism, judging from the guardedly supportive comments of the religious press. He was

¹ *Launceston Examiner*, 4 March 1891, Supplement p. 1.

² Inskip was a holiness preacher influenced by Phoebe Palmer, who was experienced in American camp meetings. D W Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, Downers Grove, 2005, p. 208; Robert Evans, *Evangelism and Revivals in Australia 1880-1914*, Hazelbrook, 2005, p. 46.

³ *Southern Cross*, 26 March 1881, p. 1; 2 April, p.1; 9 April, p. 1; 16 April, p. 1; 23 April p. 1; 21 May, p. 1. He had two colleagues, Gardner and Osborne, and Mrs Inskip featured as a soloist.

reported to be ‘amazingly fluent, shrewd, humorous, persuasive and fluent’, and the meetings ‘thoroughly American in their effervescing briskness and movement’, but the ‘free and easy tone would better befit the fireside than the church’.⁴ The writer⁵ conceded that it would be easy to find fault (for example, ‘God’s Word had no place in the programme’ apart from being mentioned in the addresses), but he managed to convey a hint of his personal qualms while putting down carping critics by warning, ‘If anyone puts propriety above vigour, and is unwilling to see good accomplished, except in decorous and conventional ways, he had better not visit Mr Inskip’s meetings.’⁶



23: John Inskip⁷

Inskip’s meetings were reported in some depth, though with nothing like the coverage given to Somerville and Varley, when four-page special supplements containing verbatim records of the sermons had often been inserted in the *Southern Cross*, the *Spectator*, the *Australian Witness and Presbyterian Herald* (Sydney), and the *Queensland Evangelical Standard*. In Melbourne the average attendance was estimated at 300-400, and there was regret that they were not

⁴ *Southern Cross*, 2 April 1881, p. 1.

⁵ Whether the writer was the editor or not is unknown, but the editor W H Fitchett was a Wesleyan Methodist with much sympathy for and some experience of evangelism. On all these counts he was likely to treat these meetings gently.

⁶ *Southern Cross*, 2 April 1881, p. 1.

⁷ After a lot of searching, this picture was found on www.wbir.com/.../Why-do-they-call-it-that-Inskip.

spread over a wider area and for a longer period, as there had been ‘great spiritual good to hundreds’.⁸ In Sydney it was reported that there were ‘100 anxious enquirers’.⁹ It is unlikely, however, that at this stage the whole evangelical constituency would have taken to their hearts the more bright and breezy American style of these evangelists, and indeed, no major American figures visited Australia until Yatman in 1896.

Charles Inglis

A number of British Brethren¹⁰ speakers visited the colonies during the 1880s, and some established themselves here. Charles Inglis took successful meetings for the Brethren at the Novelty Theatre in Melbourne in 1881;¹¹ Mrs Baeyertz and Varley had also been using theatres, and, as the Brethren either had only small gospel halls or hired buildings such as the Assembly Hall, theatres were large and public alternatives. Use of such ‘ungodly’ buildings had been pioneered in the Revival of 1859-60 in the UK, and to some extent it was hoped that the ‘lapsed masses’ would be more ready to enter such a venue. This was another example of Brethren willingness to use all legitimate means to reach people with the Gospel,¹² and they had already been using the theatre on Sunday nights ‘through the liberality of a Christian in the city’.¹³

Inglis also preached in the suburbs, possibly at gospel halls, as all those named were places where the Brethren already had some form of meeting or outreach, namely Prahran, St Kilda, Sandridge (Port Melbourne), Richmond and Collingwood. He seems to have followed a plan which was evident in later campaigns such as George Clarke’s, of spending a week or fortnight in a particular location, apart from the big Sunday meeting in the city. Another feature

⁸ *Southern Cross*, 23 April 1881, p. 1.

⁹ *Southern Cross*, 21 May 1881, p. 1. Evans, *Evangelism and Revivals*, p. 46, quotes from Inskip’s biography to the effect that there were 2,500 respondents to his preaching, whether for conversion or sanctification, during his eight week tour.

¹⁰ *Missionary Echo* passim; Ken Newton, ‘A History of the Brethren in Australia’, PhD thesis, Regent College, 1990, passim. Earlier Brethren evangelists and teachers have been considered in Chapter 1.

¹¹ *Willing Work*, 26 August 1881, p. 198; *Missionary Echo*, Oct. 1881, p. 151.

¹² Ord and Russell had used the Hippodrome for their final meetings in 1876 – see Chapter 1.

¹³ *Missionary Echo*, June 1881, p. 86.

in common with other evangelists, such as Mrs Baeyertz, was a meeting for converts at the end of the campaign.¹⁴ Inglis also went to Sydney, and possibly other places, and continued his career among Brethren in Britain.

Thomas Manders

At much the same time Thomas Manders was working in Sydney.¹⁵ Manders, an Irishman who had worked for Dr Barnado's homes and also 'attended Dr Grattan Guinness' Bible instruction classes'¹⁶ (and thus been at the hub of the inter-denominational effort loosely associated with Brethren), was invited to Brisbane from Ireland in 1876. In contrast to Inglis, Manders stayed in Australia, and, in his more than forty years as an evangelist and church planter, travelled to every state, living in Geelong for fifteen years, staying in Western Australia for over two years, and finishing his life with more than twenty years in Queensland.¹⁷ Such consistent input had long-term effect, achieving the establishment and nurturing of a number of Brethren assemblies and linking the meetings scattered across the country.

George Grove

Another such evangelist was George Grove, who arrived in 1885, also in Queensland. Eventually based in Melbourne, he took tent missions in all the eastern states and New Zealand, epitomising the Brethren concern for reaching 'the lost', and he collapsed and died from a stroke during one of these missions when he was 65.¹⁸ Letters from him show also his pastoral concern for growing churches,¹⁹ church planting being the ultimate goal of Brethren evangelism.

¹⁴ *Missionary Echo*, January 1882, p. 10.

¹⁵ *Willing Work*, 26 August 1881, p. 198.

¹⁶ Obituary, *Australian Missionary Tidings*, 1 January 1920, p. 8.

¹⁷ Obituary, *Australian Missionary Tidings*, 1 January 1920, p. 8.

¹⁸ Obituary, *Australian Missionary Tidings*, January 1911, p. 5; Ian McDowell, unpublished biographical notes on Grove and Manders; Ian McDowell, 'Historical Notes on the Brethren Assemblies in Australia', *Emmaus Journal* No. 4, 1995, pp. 64-66.

¹⁹ Letters to H L Garrett in Hobart – Garrett family collection.

Margaret Hampson

Mrs Hampson was the religious sensation of 1883. Little has been written about this lady evangelist,²⁰ yet in Sydney and Melbourne she attracted larger crowds than had Dr Somerville. Born in 1836,²¹ and originally from Liverpool,²² she stated that she was converted in St. Jude's Church there, under the ministry of Dr Hugh McNeile.²³ This is a significant connection with the wider evangelical movement which does not seem to have been noted before. McNeile was a very gifted orator who had originally been rector of Albury in Surrey where the Albury conferences, held between 1826-1830, enabled Edward Irving to spread his views on pre-millennialism which so influenced Darby and hence the Brethren. After McNeile parted from Irving, probably because of Irving's increasing Pentecostal excesses, he became perpetual curate of St. Jude's in 1834 and a vocal and able supporter of the Protestant cause (as against Tractarianism) in the Church of England.²⁴ Mrs Hampson would thus have been influenced in both doctrine and style; as a letter to the editor of the *Weekly Advocate* pointed out, McNeile would have been 'a model in the clearness of her pronunciation and the choiceness of her language.'²⁵

Her first public appearances as a teenager were as a singer, with gentleman evangelist Reginald Radcliffe, who, though Anglican himself, had close ties with

²⁰ I have found no studies solely about Mrs Hampson. She is discussed (with Mrs Baeyertz) in Shurlee Swain, '“In These Days of Female Evangelists and Hallelujah Lasses”: Women Preachers and the Redefinition of Gender Roles in the Churches in Late Nineteenth-Century Australia', *Journal of Religious History* Vol. 26, no 1, February 2002, pp. 63-77; by David Hilliard, *Popular Revivalism in South Australia* SA: Uniting Church Historical Society, 1982, pp. 14-17; and by W. Phillips, *Defending a “Christian Country”* St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1981, pp. 64-67. None of these discussions give much detail about her life before and after her Australian tours.

²¹ I am indebted to Margaret Edgcumbe of New Zealand for sharing with me relevant dates from English census and BDM sources, and to David Hemus of San Diego, California, for family information about Mrs Hampson, who married his great great uncle. It seems she was the Margaret Spencer who was born on 12 December 1836 in Liverpool to John Spencer and Elizabeth Stanton, and christened on 1 February 1837 at St Peter's, Liverpool.

²² A preliminary search of the census records for 1871 showed 90 Margaret Hampsons in Lancashire. Prior to receiving the information from Margaret Edgcumbe and David Hemus, it was fruitless to continue searching. The occurrence of the surname Hampson is far higher in Lancashire than in other areas, and this is also the case in hits on the A2A site <http://www.a2a.org.uk/search/index.asp>.

²³ *Weekly Advocate*, 6 October 1883, p. 222.

²⁴ See John Wolffe, 'McNeile, Hugh Boyd (1795-1879), dean of Ripon', in *ODNB*.

²⁵ *Weekly Advocate*, 6 October 1883, p. 222.

Brethren evangelists.²⁶ In 1855 she married William Hampson,²⁷ and from 1860 she was involved in evangelistic work among the ‘labouring population’ of Liverpool with her husband, a prosperous businessman,²⁸ at a time when there was both revivalism and revival in Liverpool. They worked with inter-denominational evangelists in some of the rougher parts of Liverpool – with men such as Ratcliffe, Grattan Guinness,²⁹ and John Hambleton³⁰ (all associated with Brethren in one way or another) and Hugh Stowell Brown.³¹ It is possible that she is the same Mrs Hampson referred to in the *Christian* as having a home for fallen women in Islington and ‘suffering from very feeble health’.³² By the time of her emigration to Australasia in 1880 she was a middle-aged widow.³³ In June 1881 the *Christian* reported that, although she had gone to New Zealand for her health, she was so much improved that she had agreed to start a mission in Auckland the previous December, where 300 professed conversion. She had then gone to the Thames goldfield where hundreds were saved, and was now in Dunedin.³⁴

²⁶ On Radcliffe, see Tim Grass, *Gathering to His Name: the story of Open Brethren in Britain and Ireland*, Milton Keynes, 2006, pp. 141-2; Janice Holmes, *Religious Revivals in Britain and Ireland 1859-1905*, Dublin, 2000, p. 179.

²⁷ Liverpool district marriages, July-September quarter, 1855, volume 8b, page 501.

²⁸ In the 1871 census he was a master cooper employing two men and four boys. They were living in Vale Road, Allerton, in the parish of Woolton, West Derby, Lancashire.

²⁹ Grattan Guinness was the father of Harry Guinness, for whom see below.

³⁰ Hambleton settled in Australia and carried out evangelism via a Bible carriage in country areas. See Chapter 1.

³¹ See *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad*, July 1883, pp. 106-7, citing the *Daily Telegraph*. She had been widowed for about six years at this stage. See also *Southern Cross*, 30 June 1883, p. 8, editorial quoting a large part of the same article.

³² *Christian*, 11 December 1879, p. 870. However, on 7 September 1882, p. 167, there is a report of the past two years of Mrs. Hampson’s home or mission. Either it is not the same person, or her name was retained even though she was overseas.

³³ Both Hilliard and Phillips state this, without giving references. A long report in the Methodist *Spectator*, 29 June 1883, p. 99, says that she had lost her husband and ‘not less than eleven out of twelve children’. See *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad*, July 1883, p. 107, citing the *Daily Telegraph*, which says she had been widowed for about six years at this stage. Her husband was probably the William Hampson who died in 1877 in West Derby.

³⁴ *Christian*, 2 June 1881, p. 411.

Her reputation went ahead of her across the Tasman.³⁵ In 1883-4 she toured Australia, starting in Melbourne in May and June, then going to Adelaide for ten days in July, followed by over a month in Sydney in September-October. In each place she was invited by a committee of representing several denominations.³⁶ The Sydney mission was preceded by serious preparation, such as house-to-house visitation,³⁷ and extended from its original eight days to five weeks, with a break towards the end when Mrs Hampson's voice gave out.³⁸ In 1884 she visited major regional centres: Hobart in May³⁹ and Launceston in June, then Ballarat in July, Bendigo from 20 August into September, and finally Geelong.

There was much discussion of her appeal and success in drawing crowds; a Sydney correspondent tried to analyse it, and gave the various opinions which were circulating. Reasons adduced included the 'advertising adopted', the interest of a woman preaching, her 'wonderful voice' and 'the colonial love of novelty'. No doubt all these were present in differing proportions among her audiences. This writer, however, believed that there was a 'higher course' – that she was

³⁵ See for example the report in *Southern Cross*, 28 May 1881, p. 1, and in *Willing Work* 20 May 1881, p. 158, where her services in the Garrison Hall at Dunedin were reported as resulting in no less than seventy applying for fellowship with the Christians (=Brethren) meeting there, and in the *Launceston Examiner* from the *Otago Daily Times*: 'Mrs Hampton [sic], the evangelist preacher, is creating great excitement on the Thames. Her service last evening in the open air was attended by 3000 persons. All the churches, with the exception of the Roman Catholic and Church of England, were closed. The speaker has a wonderful command of language, speaking at times one hour and a half, and never hesitating for a word. Many persons, especially women, at each service were calling out excitedly, and throwing themselves at the foot of the speaker.' *Launceston Examiner*, 12 March 1881, p. 2. A more critical minister at Thames wrote in his diary, 'For the last 8 days we have had a Mrs Hampson, who styles herself an Evangelist holding Prayer meetings every morning in the Congregational Chapel at 7 and "Preachings" every evening at 8 o'clock at the Academy of Music: The people have gone wild after her. Screaming – screeching groaning & shouts of "I have found Him" – "I have Him" – "I am saved" – &c &c take place in the Body of the Hall – but in the "enquiry-room" whither the young women are invited at the close of the meeting stranger scenes are enacted – ... about a dozen girls some writhing on the floor – one or two as if in convulsions several kneeling to Mrs Hampson & crying "What must I do to be saved?" "Am I safe" – "Oh save me, Mrs Hampson" (!)'. Rev. Vicesimus Lush, *Journal, Thames, 1881*, MS 2008/9 in Auckland Museum Library. I am indebted to Margaret Edgcumbe, New Zealand, for sending me this extract.

³⁶ For example, Sydney, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 September 1883, p. 7: 'Mrs Hampson has come to Sydney in response to the invitation of a committee which represents a large number of Christian churches'; Adelaide, Hilliard, *Popular Revivalism*, p. 15.

³⁷ Phillips, *Defending a Christian Country*, p. 65.

³⁸ *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 24 September 1883, p. 2.

³⁹ A William Morris of Hobart wrote to his brother on 13 May 1884, 'Sarah [his wife] has gone with cousin Louise Coombe ... to the Exhibition Building to hear a Mrs Hampson, a great revivalist, speak. We have had quite an exciting time in this way – first Mr Booth and Glover then Mr Matthew Burnett and now Mrs Hampson. All grand people in their way and drawing very large audiences. I have not heard the latter lady myself yet but send you papers which contain notices of her mission etc.' Papers of William Knibb Morris, University of Tasmania Rare and Special Collections, M13/7. This letter is an excellent example of the way news was passed on via correspondence: it is full of comments about letters and newspapers received from England and each other.

God's answer to the prayers that the 'careless' might be reached, and the churches revived.⁴⁰

A more sceptical observer felt that it was a 'festival of religious emotion' for the two-thirds of the audience who were evangelicals, but that for the rest the 'power of curiosity' was the overwhelming motive: 'a woman orator with an inter-colonial reputation ... a vast crowd and perhaps some religious excitement.'⁴¹ The *Age* even resorted to the thought that Mrs Hampson had a 'magnet of superior energy in her brain ... a great preacher rays out a quickening influence over the heads of his audience'.⁴²



24: Mrs Hampson at the time of her visit to Melbourne.⁴³

It is possible that she benefited from the doors opened by the Jewish lady evangelist Mrs Baeyertz.⁴⁴ She had a stronger connection with the temperance

⁴⁰ *Christian*, 29 November 1883, p. 10.

⁴¹ *Echo*, 17 September 1883, p. 4.

⁴² Reported in the *Southern Cross*, 30 June 1883, p. 8.

⁴³ Mrs Hampson *The Evangelist* [sic], Foster & Martin, Melbourne, 1883. State Library of Victoria, Accession no(s) H96.160/289.

⁴⁴ See Chapter 2.

movement than did Mrs Baeyertz and encouraged converts to sign the pledge.⁴⁵ Tyrell points out that 'time and time again the biographies of ... WCTU women referred to their church work and to the influence of the 1883 visit of the female evangelist, Mrs Hampson from Manchester, in convincing them that women had a wider role to play than in the home.'⁴⁶ Interestingly, her recorded messages do emphasise the role of women in the home and their influence on their families; either the times that she mentioned a wider role were not reported in detail, or her influence was as a role model.

However, her position as a woman speaking in public was frequently called into question. While the general consensus was that the New Testament forbade a woman to teach,⁴⁷ many evangelicals believed that women such as Mrs Hampson and Mrs Baeyertz (and Catherine Booth) were exceptions to this rule, as God was blessing their ministry with conversions. This conclusion was often reached reluctantly; the editor of the *Southern Cross*, W.H. Fitchett (himself a keen evangelist in his early ministry), 'frankly confess[ed that he had] no love for lady preachers' and stated that 'when a lady steps into a pulpit to address a mixed audience, she steps out of her proper sphere.' He thus paid lip service to the prevailing norms. Nevertheless, he was somewhat reconciled by her results, in that her success in Dunedin had alarmed members of the Free Thought Club there.⁴⁸ The same issues concerned a Methodist lay preacher, who asked,

If God is raising up women as Evangelists, should we not ask ourselves whether he does not intend it as a rebuke to Christian ministers generally, for their failure in seeking the salvation of souls with that earnestness which should characterise men who believe that the unconverted are in danger of perishing?⁴⁹

⁴⁵ W Phillips, *Defending "a Christian Country"*, St Lucia, 1981, pp. 64-67. Phillips (p. 65) says 'a woman evangelist was indeed something of a novelty'. A good example of one of her sermons to converts, which included good advice about getting involved in a church etc, and also a long finale on total abstinence, can be found in the *Southern Cross*, 28 July 1883, pp. 10-11.

⁴⁶ I Tyrrell, 'International Aspects of the Women's Temperance Movement in Australia: The Influence of the American WCTU, 1882-1914', *Journal of Religious History* 12, No. 3 (1983), p. 296.

⁴⁷ The key proof texts were 1 Timothy 2:12, 1 Corinthians 14:34.

⁴⁸ *Southern Cross*, 28 May 1881, p. 1.

⁴⁹ *Weekly Advocate*, 6 October 1883, p. 222.

A columnist agreed, arguing that God in His sovereignty sometimes gives appropriate gifts to women for exceptional service,⁵⁰ although they would still need 'a large fund of good sense, combined with the womanly attributes of modesty, sweetness, grace and tenderness.'⁵¹

Those evangelicals who supported revivalist preachers were in a quandary: they were the very people who staunchly defended the Bible as the word of God, but when they were forced into a corner where the literal application of that word seemed to contradict the evident present working of God, their desire to see conversions overcame the literalism. However, high church Anglicans condemned Mrs Hampson for 'assum[ing] to herself the position of a teacher and evangelist in the church', as this was 'in direct opposition to a written law' (St Paul's teaching in the New Testament) and a 'violat[ion of] a fundamental principle of the Church of Christ' (the order of creation as taught by St Paul). They were also critical that some 'Anglican shepherds ... have given the weight of their influence and position' to her.⁵² This was consistent with Anglican caution and respect for church law and norms. By and large Anglicans were cautious of visiting preachers, especially those who were neither ordained nor Anglican, and Mrs Hampson fell under the triple cloud of wrong gender, lay status, and non-Anglicanism.⁵³

However, this attitude obviously did not concern the thousands who flocked to her meetings. In Sydney the Exhibition Building in Prince Alfred Park was packed night after night with around 5000 people,⁵⁴ rising to 7000⁵⁵ and even 8,000-10,000⁵⁶ by the end of her campaign. On one of these occasions,

⁵⁰ An Oamaru, NZ, minister had made a similar point in 1881: 'When God in his providence qualifies heroic women ... to deliver his message ... it becomes us to recognise his hand in the matter ... And so it is with Mrs Hampson ... Hers is an exceptional case, and God has made it so.' Letter in *North Otago Times*, 1 July 1881, p. 2.

⁵¹ *Weekly Advocate*, 8 September 1883, p. 188.

⁵² *Australian Churchman*, 27 September 1883, p. 143.

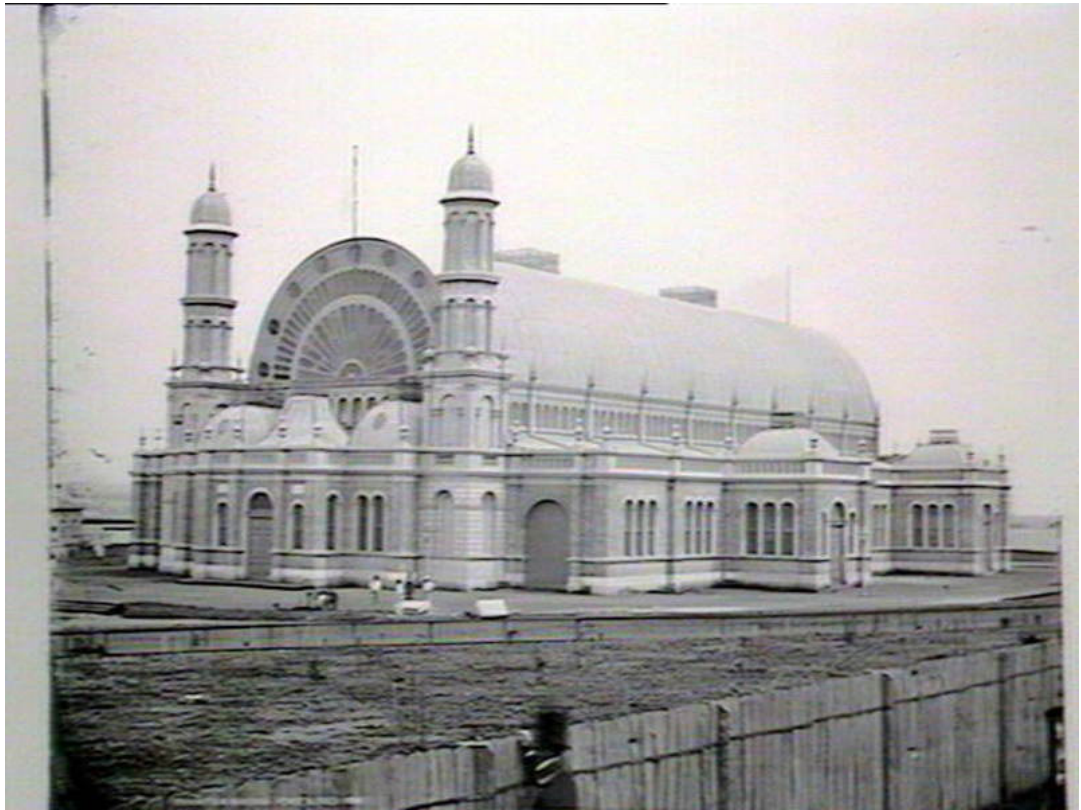
⁵³ Despite her early connections to Anglicanism, she seems to have been associated with Methodists by this stage of her life.

⁵⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 September 1883, p. 7.

⁵⁵ *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 12 October 1883, p. 2.

⁵⁶ *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 13 October 1883, p. 5.

the building was thronged to the doors, and some hundreds of persons were turned away, owing to the great crush. A great number remained outside, planting themselves at the windows of the place, endeavouring to get a glimpse or hear a word. It was not a difficult matter to hear, even in the park, as the clear ringing voice of the lady evangelist could be distinctly heard some little distance from and around the building.⁵⁷



25: Exhibition Building, Prince Alfred Park, Sydney⁵⁸

In spite of the prejudices against women taking a public role, there was general approval of Mrs Hampson's appearance and demeanour. The Methodist lay preacher thought she had 'natural gifts which were highly cultured';⁵⁹ the *Echo* journalist applauded 'her unquestionable shrewdness in avoiding ugly singularities of dress' and 'appearing on the platform as her sisters appear on the floor'.⁶⁰ The *Daily Telegraph* in Sydney thought her 'perfectly unostentatious in

⁵⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 September 1883, p. 7.

⁵⁸ State Library of New South Wales, Government Printing Office 1 – 05240. Digital Order No. d1_05240

⁵⁹ *Weekly Advocate*, 6 October 1883, p. 222.

⁶⁰ *Echo*, 22 September 1883, p. 5.

her demeanour and conduct',⁶¹ their reporter's first impression being that she had a 'fine and commanding presence, a benevolent, we might almost say saddened, face, were it not for a joyous light pervading it.'⁶²



26: Mrs Hampson in Melbourne⁶³

'A lady of moderate stature, inclining to *embonpoint*, with a decidedly comely face and pleasing expression.'⁶⁴

The photographs taken of her at the time in Melbourne show a matronly, even buxom, woman, neatly and respectably dressed in a dark costume with a large white collar / cravat, wearing a hat. There is no hint of theatricality: as 'Dorcas' in the Sydney *Daily Telegraph* observed, 'Her dress is suitable. She is neither in nor out of the fashion. Ill-cut garments do not disfigure her, whilst she has evidently not troubled herself about the last fashion-plate of some ladies' magazine.'⁶⁵ Clearly, her motherly and respectable appearance reassured her audiences, who felt able to trust her. The observations betray the unspoken contemporary

⁶¹ *Daily Telegraph*, 1 October 1883, p. 2.

⁶² *Daily Telegraph*, 17 September 1883, p. 3.

⁶³ Foster & Martin photographer: Mrs. Hampson the Evangelist [i.e. Evangelist], State Library of Victoria Accession number(s): H96.160/295, H96.160/296, 1883. 2 photographs: albumen silver; 10 x 6 cm. Victorian Patents Office Copyright Collection (VPOCC).

⁶⁴ *Spectator*, 29 June 1883, p. 99.

⁶⁵ *Daily Telegraph*, 22 September 1893, p. 5.

assumptions of what constituted a lady-like appearance. Like Mrs Baeyertz, who was a little younger, she presented not with the flamboyance of an actress but as a concerned and capable older woman.

An interesting sidelight on Mrs Hampson's visit to Australia is that she was the unwitting catalyst of a major division in the flourishing Open Brethren movement, which as we have seen had spread rapidly in the previous decade or so from Melbourne to NSW, Tasmania, and Queensland. Between her Adelaide and Sydney campaigns, she stayed with Brethren leader and evangelical activist Theo Kitchen in Melbourne, and 'expressed a desire to meet with [them] at the Lord's table'.⁶⁶ As she was not a member of an assembly, Kitchen knew that this might present problems, because there had been lengthy discussions in oversight meetings as to what the 'mode of reception' should be.⁶⁷ These were almost certainly the result of teaching from Rice T Hopkins and others, who wished to make reception to the Lord's table (communion) more restrictive.⁶⁸ On the Sunday in question, Kitchen 'forced the assembly to take a public vote without prayer or discussion, on the rectitude or otherwise of [Mrs Hampson's] reception.'⁶⁹

The issue had been simmering for a while, and Kitchen's action was almost as controversial as the issue itself, but it was Mrs Hampson's probably innocent request that precipitated the split, over whether this sort of 'occasional fellowship' was part of the Biblical pattern of church order.⁷⁰ In the end nearly a quarter of the

⁶⁶ G A Edwards, 'The Breaking Away of what is known as the Open Meeting from the Assembly August 1883. Notes taken August 19th 1883.' Handwritten notes, photocopy in CB Archive, John Rylands Library, Manchester University.

⁶⁷ Up to this point, visiting Christians from other fellowships were introduced by their host to one or more of the elders, and if they were satisfied as to their Christian faith and walk, they were welcomed to the Lord's table.

⁶⁸ Hopkins was a freelance English evangelist and Bible teacher who had had an extensive ministry in England and Scotland following the 1859 revival, with growing links to the Brethren in the 1870s. He emigrated to Melbourne for business purposes in 1882. See Ian McDowell, 'Rice Thomas Hopkins 1842-1916: An Open Brother', *Brethren Archivists and Historians Network Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Autumn 1997, pp. 24-30. This article plays down Hopkins' ideas on strictness of reception, and the effect of the division.

⁶⁹ McDowell, 'Hopkins', p. 27, and Edwards, 'Breaking Away', p. 4.

⁷⁰ 'This Assembly', carbon copies of notes of six talks on the history of the Melbourne assemblies given by Mr J W Hopkins in 1937 to Melbourne members of the seceding group of assemblies (archival collection, Hope Christian Centre, North Hobart). The most relevant talk is No. 4, 15 May 1937. Until 1883 the central Melbourne assembly seems to have welcomed, albeit cautiously, visitors from other communions: Henry Hussey, a South Australian pastor of an independent church in Adelaide, attended several times on a visit to Melbourne in 1881, and took part audibly. He wrote: 'Aware that these "peculiar" people are very particular not to have fellowship with those who hold what they consider erroneous doctrine, I was not surprised at

200-strong assembly meeting in the Assembly Hall in Melbourne seceded, and the issue was taken to assemblies in the south-eastern states by the Hopkins brothers.⁷¹ The resultant divisions and on-going fallout seriously weakened the hitherto growing and outreaching movement and meant that even the more open meetings became more cautious and introspective.

Nothing has hitherto been published about Mrs Hampson's subsequent career. She is not mentioned again in the *Christian* in the years to 1900, and a search showed she did not die in New Zealand.⁷² However, a small notice in the *Southern Cross* revealed why this was the case: at the end of 1884 she left Auckland for San Francisco, where she was to be married to Mr George Hemus of Auckland, 'who had obtained a divorce from his wife'.⁷³ These two lines opened the door to a wealth of information. Hemus, already a capable and involved layman, was evidently inspired by Mrs Hampson to take up evangelism full-time and for some reason took his family to California to pursue this calling.⁷⁴ Mrs Hemus felt that he was neglecting the family and sued for divorce.⁷⁵ It was an understatement that the divorce and remarriage occasioned 'considerable surprise and regret' and 'consternation'⁷⁶ in New Zealand; many newspapers carried the report under headings such as 'An Auckland Scandal'.⁷⁷

being questioned as to my soundness in the faith before being allowed to "break bread" with them.' See H Hussey, *More than Half a Century of Colonial Life and Christian Experience*, Adelaide, 1978 [1897]), pp. 414-5, 417-8, 424; he was welcomed in Sydney also and gave an address, p. 425.

⁷¹ See 'An account of the division between Foresters' Hall Assembly and the Musical Institute Assembly, Sydney, with reference to the interference by R. T. Hopkins and others.' n.p. [Sydney?], n.d. [1886], and H. L. Garrett, *Diary*, 4 December 1883, 9 December 1883, 29 January 1884, 12 February 1884.

⁷² <https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/search/>: the only Margaret Hampson death between 1884 and 1940 was a baby aged 3 months in 1937. Two Margaret Hamptons died between 1884 and 1920: one aged 60 in 1904, and one aged 56 in 1894. As her name was occasionally misspelt this way, these were possibilities. There are a number of possible deaths in the UK to 1920, using information from online indexes.

⁷³ *Southern Cross*, 13 December 1884, p. 13.

⁷⁴ A search under 'George Hemus' on New Zealand's Papers Past elicits a large number of hits. Hemus (1847-1917) was a boot manufacturer, United Free Methodist Sunday School superintendent, local evangelist and temperance worker and father of four young children. Inspired by Mrs Hampson, he decided to engage in full-time evangelism, and moved his family to San Francisco. His wife sued for divorce on the grounds of neglect. This was obtained by September 1884 when the newspaper reports circulated. Most mentioned in Hemus' defence that he had his own strong reasons for favouring a divorce, so did not contest it.

⁷⁵ One of the Hemus' descendants sent me the family version of this event: '...he abandoned his family and went to America without them. His wife Frances was so embarrassed she told people he was getting them settled and followed him on her own with the kids. She found him in San Francisco and he didn't want her there. He put her on a train with some money and sent her and the kids to Kansas. Ernest Howard had to start working to support his mother and siblings at the age of 9...' Jane McGrath, personal communication, 11 March 2011.

⁷⁶ *Auckland Star*, 4 September 1884, p. 3.

⁷⁷ For example, the *Taranaki Herald*, 5 September 1884, p. 2.

Mrs Hampson and Hemus were married on 29 December 1885 in California.⁷⁸ Hemus' descendants believe that she was the cause of their ancestors' marriage break-up, and family information is that Hemus did not continue to support them financially.⁷⁹ If this was so, it must bring into question the high ideals of family life espoused by Mrs Hampson in her sermons, and indeed her Christian integrity. The *mores* of the time, both Christian and secular, explain why she disappeared from the evangelistic circuit in Australasia, although to be fair, none of the other major evangelists except Henry Varley engaged in more than one major campaign. She and her husband evidently kept up their evangelistic activity in California: the 1910 US Federal census describes them as 'evangelists' and the 'establishment in which this person works' as the 'World'.⁸⁰ They were both listed as 65 years old, which was true for Hemus but not for Mrs Hampson who would have been 74 by this stage. She died on 24 October 1925.⁸¹



27: Margaret Hampson's grave in Rosedale Cemetery, near Los Angeles, California⁸²

⁷⁸ State of California, County of Los Angeles marriage certificate 19-0634806, George Hemus and M Hampson. Copy sent to me by David Hemus.

⁷⁹ Personal communication, Meg Tipson, Jane McGrath.

⁸⁰ Thirteenth US Federal Census, 20 April 1910, State of California, County of Los Angeles, District 100, www.ancestry.com. It also states that she was the mother of 14 children with 5 still living – the latter figure can only be true if Hemus' children are included.

⁸¹ <http://timespanner.blogspot.com/2009/01/even-more-on-george-hemus.html>.

⁸² I am indebted to David Hemus for a copy of this photo, which can also be seen at <http://timespanner.blogspot.com/2009/01/even-more-on-george-hemus.html>.

Temperance evangelists

Although temperance is not the focus of this thesis, international temperance evangelists who toured Australia in 1884-6 had a wide exposure and must be noticed. In particular, they are linked to this thesis in that their message was one of 'gospel temperance'. As one of them, William Noble, said, abstinence 'can only save the body. The Gospel must save the soul.'⁸³ Like Matthew Burnett, their message was that only the power of Christ could overcome the grip of alcohol and the associated temptations. Nevertheless, accounts of their lectures show that the greater proportion of the time was spent in promoting the advantages of abstinence, pointing out the evils of the drink trade, and alerting audiences to the personal and social damage caused by alcohol. R T Booth did not just urge personal conversion, as did Matthew Burnett, but also social and legislative reform: regulation of the liquor trade, leading eventually to prohibition, education in 'hygiene and physiology' in schools, and the suppression of public houses.⁸⁴ The Blue Ribbon movement which he espoused was one wing of the growing temperance movement in the 1880s,⁸⁵ and an example of the increasing links between evangelicals and the cause of total abstinence.

Richard T Booth and W T Glover

Booth and Glover arrived in Adelaide in January 1884, having been farewelled at Spurgeon's Tabernacle in London in December.⁸⁶ Booth, born in America in 1844, had been a farm hand and a factory boy and seen service in the Civil War. Despite prospering in business and having a happy marriage, he had had major struggles with alcoholism which threatened their financial and emotional security.

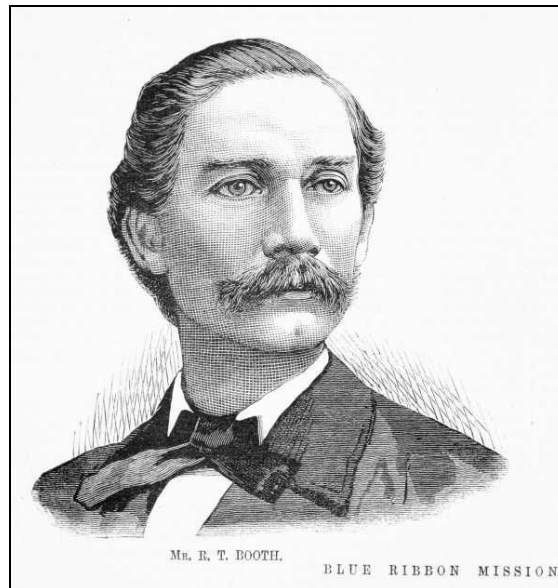
⁸³ *Southern Cross*, 16 July 1886, p. 17.

⁸⁴ For example, see his opening address in Hobart in February 1886, *Mercury*, 23 February 1886, p. 3.

⁸⁵ As Booth said in Hobart, 'Fifty years ago to be a total abstainer was to be considered a lunatic or a fool; it was not 20 years ago since a life assurance company refused to insure a teetotaler [sic].' *Mercury*, 23 February 1886, p. 3.

⁸⁶ *Sword and Trowel*, December 1883: 'On Friday evening, November 16, a large number of the friends of Mr. R. T. BOOTH assembled in the [Spurgeon's Baptist] Tabernacle to bid farewell to him, and Mr. T. W. Glover, who is about to sail with him to Australia.' I am indebted to Laurie Rowston for this reference. Glover's initials are variously given as W T or T W.

Eventually he experienced an evangelical conversion which enabled him to resist the temptation to drink, and became a campaigner for total abstinence through the gospel temperance movement.⁸⁷ He came to Australia after three years work in America and three more in England.⁸⁸



28: Richard T Booth⁸⁹

He travelled with W T Glover and a secretary, and in July 1884 his wife joined him, although she does not seem to have been a public speaker: even at the YWCA welcome for her in Melbourne, her husband spoke on her behalf.⁹⁰ They seem to have covered all the eastern states and South Australia and Tasmania, and meetings were well reported in the secular press and evidently well attended – for example, audiences of between 4,000-6,000 were reported at the Exhibition

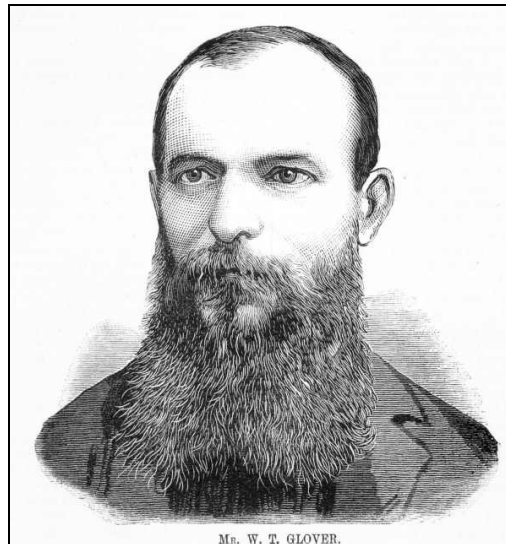
⁸⁷ Apparently the only biography is one which was written towards the end of his three years in England, and evidently distributed in Australia: Ernest Blackwell, *Booth of the Blue Ribbon Movement, or the Factory Boy who became a Temperance Evangelist*, London, 1883. The copy I have is annotated with a record of his meetings in Tasmania.

⁸⁸ *Argus*, 12 January 1884, p. 10. In the 1881 English census he is listed as a visitor staying with William Sims, engineer, in Westgate, Ipswich. His occupation is given as 'Lecturer on Temperance'.

⁸⁹ R T Booth, Blue Ribbon Mission in Melbourne [Vic.] March 19, 1884, print: wood engraving from *The Illustrated Australian news*, State Library of Victoria, Accession No: IAN19/03/84/44, Image No: mp005150.

⁹⁰ *Argus*, 8 July 1884, p. 7.

Buildings in Sydney, and thousands of people signed the pledge and consented to wear the Blue Ribbon badge.⁹¹



29: William T Glover⁹²

They also evidently worked with the veteran temperance evangelist Matthew Burnett,⁹³ even though the *Australian Christian World* erroneously believed that temperance work had not previously been connected with evangelism, clearly unaware of Burnett's stalwart and persevering efforts in this direction for nearly twenty years. The paper approved of the way in which the Blue Ribbon movement sought to associate 'total abstinence with the life and work of the churches'.⁹⁴

Booth was evidently a compelling lecturer – as an adjunct to his temperance addresses, he often gave a lecture on the Civil War which lasted for two hours,

⁹¹ *Brisbane Courier*, 14 May 1884, p. 5. The *Baptist Victorian Freeman* described her as 'one whose voice is never heard in public, but who is now as well known in Melbourne as dear Mrs Hampson herself ... the noble woman whom we all reverence as the wife of R T Booth, the Gospel Temperance Evangelist.' *VF* July 1884, p. 115. This reverence was possibly because Booth's life story was well-known and his wife's loyalty to him during his struggle with alcoholism was highly praised.

⁹² W T Glover, BLUE RIBBON MISSION IN MELBOURNE [VIC.] March 19, 1884, print: wood engraving. State Library of Victoria Accession No: IAN19/03/84/44, Image No: mp005167.

⁹³ My copy of Booth's biography is annotated by the original owner, H W Hugill. It lists the first Gospel Temperance meeting in Richmond, Tasmania, on 3 February 1884, with Mr Henry(?) Glover as the speaker, 'Mr Booth being prevented from attending.' The third meeting on 31 May has 'Mr Matt. Burnett' as lecturer. The fourth has 'Mr __ Glover's 2nd visit & Lecture. Subject: Local Option: July 14th, Council Chambers. Chairman: H W Hugill.' Hugill was an Anglican clergyman, ordained priest in 1874 and serving at the Cathedral and in the Wapping mission. He was eventually Rector of Richmond.

⁹⁴ *Australian Christian World*, 2 April 1886, p. 2.

was punctuated by applause and met with demands for a repeat.⁹⁵ One reporter thought that, although he was not a great orator, he spoke ‘with an earnestness, an impressiveness, and creates an enthusiasm which exercises considerable power over his audience.’⁹⁶ Another wrote that he spoke

... with a power and eloquence that tells effectively, and ever and anon some bright anecdote or sparkling humourism is called into play, which adds variety and piquancy...⁹⁷

He was supported by people from a range of denominations and organisations: at his public reception at the Town Hall in Melbourne, there were representatives or at least prominent figures from the Anglicans, Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians,⁹⁸ and in Brisbane the meetings were organised by the Blue Ribbon Temperance Mission, with ‘almost every religious denomination in the city and all sections of the community ... represented on the platform’.⁹⁹

Booth was yet another person whose health was supposed to benefit from a visit to the colonies,¹⁰⁰ and this was borne out by the fact that after six months he had to rest,¹⁰¹ purchasing a home in Bowral, NSW, and bringing his family out to join him.¹⁰² He took up the lecturing again in January 1885.¹⁰³ From this time on Glover does not seem to have been with him. Booth and his wife eventually left Sydney for New Zealand and America in December 1886,¹⁰⁴ although he returned in 1888,¹⁰⁵ for how long is not certain.

⁹⁵ *Mercury*, 26 February 1886, p. 3.

⁹⁶ *Brisbane Courier*, 18 July 1885, p. 5.

⁹⁷ *Mercury*, 26 February 1886, p. 3.

⁹⁸ *Argus*, 22 January 1884, p. 7.

⁹⁹ *Brisbane Courier*, 18 July 1885, p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ *Argus*, 22 January 1884, p. 7: ‘As his health gave way under the pressure of work in England, he was induced by medical and friendly advice to take a voyage to the antipodes.’

¹⁰¹ *Argus*, 3 June 1884, p. 6.

¹⁰² This was made possible by the generosity of friends in the colonies. *Mercury*, 23 February 1886, p. 3.

¹⁰³ *Brisbane Courier*, 18 July 1885, p. 5.

¹⁰⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 December 1886, p. 4; 30 December 1886, p. 6.

¹⁰⁵ *Launceston Examiner*, 20 March 1888, p. 3.

William Noble

Overlapping with the last few months of Booth's visit was a briefer tour by William Noble, who brought the Blue Ribbon movement to England from the USA.¹⁰⁶ In many ways the Blue Ribbon movement had similarities with the revivalist meetings – the acknowledgement of failure, the appeal to change, the personal testimonies, and a somewhat emotional atmosphere. Signing the pledge and taking the blue ribbon was akin to making a profession of faith or going to the enquiry room. Thus those evangelicals who were involved in the revivalist sub-culture felt at ease with both the ambience of the meetings and the approach of men like Booth and Noble.

Noble came from England via the USA¹⁰⁷ after successfully advancing the Blue Ribbon cause since 1878 at Hoxton Hall in London. He was a member of the Society of Friends,¹⁰⁸ who had taken the pledge finally in 1871;¹⁰⁹ the *Southern Cross* described him as a reclaimed drunkard.¹¹⁰ In Australia the movement was already established, with widespread support; in Hobart the Bishop, the Dean, Methodist and Baptist leaders and Anglican clergymen were on the platform at the inaugural meeting.¹¹¹ By the time Noble arrived, Booth's meetings had publicised the idea even further, and both men commented at times that they were not there to 'advocate any particular phase of the temperance movement' (i.e. to canvas for local option or prohibition, etc), but to 'influence the individual'.¹¹²

¹⁰⁶ *Argus*, 27 September 1886, p. 9.

¹⁰⁷ See article in the *New York Times*, 31 August 1885: <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F20A17FB3E5B10738DDDA80B94D0405B8584F0D3>. This gives his age as about 45.

¹⁰⁸ An obituary for his wife Jane says that they were both members. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 September 1922, p. 10.

¹⁰⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 July 1886, p. 5.

¹¹⁰ *Southern Cross*, 1 October 1886, p. 11.

¹¹¹ For example, a meeting in 1882 in Brisbane initiated the Blue Ribbon: *Brisbane Courier*, 17 July 1882, p. 2, and one in 1884 in Hobart: *Mercury*, 5 January 1884, p. 3. Anna Blainey, in the article on Australia in Jack S Blocker, David M Fahey, Ian R Tyrell (eds.), *Alcohol and temperance in modern history: an international encyclopedia*, Santa Barbara, c. 2003, Vol. 1, p. 76, says that it was brought to Australia in 1882 by Booth and Noble. Not only is the date inaccurate, but it is evident that they came as part of an already growing movement. Another minor inaccuracy in the same volume, in Yates' article on the Blue Ribbon movement, has 'Huxton' for 'Hoxton' Hall – Vol. 1, p. 109.

¹¹² Noble, at his Sydney welcome. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 July 1886, p. 9.

Noble visited the three major Eastern states, starting and ending in Sydney and going to Queensland and Victoria in between.¹¹³ He was also making a tour in the hope of regaining health and strength!¹¹⁴ Meetings seem to have been well-attended, and, if anything, more attention was paid to them in major secular newspapers than in the religious ones, although they too reported him favourably.

Interestingly, Noble and Booth did not team up at all during the months their stays overlapped, even though both were to some extent sponsored by the YMCA, and both were celebrated exponents of the Blue Ribbon movement. Indeed, there is a hint that they may have avoided each other. A correspondent from Rockhampton implied that Booth 'fell ill' and left Townsville when, or because, Noble was coming.¹¹⁵ Despite their apparently sincere motives, they were also on what amounted to a professional speaking circuit, and clashes were not good for business.

WCTU representatives

In 1886, the American temperance campaigner Mrs Mary Clement Leavitt toured Australia, strengthening or helping to initiate branches of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). The *Australian Christian World* noted that she had been 'enthusiastically received' and had been in or was going to New Zealand, Queensland, Tasmania, NSW, and South Australia.¹¹⁶ She worked with the Blue Ribbon movement and the YWCA and spoke to both female and mixed audiences.¹¹⁷ Her impact, like that of Jessie Ackermann also from the USA, and the growth, influence and political evolution of the women's temperance movement has been widely and thoroughly studied¹¹⁸ and falls outside the scope of this thesis.

¹¹³ See Appendix A.

¹¹⁴ *Brisbane Courier*, 24 August 1886, p. 5.

¹¹⁵ *Australian Christian World*, 15 October 1886, p. 462.

¹¹⁶ *Southern Cross*, 26 March 1886, p. 4.

¹¹⁷ *Southern Cross*, 5 March 1886, p. 12.

¹¹⁸ For example, Ross Fitzgerald, *Under the influence : a history of alcohol in Australia* (with the assistance of Anna E. Blainey and Christine Rakvin), Sydney, c2009; Anna Blainey, '“The Fallen” Are Every Mother's Children: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union's Campaigns for Temperance, Women's Suffrage and Sexual Reform in Australia, 1885-1905', PhD dissertation, La Trobe University, 2000; Renee Jordan, 'White-

The Christian temperance speakers rode the crest of the wave of the campaign for abstinence from alcohol and of the moves for either prohibition or local option. They were also at the cusp of the movement's division between religious and political motivations. Although many later leaders in this field were dedicated Christians, the movement became increasingly political, especially where women were concerned, with the connection to the campaign for female suffrage. Although tens of thousands had signed pledges during these meetings, it was soon evident that by no means everyone kept their pledge, and that wider societal and legislative moves were needed to combat the scourge of alcohol. In fact, with hindsight it is possible to argue that their impact was greater and longer-lasting in the area of political change than that of personal or social reform.

***1886-1888: 'Everlasting travelling evangelists'*¹¹⁹**

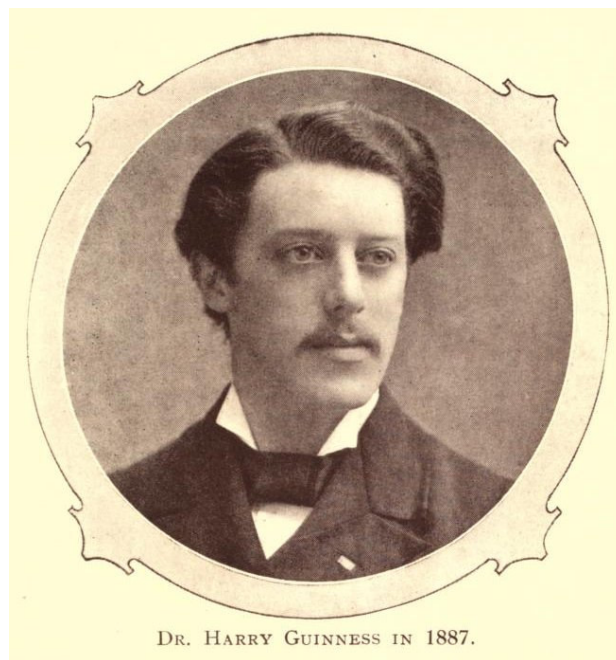
1886 was a year of heightened evangelistic activity. The next wave of interdenominational visitors coincided with the closing stages of the temperance evangelists' burst of activity in Australia. Harry Guinness' meetings, George Müller's prolonged visit, the Mountains' various missions, and the final meetings of Noble and Booth overlapped somewhat, and Guinness and Müller were sometimes in the same place at the same time. These two in particular had wide contacts with the international revivalist community. These years also saw the only visit by Congregationalist evangelists, the Mountains, and a pair of young Baptists.

Ribboners: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Tasmania 1885-1914', Honours thesis, University of Tasmania, 2001; Alison Alexander, 'A Turning Point in Women's History? The Foundation of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Australia', *Tasmanian Historical Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2001, pp. 116-27; Isabel McCorkindale, *Torch-bearers: the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of South Australia, 1886-1948*, Adelaide, 1949; Joyce R Henderson, *The strength of white ribbon : a year-by-year record of the centennial history of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Western Australia (Inc.):ten decades of service for 'God, home and humanity' 1892-1992*, West Perth, W.A., c1992; A E Lather, *A glorious heritage, 1885-1965: history of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Queensland*, Brisbane: 1968?; Lennie Taylor, *The Woman's Christian Temperance Union of New South Wales, 1882-1976*, Ryde, N.S.W.?, 1977.

¹¹⁹ Auckland paper, no source, no date, from scrapbook in the Hocken Library, Dunedin, on Charles Baeyertz' life. Robert Evans, *Emilia Baeyertz Evangelist*, Hazelbrook, 2007, p. 237.

Henry (Harry) Grattan Guinness

Henry Grattan Guinness (1861-1915), usually known as Harry, partly to distinguish him from his father, brought a very well-known name to the colonies. His father, from a cadet branch of the famous Irish brewing family, had been associated with Brethren in Dublin in the late 1850s and early 1860s¹²⁰ and continued to move freely among the more open assemblies, not having any particular denominational affiliation. HGG senior was known around the world in evangelical circles as the author of books on pre-millennial prophecy, and as the founder and director of the East London Institute for Home and Foreign Missions.¹²¹



30: Harry Guinness about the time he visited Australia.¹²²

¹²⁰ He had some concerns about the lack of organised leadership in many assemblies at that time. See Henry Grattan Guinness, *A Letter to the "Plymouth Brethren" on the recognition of pastors*, London, 1863.

¹²¹ His wife had been brought up by Quakers who had become associated with Brethren. He himself was originally Congregationalist, but eventually worshipped regularly with Anglicans towards the end of his life. His very much younger second wife was Grace Hurditch, daughter of leading Brethren evangelist and teacher Russell Hurditch. W. B. Owen, 'Guinness, Henry Grattan (1835–1910)', rev. Brian Stanley, *ODNB*.

¹²² Guinness, Harry, *"Not Unto Us": a record of twenty one years' missionary service*, London, [1908], p. 14.

Harry was the quintessential eldest son of a gifted couple: athletic, good-looking, intelligent, musical, a born leader. His biographer tried to express something of his magnetism: ‘When he appeared on the scene almost everybody felt and knew they were at their best – ten times themselves!’¹²³ A *Brisbane Courier* commentator found him to have ‘a physique more expressive of activity than of strength’, with a genteel appearance, ‘pleasant voice and dramatic mannerism’, and an ability to draw out the sympathy of the hearer. The writer noted his skill on the harmonium, and that he ‘manag[ed] the people and choir with tact and to the purpose’, though s/he did not feel his cornet playing, though well done, increased the charm of the music very much.¹²⁴ A Melbourne paper printed the enthusiastic opinion of a physiognomist, who thought that he ‘had the look of a thoroughbred’ and was ‘one of the highly favoured, richly endowed sons of Adam, who can command success in almost every calling.’¹²⁵ At his memorial service, a Salvation Army officer who first met him in Melbourne in 1901 when Guinness asked for his help, said, ‘You know he had such a charm with him. I think his was the sunniest face I ever looked into in this world.’¹²⁶

Almost every report mentioned that he was a medical doctor: his original intention had been to be a medical missionary, and when he visited Australia, he had just finished his degree (although he never practised). He was already quite an experienced speaker; students from his parents’ missionary training institute took meetings and undertook social work in the East End, and his gifts had been recognised and fostered in this milieu from an early age. So in 1885, what had been ostensibly a journey to Tasmania to escort his younger brother and a sister home from a visit to the Reed family in northern Tasmania became a much longer

¹²³ C.W. Mackintosh, *Dr Harry Guinness: The Life Story of Henry Grattan Guinness, M.D., F.R.G.S.*, London, 1916, p. 19. Something of the same charisma is reported of his son Howard, who came to Australia in 1930-31 and was an enormous influence in evangelical student circles, including revitalising evangelical student work with the formation of Inter-Varsity Fellowships in several states, and Crusader Unions in schools. See Howard Guinness, *Journey Among Students*, Sydney, 1978, and Stuart Braga, ‘Howard Wyndham Guinness’, *ADEB*. Braga refers to Howard Guinness and his parents as Irish, which is quite clearly not the case.

¹²⁴ *Courier*, 13 July 1886, p. 5.

¹²⁵ Quoted in Michele Guinness, *The Guinness Legend*, London, 1989, p. 170, and in Mackintosh, *Guinness*, p. 23.

¹²⁶ Mackintosh, *Guinness*, p. 111.

stay, with meetings organised in all the eastern capitals, Adelaide, and some major regional cities.

He often spoke in churches, but bigger meetings were in places such as the Exhibition Building in Brisbane,¹²⁷ Town Halls,¹²⁸ or theatres.¹²⁹ By August 1885 he was in Adelaide where he was very well received, then on to Melbourne in September, Sydney in October, and a major campaign in Ballarat in November and December. In the new year he was back in Launceston for some months, mostly helping at the Launceston Christian Mission Church in the absence of a pastor.¹³⁰ However, in June this church welcomed Mrs Baeyertz to ‘fill the pulpit’ until George Soltau arrived from England in August, and he was free to go to Hobart, Sandhurst, Sydney, and Brisbane, returning in August via Sydney for a repeat of his ‘medical talk’,¹³¹ and finishing with a month or so in Melbourne and Victoria.

Most of these series of meetings lasted about a fortnight,¹³² and reports of his talks were generally favourable. In places where he was not so well known, attendances were not always large at the beginning, but towards the end of his stay, there was often overwhelming interest. This was particularly so in the case of his ‘Medical Talk to Young Men’, which is considered in more detail in chapter 7. His approach, his medical qualifications, and changing social attitudes all made for much greater acceptance of this topic than had been the case with Henry Varley.

Harry Guinness also directly addressed professed unbelievers on more than one occasion, with a talk entitled ‘Pills for Freethinkers’.¹³³ It was noted that a larger than usual proportion of his audiences were men¹³⁴ – something about his youth

¹²⁷ For example, *Queensland Evangelical Standard*, 23 July 1886, p. 63.

¹²⁸ *Telegraph* (Brisbane), 19 July 1886, p. 5.

¹²⁹ For example, Theatre Royal, *Courier* (Brisbane), 12 July 1886, p. 4.

¹³⁰ The previous pastor, Daniel Hiddlestone (brother of W R Hiddlestone the well-known Baptist minister and evangelist), had been on leave due to illness, and died on 3 May 1887. *Pioneer*, 11 June 1887, p. 1.

¹³¹ See Chapter 7.

¹³² Mackintosh, *Guinness*, p. 22.

¹³³ A good summary of this talk is given in the *Courier* (Brisbane), 24 July 1886, p. 5. This talk and the stand against freethought taken by all the major evangelists is not noticed at all by F B Smith in his thesis, ‘Religion and Freethought in Melbourne, 1870-1890’, University of Melbourne, 1960.

¹³⁴ *Southern Cross*, 10 September 1886, p. 15.

and openness seems to have impressed them. By the time he reached Melbourne for the second time in September 1886, ‘his reputation [had] preceded him’, although the *Southern Cross* commented somewhat acerbically that they would regard the services in the Theatre Royal with much more satisfaction if those attending helped meet expenses, ‘and if so large a proportion of the audience did not consist of ordinary church-goers in search of the latest sensation.’¹³⁵ Attracting the non-churched, for whom they were ostensibly aimed, to special services was always a problem.¹³⁶

Guinness returned to England and became a mission leader in his own right, taking over direction of what became the Regions Beyond Missionary Union from his parents. He returned to Australasia from June–November 1901, taking meetings in Geelong, Melbourne, Sydney, Bundaberg, Adelaide, and New Zealand.¹³⁷ Later he became well-known in the UK and indeed parts of Europe for his unmasking of some of the terrible conditions of slavery in Central Africa, realised when he and others went there to undertake missionary work. He led a campaign which lobbied the British parliament to pressure the Belgian government to act on the atrocities associated with the rubber industry in the Congo.¹³⁸ He died at an unexpectedly early age in 1915.¹³⁹

Mr and Mrs Mountain

The Congregationalists were not as involved in outright evangelism as other ‘nonconformist’ denominations, but they were generally quietly supportive, although wary of excesses. However, in 1885–6 Rev. James and Mrs Mountain toured the Eastern states.¹⁴⁰ Mountain had been trained as a minister but

¹³⁵ *Southern Cross*, 3 September 1886, p. 14.

¹³⁶ See chapter 8.

¹³⁷ See Appendix A. Mackintosh, *Dr Guinness*, pp. 68–9.

¹³⁸ Mackintosh, *Dr Guinness*, chapter VI, *The Times*, 9 June 1904, p. 12, and 20 November 1909, p. 8. Guinness also wrote a 50-page pamphlet called *The Congo Crisis*, which I have been unable to trace.

¹³⁹ Mackintosh, *Dr Guinness*, p. 102.

¹⁴⁰ Reports in *Australian Christian World*, 1886, passim. I have not been able to find much information about the Mountains. It seems possible he was the James Allan Mountain born in the Leeds district, registered Jan–March 1945, volume 23, p. 490. In the 1881 census there is a James Mountain, aged 37, Congregational minister, in St Mary Islington, London. His spouse Joan Mary was stated to be 56 and born in the Shetland Isles. If this is the right couple, it explains their evident childlessness.

relinquished pastoral work on the grounds of ill-health.¹⁴¹ He was linked with the earliest days of the Keswick movement, as he led the service of song at the first Keswick Convention,¹⁴² and compiled the first edition of *Hymns of Consecration and Faith*, the Keswick hymnal.¹⁴³

From the late 1870s¹⁴⁴ there were reports of their missions in the *Christian*, mostly in Congregational churches. Their denominational base was Congregationalism, and, as they faithfully reported back to the *Christian*, they '[found] it advisable, in this country, to labour in the churches', in other words generally the Congregationalists, although when they went to South Africa in 1882, they were reported as being 'glad to work ... in full harmony with all evangelical sections of the Christian church'.¹⁴⁵ It was claimed that they were not supported by any society or denomination, although a later article said that Mr Mountain was a 'fully recognised Congregational minister.'¹⁴⁶

In addition to his evangelistic work, Mountain was a musician, compiling the Keswick hymnal as noted, and later bringing out *Evangel Hymns* with many of his own tunes.¹⁴⁷ Mrs Mountain was evidently an accomplished singer, so there was the interesting variation on the typical Moody/Sankey arrangement, of a female musician. Her femininity may have added to the pathos which singing was meant to engender: one report said that 'many a tear was shed as the Gospel was preached in this pleasing manner.'¹⁴⁸

¹⁴¹ http://www.hymntime.com/tch/bio/m/o/u/mountain_j.htm, which cites Donald Hustad, *Dictionary-Handbook to Hymns for the Living Church*, Carol Stream, Illinois, 1978, p. 291. This says that he was trained at Cheshunt College, a dissenting seminary with a Congregational basis.

¹⁴² Charles F Harford, (ed.), *The Keswick Convention: its message, its method and its men*, London, 1907, p. 42.

¹⁴³ See title page, *Hymns of Consecration and Faith*, new and enlarged edition, London and Edinburgh, n.d. http://www.hymntime.com/tch/bio/m/o/u/mountain_j.htm, gives the date of the first edition as 1876.

¹⁴⁴ In 1882 they had done about eight years' work in the UK. *Christian*, 4 February 1882, p. 124.

¹⁴⁵ *Christian*, 4 February 1882, p. 124.

¹⁴⁶ *Christian*, 16 February 1882, p. 147.

¹⁴⁷ *Hawera and Normanby Star* (New Zealand), 30 August 1887, p. 2; *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 17 November 1887, p. 2. Mountain wrote the music for three well-known songs which were included in both Sankey's and *Hymns of Consecration and Faith* (and are in many other collections): 'Jesus, Jesus! I am resting' ('Tranquillity'), 'Like a river glorious' ('Wye Valley'), and 'Loved with everlasting love' ('Everlasting love'), and several other less well-known ones.

¹⁴⁸ *Australian Christian World* (at that date *Intercolonial Christian Messenger*), 1 January 1886, p. 633. Other wives who accompanied their husbands' messages in this way were Mrs Inskip and Hannah MacNeil.

A report of their work in South Africa in 1883 said that they had undertaken both gospel and Blue Ribbon (temperance) work, and that they expected to be there until well into 1884, and after that possibly New Zealand.¹⁴⁹ In Australia their work was mainly in the eastern states and they were reported from time to time in the religious papers, but it is not surprising that they do not seem to have made a large impression outside their denomination. As the *Australian Christian World* pointed out, during 1886 the ‘colonial religious world has been stirred with many extraordinary efforts’ – among them ‘Mr Booth, Mrs Leavitt, Mr and Mrs Mountain, Rev. George Muller, Dr Guinness, Mr Noble...’¹⁵⁰ An English report said that they were doing mostly spiritual work, as temperance work was ‘well attended to’.¹⁵¹ Even so, the Mountains were in Australia before the others arrived, so might have been expected to cause more of a stir.¹⁵²

One would have to say that the general impression of their tour is underwhelming, and apart from their tour of New Zealand in 1887,¹⁵³ nothing significant has come to light about their later career. If the right person has been found in the English census returns of 1891 and 1901, Mountain’s willingness to work cross-denominationally, evidenced in Australia and New Zealand and in his Keswick connection, is shown by his being a Countess of Huntingdon’s minister in 1891 and a Baptist minister in 1901.¹⁵⁴

John Thomas Mateer and Edward James Parker

Two students from Spurgeon’s College, John Thomas Mateer and Edward James Parker, visited Australia in 1886.¹⁵⁵ Curiously, their meetings are not mentioned

¹⁴⁹ *Christian*, 5 July 1883, p. 499. However, judging by available NZ newspaper reports, they did not go there until 1887, when they seem to have spent the whole year there. See <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast>.

¹⁵⁰ *Australian Christian World*, 6 August 1886, p. 296.

¹⁵¹ *Christian*, 1 October 1885, p. 756.

¹⁵² They are not mentioned in G Lindsay Lockley (ed. Bruce Upham), *Congregationalists in Australia*, Melbourne, 2001.

¹⁵³ There are a number of newspaper reports to be found through Papers Past.

¹⁵⁴ In the 1891 census, James Mountain aged 47, born Leeds, was a visitor in Penzance, and listed as a Countess of Huntingdon’s minister. In 1901, aged 57, he was listed as a Baptist minister in Tunbridge, and had evidently remarried to Frances E Grogan. Joan Mountain, born about 1825, died in Tunbridge between April and June 1891, Vol. 2a, p. 429.

¹⁵⁵ They arrived in late September, and expected to stay about nine months. *Argus*, 29 September 1886, p. 6.

by Manley in his comprehensive history of Australian Baptists, and there are not many reports of them in Baptist newspapers.¹⁵⁶ The *NSW Baptist* welcomed them in November 1886, and commented on the similarity to Moody and Sankey: ‘One preaches and the other sings the Gospel’.¹⁵⁷ Curiously, this paper which might have been expected to support them unequivocally, did so in lukewarm terms:

We trust that ... men and women ... hitherto ... uninfluenced by the ordinary ministrations of the Gospel will be attracted to ... their teaching. To a rational being ... it seems strange that in a community so well supplied with Church agencies, there should be scope for the itinerating efforts of these wandering gospel minstrels.¹⁵⁸

Perhaps by the second half of this busy year of extra-curricular visits there was an element of burnout.

No academic note has previously been taken of Mateer and Parker. They had been students at much the same time at Spurgeon’s College in south London – Mateer 1879-81 and Parker 1880-2. John T Mateer (c. 1861-1917), born in India of missionary parents,¹⁵⁹ came from Donegal and returned to Ireland on leaving College. From 1888 to 1896 he was at Vernon Chapel, King’s Cross, London,¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶ See newspaper reports – for example, *Australian Christian World*, 24 September 1886, p. 426 and passim.

¹⁵⁷ *NSW Baptist*, 4 November 1886, p. 2. Which one sang and which one preached was not specified, but the *Sydney Morning Herald* clarified the situation: ‘Mr Mateer... is the “Moody”, and Mr Parker ... is the “Sankey” of the arrangement.’ *SMH*, 4 December 1886, p. 11.

¹⁵⁸ There is only one probable Edward Parker born in England in Ancestry.com indexes.

¹⁵⁹ *NSW Baptist*, 4 November 1886, p. 2. The 1881 English census has John T Mateer, student of theology, staying as a visitor in the Evered household in Anglesea Road, Orpington, Bromley, Kent, aged 20, born in S India at what is transcribed as Franomeore but could just as easily, and more probably, be Travancore. The *Sydney Morning Herald* said that his parents were ‘one of the London missionary societies’ missionaries in India’ (4 December 1886, p. 11). It is not clear from this whether they meant this generically, or whether the Mateers were with the actual London Missionary Society. However, Samuel Mateer, missionary for nine years in Travancore, author of *“The Land of Charity”: A Descriptive Account of Travancore and its people, with especial reference to missionary labour* (London, 1871) was almost certainly his father. This book can be found at <http://www.archive.org/stream/landcharityades00mategoog#page/n8/mode/1up>. Mateer is described as being with the London Missionary Society. He also later wrote *Native Life in Travancore* (London, 1883), a very detailed social and even anthropological observation. The *Christchurch Star*, 9 August 1886, p. 4, named his father as ‘the Rev. Samuel Mateer, a missionary in India’.

See <http://www.archive.org/stream/nativelifeintra00mategoog#page/n10/mode/1up>.

¹⁶⁰ In 1906 he wrote, in a report of Mrs Baeyertz’ meetings in his church at Norbury, that he had had experience of her work at Vernon Chapel, King’s Cross. Evans, *Emilia Baeyertz Evangelist*, p. 349.

and then went back to Melbourne in 1896-7.¹⁶¹ Following other pastorates in England¹⁶² and some evangelistic work, he died in late middle age in 1917.¹⁶³

Parker is harder to trace, having a much more common name. In the 1881 census he is listed as a visitor staying with the Saunderson family of Tottenham, having been born in Brighton, with his current occupation evangelist / Baptist minister. After this he was involved in evangelism until 1892 when he resigned.¹⁶⁴ In 1915 he was the minister at Carley Street Baptist Church in Leicester when Mrs Baeyertz had one of her last missions there.¹⁶⁵

Mateer and Parker had come from New Zealand, where they arrived somewhat unexpectedly in mid-year.¹⁶⁶ They held meetings in various suburbs of Sydney and around Tasmania.¹⁶⁷ They do not seem to have visited Victoria – at least, meetings there are not reported at all in the *Victorian Freeman*, nor in the *Southern Cross*. They were usually described as ‘Spurgeon’s evangelists’,¹⁶⁸ and it was reported that they both came from missionary families.¹⁶⁹ Impressions were generally favourable: Mateer possessed ‘vocal abilities of no mean order’¹⁷⁰ and spoke with ‘force and power’,¹⁷¹ and Parker’s ‘splendid voice [was] used most effectively in the service of song.’¹⁷² However, they apparently left Australia because there was ‘too much competition from other evangelists’.¹⁷³ They seem to have been the

¹⁶¹ The *Victorian Freeman* reported in 1897 that he was ceasing his pastorate of Auburn Baptist Church, and was ‘open to preach throughout the colonies, either a supply or with a view to a pastorate.’ They stated that his health did not allow him to return to the UK. VF, 10 September 1897, pp. 890-1.

¹⁶² In the 1901 census he is listed as a visitor and Baptist minister at the house of John Frost, Baptist minister in Southwell, Nottinghamshire. In 1906 he was the minister at Norbury, and in 1910 at Godalming. Evans, *Emilia Baeyertz*, pp. 349-350, and p. 383.

¹⁶³ Information on his career forwarded to me from the index to graduates held at Spurgeon’s College library, by Judy Powles, librarian. The index gives his date of death as 26 April 1917. The GRO reference gives the district as Croydon, and the period as the first quarter of the year: volume 2a, page 532.

¹⁶⁴ Spurgeon College, index to graduates.

¹⁶⁵ Evans, *Emilia Baeyertz*, p. 412.

¹⁶⁶ *Southern Cross*, 13 August 1886, p. 17.

¹⁶⁷ See Appendix A. I am indebted to Laurie Rowston for sharing with me the references to their meetings in the *Launceston Examiner*.

¹⁶⁸ For example, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 December 1886, p. 11; 11 October 1886, p. 7; 3 February 1887, p. 4.

¹⁶⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 December 1886, p. 11.

¹⁷⁰ *Hobart Mercury*, 14 March 1887, p. 2.

¹⁷¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 December 1886, p. 11.

¹⁷² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 December 1886, p. 11. He had been trained under Professor Distin at the Royal Academy of Music.

¹⁷³ *NSW Independent*, 15 May 1887, cited in Walter Phillips, *Defending ‘A Christian Country’: Churchmen and Society in New South Wales in the 1880s and after*, St Lucia, 1981, p. 67.

only evangelists sent directly from Spurgeon's College, although a number of other students came to Australia to take up positions as ministers, and spread Spurgeon's influence and viewpoints in the Baptist denomination.¹⁷⁴

George Müller

From 1886-8, and sometimes in the same cities as Guinness and Clarke, the internationally-known Christian philanthropist George Müller (1805-1898)¹⁷⁵ had two lengthy visits to Australia. He was in many ways the most unusual visitor of these years, and the length of his visit and the spread of his contacts must have deepened the effect of the shorter missions on many hearers.

He shared many similarities with others – for example, he was not an ordained minister, and he had a life-long interest in missions – but his inclusion in this thesis is somewhat of an anomaly, as his main life's work was not primarily evangelism. Indeed, this was recognised at the time.¹⁷⁶ He also stood out from other visitors in being already a household name, more so than any other except General William Booth of the Salvation Army. Reports in secular newspapers tended to refer to him in such terms as 'the venerable philanthropist',¹⁷⁷ a title he had earned because of his more than four decades of caring for thousands of orphans in Bristol. This was an enormous enterprise, which at its height saw over

¹⁷⁴ See Laurie Rowston, 'Spurgeon's Men: The Resurgence of Baptist Belief and Practice in Tasmania, 1869-1884', MA thesis, University of Tasmania, 2011.

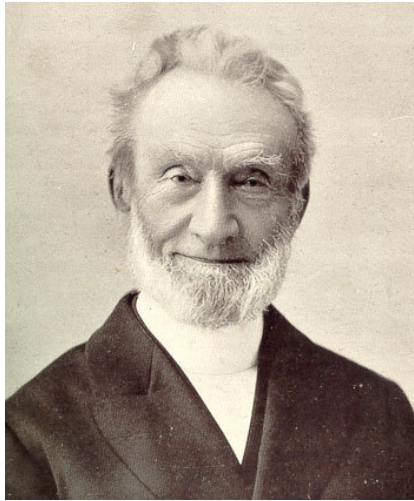
¹⁷⁵ On Müller, see Mrs George Müller, *A brief account of the life & labours of George Müller of Bristol*, London, 1887; A T Pierson, *George Müller of Bristol*, London, 1899; W H Harding, *The life of George Müller: a record of faith triumphant*, London, 1914; G. Müller, *Autobiography of George Müller*, ed. G F Bergin, 4th ed., 1929. There are several modern biographies/hagiographies, the best of which is Roger Steer, *George Müller: delighted in God*, London, 1981. See also T B Johnstone, 'Müller, George Friedrich (1805-1898)', rev. D. Andrew Penny, *ODNB*, and Roger Shuff, 'George Müller' in Timothy Larsen (ed.), *Biographical dictionary of evangelicals*, Leicester, England, Downers Grove, Ill., 2003, pp. 456-8. A recent thesis is Darin Duane Lenz, '“Strengthening the faith of the children of God”: Pietism, Print, and Prayer in the making of a world evangelical hero, George Müller of Bristol (1805-1898)', PhD thesis, Kansas State University, 2010. <http://krex.k-state.edu/dspace/bitstream/2097/3880/1/DarinLenz2010.pdf>. This has a lengthy section on Müller's Australian sojourn from pp. 260.

George Müller's name was and is variously spelt – with and without the umlaut, and as Mueller (e.g. Mueller College in Brisbane). I have retained the German form with the umlaut.

¹⁷⁶ 'It is rather doubtful whether Mr George Muller's services should be called evangelistic. His office appears rather to be to stir others up to evangelise than to evangelise.' *Australian Christian World*, 2 April 1886, p. 2.

¹⁷⁷ For example, *Daily Telegraph (Sydney)*, 30 January 1886, p. 5.

two thousand children being cared for in five enormous buildings.¹⁷⁸ Even before he arrived in Australia, the *Argus* carried a long biographical article on him, saying ‘Melbourne will shortly be visited by the Rev. George Müller, whose name has been so long identified with philanthropic effort on behalf of orphan children.’¹⁷⁹



31: George Müller – a rare photograph. He avoided having his photograph taken.¹⁸⁰

However, what really claimed public attention was his method of financing the enterprise: he set out to show that God answered prayer and was able to provide for people who relied on Him in faith. Müller never made a public appeal for funds, although the more cynical observed that the publication of the annual reports of the Orphan Institutions, with their meticulous accounting of money received and spent, kept the existence of the institutions before the public eye.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ The buildings are now used by the Bristol Institute of Technology. Although the orphanages and later group homes are no longer felt to be appropriate, the Müller Foundation still carries on work among children in the wider Bristol area in a wide variety of ways, as well as operating the Scriptural Knowledge Institution and homes for the elderly. See <http://www.mullers.org/cm/>.

¹⁷⁹ *Argus*, 13 February 1886, p. 5.

¹⁸⁰

http://images.google.com.au/imgres?imgurl=http://www.christianarrowhead.org.uk/files/muller.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.christianarrowhead.org.uk/reason/muller.html&usq=udqbCY11_uKoBsuUjrn_h_vlnEnY=&h=424&w=354&sz=46&hl=en&start=22&itbs=1&tbnid=tJovsjXjd6PYaM:&tbnh=126&tbnw=105&prev=/images%3Fq%3DGeorge%2BMuller%26start%3D20%26hl%3Den%26sa%3DN%26gbv%3D2%26ndsp%3D20%26tbs%3Disch:1

¹⁸¹ An instance of Müller’s indignant repudiation of this idea can be found in a report in the *Southern Cross*, 10 January 1880, p. 3.

Be that as it may, he received between £1 and £2 million during his lifetime, entirely in answer to prayer.¹⁸²

Müller was born in 1805 in Germany, and came into contact with Pietists at Halle where he was converted at the age of twenty during his university years. He moved to England with the intention of becoming a missionary to the Jews. When he parted company with the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, he moved to Teignmouth on the Devon coast to become a pastor. After two years he moved to Bristol, where he remained, becoming one of the early and most influential leaders of the fledgling but growing Brethren movement there. With his friend Henry Craik, he had a leading teaching and pastoral role at the large Bethesda Chapel in Bristol. In the mid-1830s Müller began his orphanage work, having already instituted aspects of ‘living by faith’ in his pastoral position: no pew rents, no fixed salary, no appeals for funds, and no going into debt.¹⁸³

As well as the orphanages, which were often provided for by remarkable last-minute gifts of appropriate food or materials, Müller established the Scriptural Knowledge Institution, which supported missionaries and indigenous workers in many countries, mostly but not exclusively through the Brethren network. In the 1870s he and his second wife set off on what they described as his ‘missionary tours’, and he came to Australia twice, from January to August 1886, and from September 1887 to November 1888, including a tour of New Zealand. Müller’s intention was to demonstrate visibly God’s existence and power in the nineteenth century, and his overseas tours were a part of this also, as he told his story again and again in almost every country of the British Empire, China, the USA, and most corners of Europe, over a period of seventeen years from 1875.¹⁸⁴ Partly this was of his own volition, but invitations probably guided his itinerary – for

¹⁸² This is the amount in contemporary terms – many times that value in today’s currency.

¹⁸³ Müller’s gradual introduction to the Brethren, and his growing convictions about financial support, are explained well in Harding, *The life of George Müller*, ch. 2.

¹⁸⁴ For a detailed account of these tours see Mrs Müller, *The Preaching Tours and Missionary Labours of George Müller*, London, 1889 (2nd ed.).

example, he was invited to Melbourne by the main interdenominational evangelical body, the Evangelisation Society of Victoria.¹⁸⁵

He estimated that during these tours he spoke to over three million people worldwide, and his biographer estimated that he must have spoken ‘between five and six thousand times’ on these tours.¹⁸⁶

Despite Mrs Müller’s painstakingly detailed and totally prosaic account of their travels,¹⁸⁷ it is difficult to estimate precisely how many meetings he took in Australasia. Some were large: for example, he spoke to 3,000 on two occasions in Melbourne’s Theatre Royal, and 5000 in the Town Hall.¹⁸⁸ In Dunedin he preached twice at the Garrison Hall ‘to about 2,800 persons each time’.¹⁸⁹ Many more meetings were in smaller venues, generally churches, and because of the length of his tour he achieved more depth in his impact. In South Australia he preached about eighty times between 22 September and 9 December 1887,¹⁹⁰ and in Hobart in three weeks over the Christmas/New Year period he preached twenty times. (In Launceston he only had time to preach five times in two days!)¹⁹¹ Certainly the number of meetings over the whole of his two periods in Australia total well into the hundreds.

There are two other noteworthy aspects of Müller’s tours of Australasia. Firstly, the Müllers nearly always stayed in hotels.¹⁹² John McNeill’s later stay at the *Australia* in Sydney aroused considerable criticism,¹⁹³ and the Müllers’ decision must have aroused some comment, as Mrs Müller later acknowledged that

¹⁸⁵ *Southern Cross*, 19 March 1886, p. 17: ‘It was through the agency of this society that Mr. Müller was personally invited to come to Australia.’

¹⁸⁶ A T Pierson, *George Müller of Bristol*, p. 257.

¹⁸⁷ See Appendix A for locations and dates, which have been taken from newspaper reports and from Mrs Müller, *The Preaching Tours*.

¹⁸⁸ Mrs Müller, *The Preaching Tours*, p. 267. This latter figure must be an over-estimation. It means that the Town Hall must have been full to overflowing as it holds about 2,500 seated.

¹⁸⁹ George Müller, *Autobiography of George Müller*, compiled by G. Fred Bergin; with a preface and concluding chapter by Arthur T. Pierson, London, 1905, p. 553.

¹⁹⁰ Mrs Müller, *The Preaching Tours*, pp. 285-287.

¹⁹¹ Mrs Müller, *The Preaching Tours*, pp. 288-9.

¹⁹² For example, at the Menzies in Melbourne. Mrs Müller, *The Preaching Tours*, p. 267.

¹⁹³ See Chapter 4.

although living in hotels was more expensive than accepting hospitality, they had been supported by thousands of pounds of voluntary gifts. In addition,

Mr Müller has found it absolutely necessary to have a home of our own whenever ... practicable, because we have found by experience, that staying for any length of time at the houses of friends, has drawn far too much upon his time and strength, and been so fatiguing, that, except in particular circumstances, he has been compelled to give it up.¹⁹⁴

This was also a reflection on Müller's age: he was eighty by the time he reached Australia the first time. Although he was remarkably fit, these journeys by steamer and steam trains must have been tiring, which may also explain the length of time he stayed in various places.

The other interesting aspect is that his Brethren affiliation is never (that I have seen) referred to in newspaper interviews, and he is mostly referred to as 'the Rev.' George Müller – an appellation deplored by Brethren, and no doubt not of his making.¹⁹⁵ He felt free to meet with and speak to Christians in many churches, in keeping with the highest ideals of Brethren, and Mrs Müller explained that he aimed

to go amongst all true believers, by whatever name they are called, provided they are sound in the foundation truths of our holy faith ... [He has] united with them, insofar as nothing has been required of [him] which [he] could not do with a clear conscience.¹⁹⁶

Pierson summarises this as the motive to 'help all who love and trust one Lord to rise above narrow sectarian prejudices, and barriers to fellowship.'¹⁹⁷ Strange though this would have sounded to those whose experience of the Brethren was indeed narrow sectarianism, Müller's attitude was expressive of the broader and more open strand of Brethren. Interestingly, in Mrs Müller's exhaustive listing of

¹⁹⁴ Mrs Müller, *The Preaching Tours*, p. 292.

¹⁹⁵ The informed Christian observer was aware that he was not ordained. This is obvious from a comment on his first meeting in Sydney in February 1886: 'Amidst all the diversity of views which exist on the subject of "ordination" all sections of the Christian Church seemed to say – we recognise George Müller of Bristol as a man called of God and commissioned to speak in His name.' *Australian Christian World*, 12 February 1886, p. 728. The writer said he had not seen Müller for many years, so evidently had some personal acquaintance with him.

¹⁹⁶ Mrs Müller, *The Preaching Tours*, p. vi.

¹⁹⁷ A T Pierson, *George Müller of Bristol*, p. 247.

places he visited in Australasia, she specifically mentions only four occasions when he spoke in a Brethren meeting place.¹⁹⁸ This is borne out by newspaper reports where I have not seen any Brethren places mentioned. The most usual churches are Baptist, Wesleyan, Presbyterian and Congregational,¹⁹⁹ with many meetings in town halls, theatres, and the like, although his wife did mention four services in Sydney ‘at Episcopal Churches ... where the services were as simple and evangelical as possible, the clergymen ... being large hearted brethren.’²⁰⁰ The Sydney diocese’s evangelicalism would have had much in common with the Müllers’.

Lenz, in a recent thesis on Müller, makes the point that his visit ‘reflected how he was able to transcend any limits that may have been associated with his affiliation with the Christian Brethren and serve as an ecumenical witness of the faith to fellow Christians living in a context completely unlike his own’.²⁰¹ While we may argue about the definition of Australian society as being completely unlike British society, Lenz’s basic point that Müller’s visit helped to give Australian Christians a sense of relationship with the wider Christian world – to bridge the gap between them and the centre of the Empire – is well made.

George Müller retained a German accent to the end of his life,²⁰² and he was not a dynamic speaker, yet he obviously had a compelling presence and his story was an attraction for the crowds who came to hear him. He seems to have been equally happy to minister in a suburban church as to take meetings for thousands, and he also took meetings for Christian workers, pastors, and students. At some places he was introduced to local dignitaries, such as the Governor of New South Wales²⁰³

¹⁹⁸ ‘A meeting of Brethren at the Choral Hall’, Dunedin; ‘an address in a large Hall at a meeting of Brethren for the breaking of bread’, Wellington; ‘at the Room of the Brethren’, Auckland; and among 86 meetings in Sydney over four months, one in the ‘Brethren’s Room’. Mrs Müller, *The Preaching Tours*, pp. 291, 293, 295, 298.

¹⁹⁹ For example, newspaper reports and advertisements show that in Hobart he spoke at the Baptist Tabernacle, Melville Street Wesleyan Church, the Primitive Methodist Church in Collins Street, the Memorial Congregational Church, St John’s Presbyterian, the Union Chapel in Bathurst Street, Chalmers Presbyterian Church, and the New Town Wesleyan Church. My thanks to Laurie Rowston for sharing his detailed research into Müller’s Hobart visit.

²⁰⁰ Mrs Müller, *The Preaching Tours*, p. 299.

²⁰¹ Lenz, ‘“Strengthening the faith of the children of God”’, p. 372.

²⁰² *Southern Cross*, 19 March 1886, p. 17.

²⁰³ Mrs Müller, *The Preaching Tours*, p. 266.

and J H Angas in South Australia,²⁰⁴ a likely kindred spirit with his deeply Biblical faith and mission-oriented philanthropy.²⁰⁵

Müller's venerable appearance was often commented on, and, as with Dr Somerville, his age and long Christian experience seemed to engender confidence. In the many newspaper reports of his visits,²⁰⁶ whether secular or religious, there is always respect and even a degree of awe at meeting such a saint – almost akin to the twentieth century's veneration for Mother Teresa.²⁰⁷ Interviews are always sympathetic,²⁰⁸ and reports of his first meetings are detailed. As he then stayed in the larger cities for some time, reports tend not to continue, as his pattern seemed to be to give a couple of large meetings where he repeated the story of the orphanages, and then to preach as invited in some of the larger churches on Sundays, and take Bible readings during the week, including at some of the inner suburban churches. There do not seem to have been formal committees organising his itinerary – most churches seemed more than pleased to give him the use of their platforms once they were aware of his visit – although in Sydney John MacNeil was 'the secretary of Mr Müller's committee',²⁰⁹ thus illustrating yet again the links in the evangelical sub-culture.

George Clarke

The next major evangelist to visit, George Clarke, was much younger – somewhere between thirty and forty.²¹⁰ He was the up-and-coming man on the

²⁰⁴ Mrs Müller, *The Preaching Tours*, p. 286.

²⁰⁵ See Sally O'Neill, 'Angas, John Howard', in *ADB*. The penultimate paragraph outlines his Christian commitments. Among others, the British and Foreign Bible Society and Dr Barnardo's work would have been of mutual interest to Müller and Angas.

²⁰⁶ A search of Trove – Australian newspapers that have been digitised by the National Library of Australia – shows literally hundreds, if not thousands, of references to Müller. Many are about his visits; others refer to his death, and to the publication of his biographies. They underline the very wide recognition of Müller as a public personage.

²⁰⁷ I was present to observe and experience the same sort of effect when Mother Teresa spoke at a hastily convened meeting of students at Melbourne University in the early 1970s. She too was a softly spoken, unassuming speaker with a heavy accent, yet the impact was profound.

²⁰⁸ For example, see the *Brisbane Courier*, 19 July 1886, p. 5.

²⁰⁹ *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 30 January 1886, p. 5.

²¹⁰ His age on the shipping list (often unreliable) is given as 40, and a Sydney reporter said he was 'about six and thirty years'. *Australian Christian World*, 1 November 1888, p. 489. On the other hand, a long report which seems to be based on an interview in the Melbourne *Daily Telegraph* says that he is 'only 30 years of age.' *Brisbane Courier*, 8 May 1888, p. 3.

evangelistic circuit, and his potential was evidently known to the Evangelisation Society of Victoria in Melbourne, which was deputed to find a speaker for the 1888 Centennial Mission. He would have been known to them through the reports in the *Christian* as well as personal sources.²¹¹ These reports show that he was becoming well-known in the British Isles in the 1880s as a very acceptable and effective speaker at missions in churches. The first reports date from 1885,²¹² and in 1886 he evidently took a number of missions in the UK.²¹³ At Kirkcaldy crowds grew as word spread about his speaking prowess.

The correspondent to the *Christian* found it hard to analyse why his speaking was so powerful, as he did not expound the Bible like Moody, nor did he have the ‘accurate culture and thoughtful originality’ of Henry Drummond.²¹⁴ But they felt he was very much his own person, ‘bold and manly’, and ‘preaches the marrow of the Gospel with intense earnestness, and the power of God rests upon him.’ They were pleased to report that there were hundreds of enquirers.²¹⁵

By 1888, the reports were even more enthusiastic. In Stirling, ‘one special effect [was] that people ... talked with each other about spiritual things in a way which would scarcely have been possible previously.’ There was unity between the churches in the presentation of the mission, and the whole town was talking about it.²¹⁶ A return visit to Inverness seemed to show a deepening effect of his ministry,²¹⁷ and his time in Ireland (Dublin, Cork, Newry) evoked the highest accolade, that there had been nothing like this since D L Moody’s visit. They

²¹¹ *Southern Cross*, 6 April 1888, p. 275. Darrell Paproth, in ‘The 1888 Centennial Mission in Victoria’, *Lucas*, NS No. 1, Autumn 2009, p. 38-9, states that at this April meeting David Beath and Dr William Warren were deputed to go to England with letters, to introduce themselves to Clarke and issue the invitation. However, it is clear this had already happened, and that they knew the Clarkes had left for Australia by the time of this April quarterly meeting. This inaccuracy is repeated in Paproth’s chapter on the Centennial Mission in Robert Evans, *The Evangelisation Society of Australasia: The First Thirty-Five Years, 1883-1918*, Hazelbrook, 2010, pp. 103-4. I thank Dr Paproth for providing me with a copy of this article well before publication, although I am disappointed that this inaccuracy has not been corrected after I pointed it out. It undermines Paproth’s point that the committee chose Clarke as distinct from, say, Varley.

²¹² *Christian*, 10 September 1885, p. 678: presuming this is the same person, he is reported as starting a Young Women’s Institute and Home.

²¹³ *Christian*, 8 April 1886, p. 242: Edinburgh; *Christian*, 6 May 1886, p. 312: a fortnight with Glasgow YMCA – 300 names handed in; *Christian*, 19 August 1886, p. 603: Cardiff – mission for railwaymen and others; *Christian*, 23 September 1886, p. 713: Kirkcaldy.

²¹⁴ See Chapter 3.

²¹⁵ *Christian*, 23 September 1886, p. 713.

²¹⁶ *The Christian*, 10 February 1888, p. 119.

²¹⁷ *The Christian*, 24 February 1888, p. 164.

begged him to stay, which was not possible because of his impending Australian visit, and then invited him to return in 1889.²¹⁸



32: George Clarke²¹⁹

So the invitation from Melbourne was forwarded through the Rev. Ewing,²²⁰ and Clarke and his wife were reported as leaving for Australia on 23 March,²²¹ arriving in Melbourne on 29 April,²²² just before Varley left for the UK.²²³

George Clarke²²⁴ was a well-dressed, athletic, upper-class Englishman with impeccable background: the *Southern Cross* reported approvingly that he was the

²¹⁸ The *Christian*, 30 March 1888, p. 303. In Sydney it was reported that 'his missions in the West End of London, the cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dublin, were all of a remarkable kind.' *Australian Record*, 27 October 1888, p. 7.

²¹⁹ *Australian Christian World*, 22 November 1888, p. 537.

²²⁰ *Brisbane Courier*, 8 May 1888, p. 3.

²²¹ The *Christian* 23 March 1888, p. 252: George Clarke leaving for Australia on 23rd for Centennial Mission in Victoria and SA.

²²² PRO Victoria, Index of Inward Passenger Lists for British, Foreign and New Zealand Ports 1852-1923: CLARKE, MR aged 40 and MRS aged 32 arr. Apr 1888 on the *Britannia*, fiche 497 page 001. http://proarchives.imagineering.com.au/index_search_results.asp, accessed 31 October 2007, and *Southern Cross*, 4 May 1888, p. 343.

²²³ *Christian*, 15 June 1888, p. 551: Varley writing from Brindisi: Clarke had arrived a few days before he left – 'I trust he may be used abundantly'.

²²⁴ There is no biography or scholarly work on Clarke, apart from Paproth's 'The 1888 Centennial Mission in Victoria', *Lucas*, NS No. 1, Autumn 2009, pp. 31-65, which discusses him in the context of that mission. I thank Dr Paproth for the opportunity to see a copy of his article before publication.

son of an Anglican clergyman who would ultimately be ordained himself (two factors which probably helped considerably in his acceptance among Australian Anglicans).²²⁵ He was an 'Eton boy',²²⁶ and was often advertised as a Christian athlete – he had a background in athletics²²⁷ and football²²⁸ and played cricket with some of the best players of his age²²⁹ – although it was an epithet he found distasteful: 'I have received this name here,' he wrote, 'through the mistaken zeal of friends, only because I have ... one [lecture] entitled 'The Christian Athlete' ... I am ... simply one of thousands of young men who have trained for races on the cinder track.'²³⁰ This smacks of false modesty if the description of him in a Sydney paper as 'this ex-champion long distance runner of America'²³¹ is correct.

Clarke's demeanour and appearance also pleased his audiences. He himself caricatured the average evangelist as someone who 'did not wear a decent suit of clothes, cultivated long hair, and dropped his 'aitches.'²³² Although this description does not seem to fit any of the evangelists under consideration in this thesis, it evidently hit a nerve of some sort as it was greeted by laughter. Clarke, on the other hand, was well-dressed: his photograph shows quite a smart coat with piped trimming, and what look like tweed trousers,²³³ and 'Apemantus' in his column in the Melbourne *Daily Telegraph* described him as 'always the gentleman – almost the "masher".'²³⁴ He was slim, tall, with a 'well-knit frame' and a pleasant, distinct, speaking voice.²³⁵ 'Apemantus' tried to analyse his power as a speaker, and in the process described him:

He is of medium height ... lean and clean, and 'well-groomed', like a horsy man or a runner. Stands very erect and looks the world in the face. Has a good figure,

²²⁵ Paproth, 'Centennial Mission', p.40.

²²⁶ *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad*, April 1888, p. 49.

²²⁷ 'I am a really good runner, without being anything wonderful.' *Brisbane Courier*, 8 May 1888, p. 3.

²²⁸ In his lecture on the Christian athlete, he said that he was one of the Rugby Union team representing London a few years previously. *Australian Christian World*, 1 November 1888, p. 489.

²²⁹ He said he had faced Spofforth's bowling (at what level he did not say) and mentions being with some of the England Test cricketers including Studd and Lytton at a meeting with Moody. *Australian Christian World*, 1 November 1888, p.489.

²³⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 November 1888, p. 7.

²³¹ *Australian Christian World*, 1 November 1888, p. 489.

²³² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 October 1888, p. 3.

²³³ *Australian Christian World*, 22 November 1888, p. 537.

²³⁴ *Daily Telegraph*, 20 October 1888, p. 11.

²³⁵ *Australian Christian World*, 1 November 1888, p. 489.

a neatly-shaped head, bright prominent eyes, a calm manner, and a peculiar though pleasant and resonant voice. Dresses well, and holds himself well, and evidently does not believe in a Christian being necessarily a dowdy. Is dark, dapper, and clean shaved, and in every way looks not like the ordinary evangelist – whatever that may be – but just like an ordinary gentleman with a good deal of self-respect ... [Has a] very peculiar accent-which is a funny cosmopolitan mixture of Glasgow, Chicago, and London. He has a full chin, a sensitive mouth ... a pleasant smile, a mobile face ... His voice and quiet elocutionary power are very inferior to Varley's but his addresses are much more thoughtful and interesting.²³⁶

This gives an interesting glimpse of Clarke through the eyes of someone who said openly that he was trying to analyse his style and attraction rather than succumb to it. 'Apemantus's' preconceptions and prejudices are evident: Clarke would have fitted his model of an evangelist if he had been showily, or alternatively dowdily, dressed, with shifty eyes, and shouting platitudes.

From a revivalist point of view, his credentials were also good: he had been converted under Moody in the 1870s.²³⁷ At a meeting in Sydney he quoted John 10:27 and 28²³⁸ as 'the words which, eight years ago, referred to by Mr Moody, caused him to seek for peace. They formed a solid rock upon which every man might stand.'²³⁹ In a decade which had seen one of the best England Test batsmen, Charles T Studd, converted under Moody, take missions with university students and go to China as a missionary,²⁴⁰ a debonair Englishman with sporting prowess was bound to be well received. The combination of sport and the Moody connection had a definite cachet: he told his welcome meeting in Sydney that

it was by the advice of Mr Moody, who could not come, and Mr Aitken ... of the Church Parochial Mission, to which he belonged, that he had consented to come

²³⁶ *Daily Telegraph*, 20 October 1888, p. 11.

²³⁷ *Southern Cross*, 27 April 1888, p. 335; 4 May 1888, p. 343. The first reference gives the date as 1878, which would mean in the USA, as Moody was in the UK in 1873-5. He was quoted in the *Brisbane Courier*, 8 May 1888, p. 3, as saying 'I became converted though the agency of Mr Moody in America, where I spent some eight years ...' Paproth, 'Centennial Mission', p. 40, is therefore in error in saying he was converted under Moody in 1878 'during the latter's ministry in England'.

²³⁸ 'My sheep hear My voice, and I know them, and they follow Me: and I give unto them eternal life.'

²³⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 November 1888, p. 7. This implies a date of conversion about 1880, also presumably in the USA.

²⁴⁰ See John Pollock, *The Cambridge Seven*, London, 1955. Clarke referred to Studd and others in his Christian athlete lecture. Studd was a brilliant batsman, a member of the MCC team which lost the Test series which triggered the production of the original 'Ashes'.

to Australia. He had an idea that he would have some hold upon Australians owing to his personally knowing some of their cricketers.²⁴¹

This perception may go some way to explaining the fact that young men were noticed in higher proportions than usual in his congregations, including young men of good social standing.²⁴² The ratio of men to women in evangelistic services, indeed in church services in general, was often commented upon. There was clearly an underlying suspicion, against which defenders of such services were arguing, that these services appealed more to women, who were by definition susceptible and emotional. Clarke was not a clergyman, and although of course he was a professional evangelist, he presented himself as an ordinary man: 'only a plain man, doing what he could to bring good to others'.²⁴³ Certainly the continual references to manliness and his athletic career would have had a masculine appeal. The Melbourne editor of the *Australian Christian World* thought that his

influence over the better-class of young men [was because he had] tastes and impulses like their own ... it is when he is appealing to his own experience, and pleading with young men to devote themselves to the service of Christ, that he is most effective and useful.²⁴⁴

While there is no mention of his impact on young women (it would hardly have been seemly to do so), at his farewell meeting in Sydney it was noted that 'the gentler sex were largely in the majority',²⁴⁵ and it is reasonable to think that a manly and sporting evangelist who appealed to their male peers would be attractive to young women also.

Clarke's connections with the revivalist sub-culture is already evident in the reports in the *Christian*, and an item in a local Tasmanian Christian newspaper

²⁴¹ *Australian Record*, 3 November 1888. Aitken was presumably Canon Hay Aitken, who set up the Church Parochial Missions Society. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, p. 98. The *Brisbane Courier* article said that Clarke was 'a missionary, the only layman of the Church of England Missionary Society of Great Britain, a powerful organisation that carries on its work with 130 clergymen and Mr Clarke.' *Brisbane Courier*, 8 May 1888, p. 3.

²⁴² *Southern Cross*, 19 October 1888, p. 823, citing the *Daily Telegraph*.

²⁴³ *Australian Record*, 3 November 1888, p. 4.

²⁴⁴ *Australian Christian World*, 18 October 1888, p. 457.

²⁴⁵ *Australian Christian World*, 22 November 1888, p. 537.

shows this also. Probably written by Mrs Reed, not long after his arrival, it refers to him as 'our friend' and says that he

writes us cheerfully that there are signs of blessing in the special work being carried on [in Melbourne]. Some 700 have been attracted to the afternoon Bible readings held at Toorak, and good numbers have attended the evening Gospel meetings. Mr Clarke has also had some meetings with the University students, and a special lecture on the Christian Athlete drew an audience of some 1,400 men. He will work through the suburbs of Melbourne first, and then have a mission in the Town Hall.²⁴⁶

The word 'cheerfully' may indicate that Clarke himself may have approached this extended mission, on the other side of the world from where he was starting to be well known, with some trepidation, and was relieved and pleased to find a ready welcome and good numbers attending.

Like most evangelists, he began his campaign by meeting with local ministers and Christian workers;²⁴⁷ it was an essential part of any gospel campaign that a good proportion of ministers and key laymen supported the cause. After all, they were the (usually) respected locals whose good opinion could make the difference between success and failure. Varley had begun with a large credit account based on his reputation and his friendship and work with Moody and Spurgeon, but had squandered it by his vehemence and outspokenness. Clarke made and kept a good impression.

One major point in his favour was his declaration that he wanted 'first and foremost to work with the Churches, and if [he was] not going to carry on [his] mission with them and their aid, [he was] not going to have any mission at all.'²⁴⁸ He repeated this sentiment in Sydney, saying that where there had not been united work, there had been 'the growth of small sectarian bodies, instead of a growth of the Churches.' Although many of his lectures or sermons were given in Church of

²⁴⁶ *Pioneer*, June 1888, p. 2. This monthly magazine was produced by the Christian Mission Church, Launceston, later edited by Mary Reed and Mrs George Soltau, the pastor's wife - see *The Missionary, at Home and Abroad*, July 1891, p. 98. At this stage it may be that Mrs Reed was involved, as Mary was in England preparing to go to China.

²⁴⁷ *Southern Cross*, 4 May 1888, p. 343.

²⁴⁸ *Southern Cross*, 4 May 1888, p. 343.

England buildings, they were by no means limited to these, and he saw the mission in both Sydney and Melbourne as being ‘in one common cause and under one common name’.²⁴⁹ While this may have been somewhat idealistic, it was true that in Victoria he spoke under the auspices of the Evangelisation Society, although he was also used by the Church of England for their own Centennial Mission week in Melbourne,²⁵⁰ and in NSW he was to some extent linked with the YMCA.

In any case, he tried to give substance to his avowal by trying ‘not to interfere with the regular order of church services,’ and on Sundays only holding meetings ‘between Sunday School hours and the time of the evening service, and a subsequent meeting after the close of ordinary evening services.’²⁵¹ This was in contrast to previous evangelists, particularly Varley, whose extremely popular Sunday evening services in the Theatre Royal or Melbourne Town Hall must have half-emptied other churches, although the meetings were intended for the unchurched or ‘lapsed’ classes as they were often called. Even so, reports reaching England said that Clarke had been ‘charged by a Melbourne critic with emptying the churches’, but that the *Southern Cross* said this was ‘wild inaccuracy’: no other evangelist had ever worked so loyally with the churches.²⁵² Consequently, by his farewell meeting in Melbourne he was able to praise the way that ‘ministers of all denominations and their people [had] rallied round him’, saying that in England even ‘good and earnest men were not in sympathy with the work.’²⁵³

The difference in cooperation and liberality between Melbourne and Sydney was marked and obviously made for a more concerted spirit of outreach in the former. By contrast, in Sydney he said he had ‘never conducted a mission in any place

²⁴⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 October 1888, p. 3.

²⁵⁰ *Southern Cross*, 13 July 1888, p. 543; 20 July 1888, p. 563; 27 July 1888, p. 583. The situation was quite complex – in some areas the Church of England ministers did not join in, e.g. in Kew. *Australian Christian World*, 5 July 1888, p. 223.

²⁵¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 October 1888, p. 3.

²⁵² Quoted in the *Christian*, 7 September 1888, p. 858.

²⁵³ *Australian Christian World*, 6 December 1888, p. 569. The visit to Sydney was rather an addendum to his long Victorian sojourn. In early reports, only Victoria and sometimes South Australia were mentioned as destinations.

where he had received less support from the ministers than in Sydney.’²⁵⁴ The impression of lack of support may have come from the wariness of Anglicans, in particular, to ratify activities which fell outside the aegis of the church. This comes out in such statements as ‘A layman in a Church of England pulpit preaching a discourse of his own is a sufficiently strange phenomenon.’²⁵⁵ His lay status was overcome by his being granted a special licence by the archbishop,²⁵⁶ and of course he was used by the Church of England for their own mission in a number of parishes in Melbourne. He expressed himself as deeply thankful for those who had given their help, and, despite the lack of support, ‘spoke in high terms of the Sydney clergy as a body.’²⁵⁷ This was possibly a politic move, as there were gestures made as to the desirability of his returning. However, at other times Clarke was at pains to praise ministers and commend them for the work they did – possibly he was more aware of this because of his father’s vocation. In his ‘Christian athlete’ lecture he compared them favourably to visiting evangelists, as stayers rather than sprinters.²⁵⁸

Clarke had a very busy seven months in Australia. Most of his time was spent in Victoria, which was the original intention: arriving in Melbourne in May, he started with meetings there, then St Kilda, Camberwell, Kew in June, Hawthorn, South Yarra, Moonee Ponds, Essendon and Prahran in July, Ballarat, Geelong and East Melbourne in August, Richmond and general meetings in Melbourne in September, Toorak in the first half of October before going to Sydney until mid-November, followed by Campbelltown and Ballarat and a final week in Melbourne, after which he must have been glad to rest on the voyage home!²⁵⁹ Indeed, even as early as the middle of July when he had a week’s holiday, the

²⁵⁴ *Australian Christian World*, 15 November 1888, p. 521.

²⁵⁵ *Southern Cross*, 13 July 1888, p. 543.

²⁵⁶ *Australian Record*, 27 October 1888, p. 7. Also *Southern Cross*, 27 July 1888, p. 595, mentioning specifically that Archbishop Goe licensed him for the week of his mission at St Thomas’s, Essendon.

²⁵⁷ *Australian Christian World*, 15 November 1888, p. 521.

²⁵⁸ *Australian Christian World*, 8 November 1888, p. 506.

²⁵⁹ See Appendix A for dates of his itinerary, which have been gathered from numerous sources, especially the *Southern Cross* reports.

Southern Cross reported that he was plainly feeling the strain,²⁶⁰ and by October one reporter 'feared that he is over-worn ... by hard work.'²⁶¹

There must have been considerable strain in the constant moving around and large numbers of new people to meet, not to mention the hundreds of meetings at which he spoke. However, the geographic spread of his meetings and the time spent in each place (usually a week) may well have resulted a longer-lasting effect than the more spectacular enormous meetings of Mrs Hampson before him and John McNeill after him. Not since 1877 with Dr Somerville's extensive tour and Varley's long stay in Melbourne had there been such penetration of the suburbs and provincial cities, at least in Victoria.

I have not been able to find out the later stages of Clarke's career. There are sporadic references in the *Christian*, and in British newspapers generally, to his taking evangelistic meetings into the 1890s.²⁶² His youthful sporting persona could not have been maintained much longer than this, and it is likely that he settled into regular parish work, but this is conjecture.²⁶³

* * * *

Thus the busy, prosperous mid-eighties had seen an influx of overseas speakers, and there may well have been an element of exhaustion after the efforts of the centennial year, as no such large-scale meetings occurred again until 1894. The next group of visitors in 1890-91 were all much more focussed on the church-going public, with messages of holiness, deeper spirituality, and missionary, social and intellectual challenge.

²⁶⁰ *Southern Cross*, 13 July 1888, p. 543.

²⁶¹ *Australian Christian World*, 18 October 1888, p. 457.

²⁶² A note in the *Australian Christian World*, 19 April 1894, p. 6, says that he had just closed a very successful mission in Bristol and Clifton. 'He is said to have wielded extraordinary power over large audiences without the least excitement, and with no attempts at oratory or flights of eloquence.'

²⁶³ *Crockford's Clerical Directory*, 1930, lists three George Clarkes active in 1930. All are possibilities. I cannot see a likely person in the 1890s editions.

Chapter 4: the 1890s

1890-1892: 'Flying visitants'

The sustained activity of the centennial year had built up something of a momentum in evangelistic work, especially in Victoria. Then in 1890, more international figures visited Australia, whose meetings were not so much in the nature of inter-denominational evangelistic campaigns. They were Henry Drummond, well-known as an author, and a speaker particularly to young men; Hudson Taylor, founder of the China Inland Mission; and the Rev. George Grubb, the first 'Keswick missionary', who returned in 1891 for a much longer run of meetings which made a greater impact than those in 1890. As well as these three, General William Booth paid a long-awaited visit which engendered enormous publicity for the Salvation Army.

Although none of these men were primarily evangelists, their influence within the evangelical world and indeed outside it was so great, and the attention they attracted was so widespread, that it would be remiss to overlook them. They reinforced the message of holiness which was an adjunct of the repertoire of most evangelists of this period, and also gave practical expression to it, encouraging and urging serious Christians to give their faith an outlet in missions or philanthropy.

Henry Drummond

Booth and Taylor might well be called Christian statesmen. Henry Drummond (1851-1897)² was also famous, and was in early middle age when he visited

¹ *Australian Christian World*, 6 August 1886, p. 296.

² See G A Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, London, 1899; Thomas Corts, (ed.), *Henry Drummond: A Perpetual Benediction*, Edinburgh, 1999; D W Bebbington, 'Drummond, Henry (1851-1897)', *ODNB*; T George, 'Henry Drummond', in Timothy Larsen (ed.), *Biographical dictionary of evangelicals*, Leicester, England, Downers Grove, Ill., 2003, pp. 194-5.

Australia. He had originally started a science degree, followed by theological studies, and had come in contact with Moody and Sankey in 1873. He became closely involved with their campaigns in 1874-5, 'speaking himself, editing Moody's evangelistic addresses, and counselling prospective converts in the enquiry room.'³ This connection continued throughout his life, as Drummond helped with their 1882 UK meetings, and also visited the USA to speak at Northfield and other centres with Moody.



33: Henry Drummond.⁴

It was in some ways a strange alliance. On the surface, their mutual affection and respect was unlikely: Drummond was far more philosophical than Moody, and came to espouse a union of scientific thought, particularly theories of evolution, with Christian thinking. This aroused much criticism from conservative evangelicals, yet Moody and Drummond continued to express their love and friendship for each other.⁵ Many evangelicals thought that Drummond's emphasis

³ Bebbington, 'Drummond', *ODNB*.

⁴ *Christian*, 7 October 1886, front page.

⁵ For example, in the very small collection of Henry Drummond's letters to his family in the National Library of Scotland, he occasionally comments on other speakers, sometimes rather tongue in cheek, but his comments on Moody are always positive. NLS Acc. 5890/1, Letters of Henry Drummond to his family. From Smith's biography it is obvious that Drummond wrote long and informative letters home to his family, but if

on God's love, and the law of love as an expression of the higher nature in human beings, lacked teaching on sin and the necessity for repentance and reliance on the blood of Christ. Moody, whose preaching contained all these, was nevertheless clearly drawn to Drummond, and perhaps his own emphasis on the love of God⁶ underlined their mutual esteem.

Drummond became widely known through the publication of his *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* in 1883. With sales of over 70,000, his contemporary fame was assured, and the book was widely accepted by young men trying to reconcile their faith with the new theories of modern science, and by older Christians who were glad to see a vindication of their faith from a different perspective. A friend expressed the ambivalence with which Drummond was viewed: 'Whatever criticism may be passed, it will be allowed that few men in the century have done so much to bring their hearers and readers to the feet of Jesus Christ.'⁷ An early indication of knowledge of the author and his work from a leading Melbourne evangelical is David Beath's letter from Stirling to H B Macartney in 1884:

Henry Drummond, the author of "Natural Law" etc (which has already reached its fifteenth thousand), is a ... native of this place. He has just been unanimously appointed to a Science Chair in the Glasgow University. His father whom I met today tells me that Henry D. is just going up to London to take part in Moody's work.⁸

Just after the book was published, Drummond left for Africa for an extended scientific trip, and upon his return in 1884 he was appointed a professor of theology by the Free Church. He continued to work with young men in missions in Edinburgh and across the United Kingdom, and this work, combined with his book, made him almost a household name.

they are still extant they are not in the NLS collection. See also John Pollock, *Moody without Sankey*, London, 1963, p. 110, for a good description of the contrast between Moody and Drummond.

⁶ Moody was influenced early in his career by the young Brethren preacher Harry Moorhouse, whom he heard preach for a week on John 3:16, 'God so loved the world...'. Pollock, *Moody without Sankey*, pp. 73-4. See also H Pickering (ed.), *Chief Men among the Brethren*, London etc, [1930], p. 169.

⁷ W Robertson Nicoll, quoted in Corts, (ed.), *Henry Drummond*, pp. 46-7.

⁸ *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad*, Sept. 1884, pp. 137-9. Letter from Mr David Beath, Stirling, June 3rd, 1884. Beath was Brethren, and involved in many of the major evangelical enterprises in Melbourne. See Chapter 1.

His winsome personality, modesty, love for Christ, and deep conviction of faith contributed to what one friend called his ‘magnetic influence’;⁹ one author has said that he had ‘an almost hypnotic personality’.¹⁰ Gipsy Smith, by birth and education far removed from Drummond, wrote that he himself was ‘attracted at once by the sweetness of his spirit and the graciousness of his manner and disposition.’ Drummond made him feel totally at ease and asked him about his life and methods of preparation. Smith felt that he ‘at once appealed to the best in you.’¹¹ The unusual combination of his gifts was noted by the *Southern Cross* when welcoming him to Australia: ‘Who else of living men can be named who unites in the same degree competent scientific knowledge, brilliant literary gifts, and ardent evangelical faith?’¹²

He came to Australia in 1890 as a result of an invitation from 230 members of Melbourne University, who were no doubt, as his biographer says, influenced by his fame and by fellow-students’ contact with him in Edinburgh.¹³ The *Southern Cross* believed he had been a ‘spiritual presence and force in Australia for years ... subtly shap[ing] the thoughts even of those who disagree with him.’¹⁴ His arrival was widely reported in many papers, with most providing potted biographies.¹⁵

⁹ Corts, (ed.), *Henry Drummond*, p. 46.

¹⁰ Peter Barnes, *Theological Controversies in the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales, 1865-1915: The Rise of Liberal Evangelicalism*, New York etc, 2008, p. 177. In early years he practised hypnotism: David Bebbington, ‘Henry Drummond, evangelicalism and science’, in Corts, (ed.), *Henry Drummond*, p. 31.

¹¹ *Gipsy Smith: His Life and Work*, p. 269-270. In another example of Drummond’s appeal to men not of his own class or education, he wrote home about speaking at a digger’s funeral: ‘... they listened with profound attention ... [The man’s mate was weeping by the coffin, and by the grave] ‘the miners begged for another service. This was gladly granted and I hope I did not lose so golden an opportunity. It may be years before there is another service in that camp...’ National Library of Scotland, Acc. 5890/1, Letters of Henry Drummond, scrap of undated letter.

¹² *Southern Cross*, 25 April 1890, p. 330.

¹³ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, p. 358. Evidently they were members of the Melbourne University Christian Alliance. *Daily Telegraph* 18 April 1890, p. 5. A Tasmanian report said that he had ‘been deputed by the Assembly of the Free Church to visit Melbourne in connection with the movement for union of the two branches of the Presbyterian Church.’ *Launceston Examiner*, 15 March 1890, p.2.

¹⁴ *Southern Cross*, 25 April 1890, p. 330.

¹⁵ For example, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 March 1890, p. 11; *Brisbane Courier*, 28 July 1890, p. 6.

As he shunned publicity, avoiding newspaper reporters if at all possible,¹⁶ and insisting that none of his meetings be reported, there are very few sources for his sojourn here.¹⁷ One reporter managed to get a short interview by waiting at the wharf in Adelaide for Drummond to return to the ship. After a short conversation, long enough for the reporter to note that ‘a most pleasant manner and graceful diction make him a charming conversationalist, while his deeply intellectual eyes exercise a great fascination’, Drummond had to board the ship, ‘expressing his regret at eluding me’ – an apology that was no doubt given with his tongue firmly in his cheek.¹⁸

The *Southern Cross*, which could and would have given wide publicity to his talks, commented that ‘unlike most evangelists ... [he has] a horror of publicity’,¹⁹ and were reduced to quoting from other authorities about him.²⁰ He evidently felt that he could speak more freely, and young men would express their worries and doubts more openly, if the meetings were completely confidential. He did grant an interview in Brisbane, after his trip to the New Hebrides, but here again he resolutely refused to discuss his student meetings: ‘Of his mission to the students in Sydney and Melbourne Professor Drummond said he would prefer not to speak. It was quite a private matter, and the intention was that it should not be published.’²¹ He also refused to speak in churches, and paid his own travelling expenses.²²

¹⁶ H C Shelly from *The Independent* wrote in a syndicated article, ‘I sometimes think that the institution of the reporter has played a large part in driving Professor Drummond into his shell. It would be wrong to say that he hates the reporter, for I don’t believe he is capable of hatred towards any man; but it is quite allowable to say that he hates reports. If you can promise him that your meeting will not be reported, you have won half the battle in securing him as a speaker. Professor Drummond is thoroughly consistent in his dislike of the publicity of which his fame has made him the victim; in his case it is a real penalty.’ *Launceston Examiner*, 28 August 1894, p. 7.

¹⁷ He wrote home on 27 May 1890, ‘I can send you no reports, as I have discovered how to circumvent the Press, and have succeeded most effectually everywhere.’ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, p. 367. There is, however, a memoir of one Sydney meeting by R A Thompson: *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 October 1925, p. 9.

¹⁸ Ironically, the copy of this pretty well unique ‘interview’ is very blurred. *Daily Telegraph* 18 April 1890, p. 5.

¹⁹ *Southern Cross*, 2 May 1890, p. 343.

²⁰ He wrote home that ‘Your prediction was right about the interviewers, who turned up in phalanxes in every port. Happily, I did not see their lucubrations, as the steamer always bore me from the scene of trial before the papers were out.’ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, p. 361.

²¹ *Brisbane Courier*, 28 July 1890, p. 6.

²² Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, p. 358. A letter in 1887 to his mother shows how he refused any payment on an American trip: ‘Were it only to break down the universal impression here that all religious

He went to Adelaide, Melbourne, and Sydney, and was not able to fit in Hobart because of the hiatus in his trip when he stayed in Melbourne to be with his friend the Rev. John Ewing as he died of typhoid, and to take his funeral.²³ He was not particularly impressed by such Australian scenery as he saw, writing home that ‘nature is monotonous; there is no magnificent scenery, and scarcely anything more than passable.’²⁴ After a trip to the New Hebrides to report on political and social conditions there, he spent some time in Queensland looking at the other end of the Kanaka problem²⁵ and observing the state of affairs with aboriginals.²⁶

Drummond concentrated on essentially private meetings for university students, for young men, and for children.²⁷ He did not allow reporters at meetings, nor mere spectators – for example, in a letter to the Rev. John Walker in Sydney (an old fellow worker), he asked him to organise a Sunday night meeting for ‘better-class young men, non-church members as far as possible. Everybody goes to the YMCA young man; I am anxious for a shot at the outsiders.’ Showing his sense of humour, he concluded his suggestions with ‘No elders admitted. Parsons, £10 a head. Reporters, £100.’²⁸

Drummond’s career was cut short by his early death in 1897,²⁹ which was widely reported in Australian newspapers of all kinds. Notwithstanding his many gifts and undoubted sincerity and dedication, there was considerable hesitation in evangelical regard for him. His obituary in the *Christian* was only half a column

work has an equivalent in dollars I feel it a duty to enter this small protest.’ National Library of Scotland, Acc. 5890/1, Letters of Henry Drummond to his family: letter to his mother, 5 August 1887.

²³ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, pp. 361-6.

²⁴ He continued, in a sentence which reflects his Romantic views of nature: ‘It is no tourist land, and no-one need come here to see, or even to learn. I wish I had done NZ for it is a miniature of Norway and Switzerland, but it was quite out of season and I could not fit it in with the New Hebrides ...’ National Library of Scotland, Acc. 5890/1, Letter of Henry Drummond to his family, letter to James from Armidale NSW, 27 July 1890.

²⁵ This was an issue on which he was willing to be interviewed: *Brisbane Courier*, 28 July 1890, p. 6, has a long report.

²⁶ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, pp. 367ff. After his return to Britain, he was reported (under the heading “Sensational Statement”) as having told an interviewer from the *Pall Mall Gazette* that ‘the natives of Queensland are treated as veritable outcasts, and that their lives are freely taken in certain districts on the smallest provocation, and no questions asked. The grievance in connection with the aboriginals, he asserted, was far worse than anything related to the kanakas.’ *Brisbane Courier*, 20 May 1892, p. 5.

²⁷ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, pp. 366-7.

²⁸ Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, p. 369.

²⁹ He had some kind of bone disease, possibly cancer, which affected his spine.

long, much less than for other prominent evangelicals. Although the writer referred to ‘universal sorrow’ at his premature death, s/he could not resist describing his work as ‘highly speculative’ with ‘unsettling tendencies’. However, once again his personal winsomeness won through: his ‘devotion to the person of Christ, and his efforts to bring young men under the same all-powerful spell, were undoubted.’³⁰ Something of the same note of regret was conveyed by H B Macartney: ‘Thus has the world of Science, Literature and Religion been bereaved of one who, but for his views of Inspiration, and on the “Ascent of Man”, might have been its brightest ornament.’³¹ Notwithstanding conservative evangelical views, Drummond’s writing was immensely popular in his time,³² and indeed has continued to be. His *The Greatest Thing in the World* (reflections on 1 Corinthians 13) has never been out of print.³³

James Hudson Taylor

Just as Drummond was leaving Queensland in 1890, missionary statesman Hudson Taylor (1832-1905) was arriving in Darwin.³⁴ It must have seemed an inauspicious start to his tour: the newspaper reported that he delivered on Monday evening, in the Wesleyan Chapel, a very poorly-attended lecture, on the Chinese Empire and its Future Prospects. The reporter thought that the lecture was disappointing, inasmuch as it dealt entirely with mission work, to the exclusion of matter more likely to interest a lay audience.³⁵ The paper noted that the size of the audience was probably because of the shortness of notice, and indeed, the meeting was an impromptu arrangement.³⁶

³⁰ *Christian*, 18 March 1897, p. 25.

³¹ *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad*, May 1897, p. 66.

³² His press cuttings book, completed presumably by his family, has literally hundreds of printed obituaries, from Scottish and English national, regional, and religious papers, and international papers. National Library of Scotland, Acc. 5890/18.

³³ Larsen (ed.), *Biographical dictionary of evangelicals*, p. 195. Indeed, it is currently (2011) on the shelves of the Christian bookstore in Hobart, Tasmania, along with another book of several selected addresses of Drummond’s including this one.

³⁴ To their mutual surprise, they encountered each other on Thursday Island. Taylor’s companion, the young aristocratic CIM recruit Montagu Beauchamp, recognised Drummond when they were both ashore briefly. A J Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor and China’s open century, Vol. 7: It is not death to die!*, London, 1990, p. 149.

³⁵ *Northern Territory Gazette*, 15 August 1890, p. 2. They gave a longer summary of the substance of his talk on page 3.

³⁶ Broomhall, *It is not death to die!*, p. 149.



34: James Hudson Taylor³⁷

To anyone who knew anything of Hudson Taylor's life work, however, the angle of his talk would not have been surprising. For more than thirty years he had been a missionary in China, and he was the founder of the China Inland Mission (CIM), which he established in the 1860s to take the Christian message beyond the coastal areas of China.³⁸ The CIM was the largest undenominational mission in China, and Taylor led the way in some radical mission trends: pioneering trips and placements in the furthest reaches of the Chinese hinterland, far beyond consular protection; cultural sensitivity in the wearing of Chinese dress; the acceptance of single women and their deployment in remote areas; and an emphasis on sacrificial service and spirituality rather than formal theological training.

While Taylor's visit was in no way evangelistic, it illustrates very well the closeness of the networks which linked missionary-minded and revivalist

³⁷ <http://unashamedworkman.wordpress.com/2007/10/25/lord-you-promised-i-should-never-thirst/>

³⁸ For Taylor's life, see John Pollock, 'Taylor, (James) Hudson (1832–1905)', rev., *ODNB*; Howard and Geraldine Taylor, *Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission: The Growth of a Soul*, and *Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission: The Growth of a Work of God*, London, 1911, 1918, and Marshall Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor: The Man Who Believed God*, London, 1929. A modern biography is A J Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor and China's open century*, 7 vols., London, 1981–90.

evangelicals. After his conversion as a teenager (triggered by a message by Henry Reed!³⁹), Taylor had been greatly influenced by his attendance for some time at Brethren meetings in Hull and London, and by the example and faith of George Müller, who indeed became a financial supporter of Taylor and the CIM.⁴⁰ After the early disappointment of the lack of support from the mission with which he first went to China, he established the CIM on the principles of never appealing for funds, and of ‘scrupulous stewardship’.⁴¹

By the late 1880s, he was made aware of the growing Australian interest in mission in China. Reed’s elder daughter Mary⁴² had gone to China from England as an associate of the CIM in 1888. Further missional and familial inter-connections were that her companion on the voyage, Geraldine Guinness, was a sister of Harry who toured Australia in 1885-6,⁴³ and that Harry had married her sister Annie Reed.⁴⁴ Also, her minister in Launceston was George Soltau from England who had been on the CIM Council in England.⁴⁵

Mary Reed’s ill-health forced her to return to Australia in 1889. As she recovered, she publicised the work of the CIM and the needs of China in meetings and in print.⁴⁶ She suggested that Australian candidates should be able to ‘proceed to China as associates rather than go through the formalities in England.’⁴⁷ This coincided with growing interest in the CIM and consultations with the ubiquitous H B Macartney and three friends who were praying for China.⁴⁸ The upshot was

³⁹ A J Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor and China’s open century, Vol. 1: Barbarians at the Gates*, Sevenoaks, 1981, p. 292.

⁴⁰ H & G Taylor, *Hudson Taylor: The Growth of a Soul*, pp. 111-113, 115-116.

⁴¹ Pollock, ‘Taylor, (James) Hudson’, *ODNB*.

⁴² Later the mother of Hudson Fysh, co-founder of Qantas.

⁴³ See Chapter 3.

⁴⁴ Michele Guinness, *The Guinness Legend*, London, 1989, pp. 168-174. Geraldine married Howard Taylor, one of Hudson Taylor’s sons, and became a major biographer of her father-in-law and historian of the CIM.

⁴⁵ *The Pioneer*, June 1886, p. 2.

⁴⁶ She edited *The Pioneer*, a monthly magazine put out by the Launceston Christian Mission, which contained reports of local evangelistic work, and of mission work overseas. Some articles on China are clearly written by her. This periodical is held by TAHO, although it is not in the catalogue (see bibliography). Also see the *Christian*, 5 September 1890, p. 831, which says that she was seeking to stir up missionary interest, especially in the CIM.

⁴⁷ Broomhall, *It is not death to die!*, p. 147. See also H B Macartney, *Another Glimpse of “England, Home, and Beauty”*: *Sketches of Christian Life in England in 1893*, Melbourne, [1895], p. 8, for his description of this process, in which he was involved.

⁴⁸ C H Parsons, his curate, W Lockhart Morton (Presbyterian), and Alfred Bird (Baptist). Marcus Loane, *The Story of the China Inland Mission in Australia and New Zealand*, Sydney, 1965, p. 6.

the formation of an Australian CIM Council, and the invitation to Hudson Taylor to visit Australia and fan the growing flame of interest.

Taylor's tour covered the eastern states and South Australia, and the meetings, interviews, and consultations were crowded into three months from mid-August 1890. After meetings in Newcastle and Sydney in late August, he spent some time in Melbourne, meeting the newly established CIM council and 'interviewing candidates, addressing crowded meetings'⁴⁹ before a three-week stay in Tasmania. Part of this was spent at the Reeds' home, a place of recuperation for several of the visitors studied in this thesis. In Hobart, Taylor spoke to 500 at the Town Hall, and to 'eighty friends of Lady Hamilton at Government House'.⁵⁰ By late September he was on the way to Adelaide via Geelong and Ballarat, and October was basically divided between Adelaide (with daily meetings) and Melbourne. Here there were more consultations, and more meetings, including one for 3,000 young people in the Academy of Music and a similar number at the farewell meeting in the Town Hall. A stream of candidates was waiting to be interviewed also.⁵¹

His host in Melbourne, the Rev. H B Macartney junior, that lynch-pin of evangelical activity in Melbourne, was of course prepared to admire and even revere his guest, but even so, observing him at close quarters he was impressed to find that his 'Christian character and Christ-like spirit'⁵² was maintained no matter how busy or pressed he was by the demands made of him. Macartney also remarked on the fact that 'in addition to an entire absence of appeals for money [a feature he would have expected], there is a notable absence of impassioned appeals for anything.'⁵³ Taylor's style and indeed his life was based on his

⁴⁹ Broomhall, *It is not death to die!*, p. 149; the programme included meetings at Malvern, the YMCA, two churches on the Sunday, Carlton, Kew, the Deanery, Cairns Memorial church, Caulfield, and more churches on the second Sunday. *The Missionary, at Home and Abroad*, October 1890, p. 84.

⁵⁰ Loane, *The Story of the China Inland Mission in Australia*, p. 3. *Mercury*, 15 September 1890, p. 2: Lady Hamilton 'will be pleased to see anyone who likes to attend.'

⁵¹ Broomhall, *It is not death to die!*, p. 151. The CIM was very careful in its selection of candidates; despite their awareness of the pressing needs in China, they only accepted about a quarter of the 400 who presented themselves in the next decade in Australia. Loane, *The Story of the China Inland Mission in Australia*, p. 20.

⁵² *The Missionary, at Home and Abroad*, October 1890, p. 85.

⁵³ *The Missionary, at Home and Abroad*, October 1890, p. 85.

conviction that ‘God’s work, done in God’s way, will never lack God’s supply’.⁵⁴ This element of quiet conviction was evident also in Sydney, where again, crowds heard him speak, and candidates came forward in droves. Taylor’s style of speaking was referred to as ‘earnest ... attractive ... interesting ... with a powerful appeal...’⁵⁵, and his evident faith in God and his deep spirituality drew people to him. Moreover, he was not recruiting for his own mission so much as making people aware of the needs he perceived in China; his generosity of spirit was such that he was equally happy if recruits were added to other societies such as the Church Missionary Society, or even if they were challenged to mission work in another country altogether.

His aim was to increase awareness of China in the hope of eliciting prayer and new missionaries, and as a corollary, financial support for them. This was a challenge in xenophobic Australia, where the Chinese had been regarded with suspicion and some contempt since the days of the gold rushes. One of his prescient themes was that China ‘will ere long become one of the great powers of the earth’, and that quite apart from the salvation of individuals, which he regarded as critical for their eternal welfare, the ‘christianising’ of the nation was vitally important if it were to succeed as an independent power.⁵⁶

Even though this was not primarily an evangelistic tour, Macartney reported that ‘a great many conversions are believed to have taken place’.⁵⁷ The immediate result of the tour was that twelve Australians sailed with Taylor and Beauchamp for China in late November;⁵⁸ longer-term results will be considered in chapter 8. The deep impression he made on committed Christians and his presentation of the great needs in China, combined with such influences as the challenge to consecration presented by George Grubb, resulted in one hundred Australians joining the CIM by 1900. Taylor returned to Australia towards the end of 1899,

⁵⁴ This quote is so well-known in Christian circles that it is almost impossible to track down an exact origin – no doubt Taylor said it on a number of different occasions. It is attributed to him on numerous websites without an actual reference.

⁵⁵ *Mercury*, 19 September 1890, p. 2.

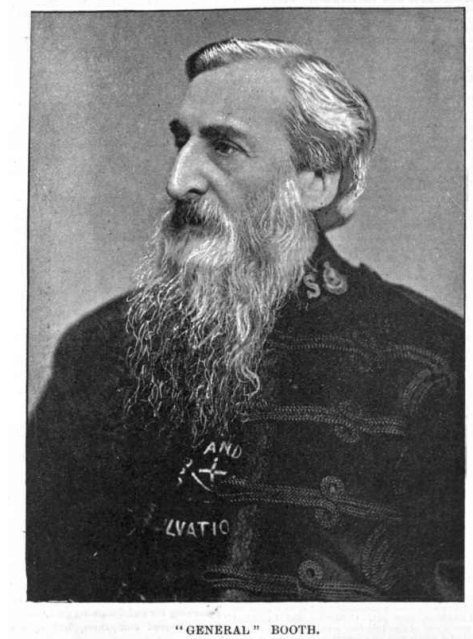
⁵⁶ *Mercury*, 19 September 1890, p. 2.

⁵⁷ *The Missionary, at Home and Abroad*, December 1890, p. 120. Meetings were held in the city, Summer Hill, Petersham, and Centenary Hall.

⁵⁸ Loane, *The Story of the China Inland Mission in Australia*, p. 11.

renewing his contacts and widening them to include New Zealand. He died in 1905 on a trip to China.

William Booth



35: William Booth in 1891⁵⁹

The visit in 1891 of General William Booth (1829-1912),⁶⁰ founder of the Salvation Army, was somewhat different in intention from others considered in this thesis. Like Müller, although to an even greater extent, his was a household name in religious and secular households alike. The Salvation Army was the fastest growing religious organisation in Australia, having burst on the scene in the previous decade. The Army had become notorious for its extroverted and noisy methods of evangelism, and had featured in court cases and newspaper debates because of it. There were many who would have thought that the summing up of the *Times* on the Army's silver anniversary programme at the

⁵⁹ "General" William Booth, photograph by Thomas Bales Coombs, Melbourne, 1891. State Library of Victoria, Accession no(s) H96.160/2021. Descriptions of Booth in the SLV catalogue all have the word "General" in quotation marks.

⁶⁰ Frank Prochaska, 'Booth, William (1829–1912)', *ODNB*.

Crystal Palace - 'It is a curious jumble of piety, business, swagger, and slang'⁶¹ – was indicative of the movement as a whole. A Burwood (Sydney) alderman, moving a motion against musical processions without permission, was typical of many when he protested that

... they made both day and night hideous; they apparently cared little for the feelings of sick people or the dying. He viewed them as a public nuisance, who disturbed the peace of the borough, especially so on Sundays. He had no objection to their worship in a building, but protested most strenuously against a band of semi-nude Indians and a crowd of larrikins being allowed to parade the streets of the town.⁶²

Nevertheless, by such outlandish means and also its social service, the Army was making its mark. Just before Booth's visit, he had produced *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, 'a classic in the literature of poverty',⁶³ which had caused something of a sensation and was being widely discussed. Booth's main aim in Australia was not to evangelise *per se*, but to visit and encourage Salvationists and to publicise his scheme for emigration to the colonies by the poor, and if possible to gain support for it. In this last aim he failed, as it was generally considered to be impractical.⁶⁴ The first aim was amply fulfilled, however, and officers and members of the Salvation Army greeted him with emotion bordering on hysteria. However, Booth did not hold any series of evangelistic meetings, and he was so closely identified with the Salvation Army - almost the embodiment of it - that in no sense can the meetings be called interdenominational.

Enormous numbers of people flocked to his meetings: the illustration overleaf shows the crowd of around 10,000 who came to the Exhibition Building in Melbourne to see him on his arrival, well into the evening of 30 September 1891. There was near-frenzy on the part of many Salvation Army officers, most of whom had never seen their leader in the flesh, and despite very inclement weather

⁶¹ *Times*, 15 July 1890, p. 9.

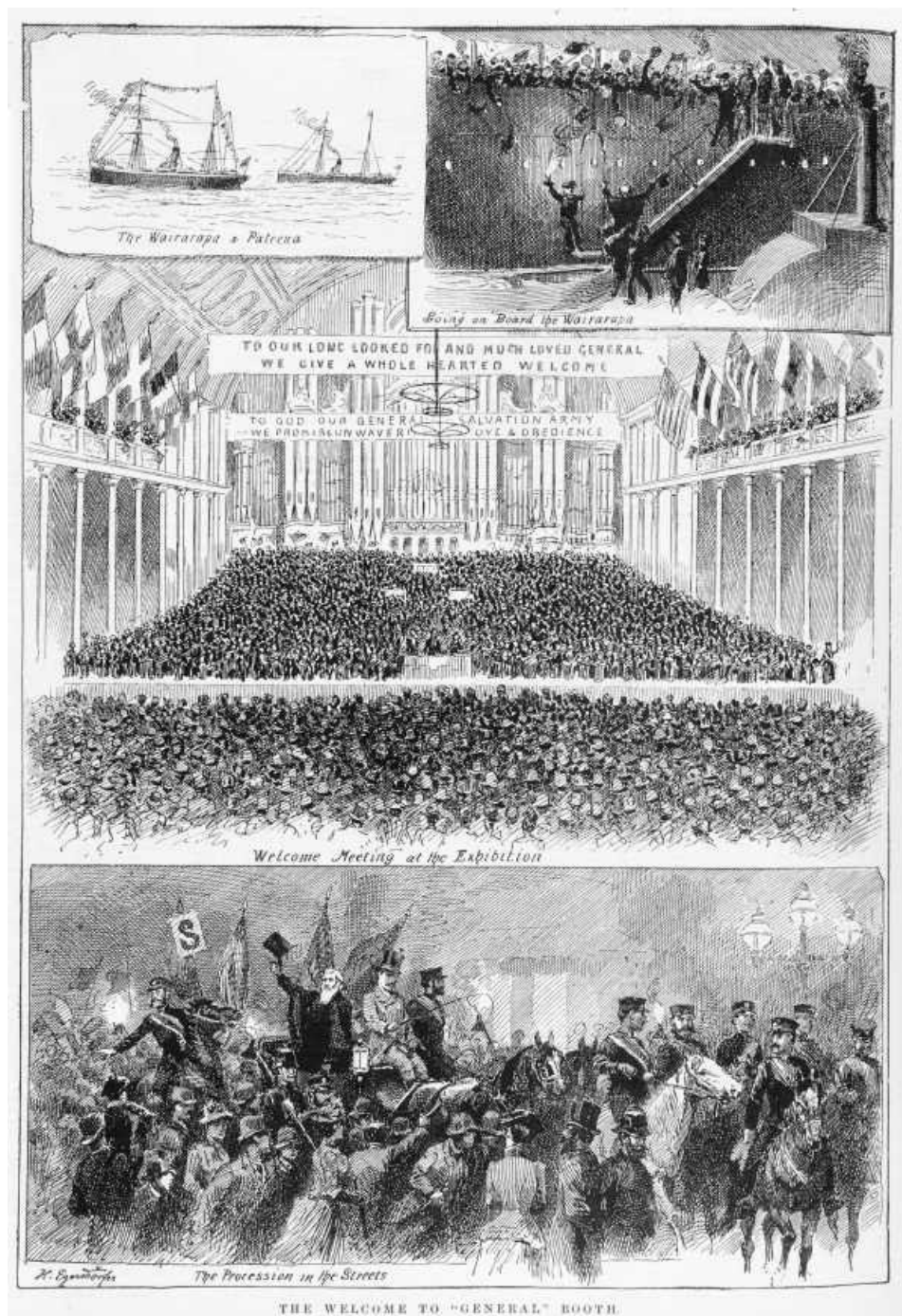
⁶² *Echo*, 31 October 1886, p. 6.

⁶³ Prochaska, 'Booth, William', *ODNB*.

⁶⁴ Michael Cannon comments, of the refusal of the colonial premiers to countenance the settlement of London paupers on 'spare' land, that 'What Booth had overlooked was that this was a self-righteous society which could cheerfully gaol an unemployed labourer who stole bread to feed his starving family, and yet tolerate shameful jobbery by its politicians' and financiers operating under the cloak of respectable commerce.' Michael Cannon, *The Land Boomers*, Carlton, 1967, p. 28.

they waited outside on the *Wairarapa* as it greeted the *Pateena* (on its delayed trip from Tasmania) coming up Port Phillip Bay. As one reporter wrote, ‘the enthusiasm of the Salvationist, unused to being kept under control, gathered strength’ in the delay, and Booth was greeted by a deafening chorus of “God bless you General!”, “Save me!”, and “Hallelujah!” when he arrived. He was mobbed by people, particularly women, just wanting to touch him.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ *Daily Telegraph*, 21 September 1891, p. 5.



36: Booth's welcome to Melbourne⁶⁶

⁶⁶ The Welcome to "General" Booth, *Illustrated Australian News*, 1 Oct. 1891. State Library of Victoria, Accession number: IAN01/10/91/12. "Clockwise from l.l.: The Procession in the Streets -- Welcome Meeting at the Exhibition -- The Wairarapa & Patea -- Going on Board the Wairarapa."

The damning with faint praise that usually accompanied reports on the Salvation Army was also evident in these accounts, although the number of people on the streets and in the Exhibition Building seemed to surprise some observers. On the Army's twenty-fifth anniversary the year before, the *Southern Cross* had somewhat grudgingly observed that 'a movement which has spread so far, and wrought so much good, must have in it some enduring spiritual force.'⁶⁷ Now, at Booth's arrival, the *Daily Telegraph* wrote, 'Their methods of doing work may not commend themselves to quieter sections of the community, but their results can only be viewed with unreserved favour by all well-wishers of their country.'⁶⁸ Notwithstanding the reservations of more sedate Christians, Booth's standing and the extravagant welcome of the huge crowds wherever he went ensured that his meetings were reported in detail, with long descriptions of the colour and noise – the banners, bands and singing which marked out Salvation Army demonstrations.

Müller's and Booth's visits exemplified the close interest in and connection with events in Britain still felt by many Australians. Reports of their meetings assume familiarity with their achievements, and it is clear that there were still very strong Empire-wide links. Nevertheless, in some ways they exemplified the past. Neither had as strong a connection to Moody and Sankey as most of the evangelists who took actual missions, and, despite the fact that both visited America, they were such distinct individuals that they did not come under Moody's aegis. It is noteworthy that both were heavily involved in physical philanthropy as well as being totally convinced of the need for spiritual conversion. This also set them apart from most of the other 'professional' evangelists.

⁶⁷ *Southern Cross*, 29 August 1890, p. 683.

⁶⁸ *Daily Telegraph*, 21 September 1891, p. 5.

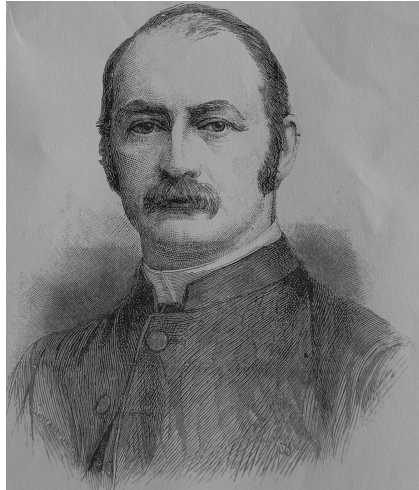
George Carleton Grubb

George Carleton Grubb (1856-1940),⁶⁹ who visited Australia in 1890 and returned in 1891-2, had direct links with the international holiness/revival community, and in fact was sent to Australia with their blessing and backing. However, he almost always took missions in Anglican churches, apart from several interdenominational holiness conventions. Grubb was the youngest son of a strongly evangelical Anglo-Irish gentry family with a long Quaker heritage, although his parents had been disowned by the Quakers in 1844. Several close relatives became clergymen or missionaries, notably his nephew, missionary statesman Norman P Grubb who married Test cricketer and missionary C T Studd's daughter and helped to found the World-wide Evangelisation Crusade.⁷⁰ George Grubb was a Church of Ireland minister, educated at Trinity College, Dublin, ordained in the diocese of Cashel in 1880, and a curate in Cahir and Limerick in the 1880s.⁷¹

⁶⁹ There is no article in the *ADEB* or the *ODNB*, and, as far as I can ascertain, no biography. I am greatly indebted to Isabelle Egan, of the British Library, who sent me scanned pages from Geoffrey Watkins Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary: studies in heredity and character*, Cork, 1972, in which his career is outlined briefly and hagiographically.

⁷⁰ This mission is still in existence as WEC International, with a presence in 90 countries. See www.wec.com.au. C T Studd had originally gone to China to serve with the China Inland Mission under Hudson Taylor. On Studd, see Norman P Grubb, *C T Studd: Cricketer and Pioneer*, London, [1933], and John Pollock, 'Studd, Charles Thomas (1860-1931)', *ODNB*. For Norman P Grubb, see his autobiography, *Once Caught: No Escape*, London, c. 1969.

⁷¹ Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary*, p. 164; Sydney Diocesan Archives, Anglican Church Diocese of Sydney, Cathedral Chapter of St Andrew, Minute Book 1886-1897, 1992/16/3, 8 October 1891, p. 236. Grubb was licensed to preach in Australia and the Chapter resolved to grant his mission the use of the cathedral.



37: George Grubb, about the time of his first visit to Australasia⁷²

The pervasive influence of D L Moody can be seen again in Grubb's life. Moody and Sankey were in Belfast in 1874 when his father and he were on a family visit there, and, according to the family's historian, 'Young George, at the impressionable age of 18, owed his conversion to Moody and his call to the sacred ministry for similar evangelism'.⁷³ Even more significant, perhaps, is the fact that George was able to go to Limerick and Queenstown as well, 'absorbing their teachings, methods, and singing, content to be allowed to act as a steward at their meetings.'⁷⁴

Evidently an extrovert personality, extremely tall,⁷⁵ 'with his Irish wit, infectious fun, love of music and singing ... he possessed all the courage, aristocratic bearing, and Bible knowledge' of any of his relations.⁷⁶ As well as his parish work he also worked among soldiers,⁷⁷ and his gifts were recognised by his appointment as a special mission preacher for the Church of Ireland Parochial Mission

⁷² From 'Rev. George C. Grubb, Mission Preacher', *Christian*, 1 August 1890, p. 21.

⁷³ Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary*, p. 160. In a sermon in Canada in February 1896, Grubb said it was 'just twenty three years' since he had found the Lord Jesus, which would equate to 1873. [no author or editor], *Behold your God! [microform]: being seventeen addresses by G.C. Grubb; ten Bible readings by Mrs. W.K. Campbell; addresses to children by E.C. Millard; notes of the prayer-meetings conducted by W. K. Campbell, during their mission in the city of Toronto, Canada, February 15th to March 2nd, 1896*, Toronto, 1896, p. 16.

⁷⁴ Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary*, p. 160.

⁷⁵ An admirer writing in 1911 said that he was '6ft. 4 in. in height'. *Adelaide Advertiser*, 10 October 1911, p. 12.

⁷⁶ Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary*, p. 160.

⁷⁷ *Behold your God*, p. iii.

Society.⁷⁸ By 1888 he was a speaker at the Keswick Convention in the Lakeland district of Cumbria, being used on that platform until 1924. Well before he came to Australia he was ensconced in the circles which promoted ‘practical holiness’: at a convention in Belfast in 1887 he was among speakers such as F B Meyer, Evan Hopkins and Hudson Taylor.⁷⁹

In 1887 he visited Ceylon and the Bombay Presidency on behalf of the Church Missionary Society.⁸⁰ In 1890, together with Edward Millard and Walter Campbell, Grubb briefly visited Melbourne, Hobart and New Zealand, as part of a ‘Colonial Mission’ from the Keswick Convention to Ceylon, south India, and parts of Australia and the Cape Colony.⁸¹ In 1891 he and his team returned, accompanied by Tamil David from Ceylon.

This must have been an exhausting tour; apart from the sheer amount of travel, the team undertook six-day missions of a very similar nature in church after church, week after week. Landing in Victoria in late May, the team took Anglican parish-based missions in and around Melbourne and in country Victoria from June to September. The Geelong Convention, which was the culmination of Grubb’s Victorian campaigns, had its own significance and will be discussed later.⁸² They then went to Sydney and some regional towns in NSW from October to early January, again culminating in a Christian Convention in Centenary Hall. Tasmania followed in late January and February, with another convention in Launceston. Finally, the team went to New Zealand for two months in the South Island and one in the North, thus rounding off a full year in the Antipodes.⁸³

⁷⁸ *Behold your God*, p. iii.

⁷⁹ *The Belfast News-Letter*, 4 October 1887, p. 8. Grubb was evidently also a musician of some competence: in *Hymns of Consecration and Faith*, there is a tune by him called ‘Cahir Abbey’ to words of Zinzendorf, ‘O Thou, to Whose all-searching sight The darkness shineth as the light...’ (No. 344). It is by no means a conventional gospel tune and has some interesting harmonic progressions.

⁸⁰ *Behold your God*, p. iii.

⁸¹ [Hopkins, E H, (ed.)], *The Story of Keswick: The Eighteenth Convention*, London, 1892, p. 45.

⁸² See Chapter 8.

⁸³ See Appendix A for exact dates. Information has been collated from E C Millard, *The Same Lord: An Account of the Mission Tour of the Rev. George Grubb in Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand*, London, 1893, and newspaper and other reports, especially *The Missionary: At Home and Abroad*.

Grubb was in Australia at much the same time as General William Booth of the Salvation Army, and aroused much publicity of his own about enthusiasm and emotion in religious expression. In fact, he himself reported in England that a Tasmanian paper had announced before their arrival that Grubb and his party were ‘worse than the Salvation Army’.⁸⁴ This was probably due to the rumours that flew around about the Geelong convention.⁸⁵

Grubb continued to travel as an evangelist for Keswick: to South America in 1893, in Egypt in 1895, and Canada in 1896, for instance.⁸⁶ He visited Australia again in 1911-1912, taking meetings in Sydney, Adelaide and Brisbane,⁸⁷ although with less fanfare and seemingly much less impact if lack of reports are an indication. In an unusual step for an ordained Anglican minister, he was baptised by immersion by leading English Baptist minister F B Meyer on 24 September 1896.⁸⁸ Certainly this was not approved in the Church of England: in Melbourne the *Messenger* said that however ‘grieved and perplexed [sic] ... all Churchmen must be at Mr Grubb’s actions, there can be no doubt of the sincerity of his actions’, but they could only conclude that he was ‘a man of so emotional a temperament that ... the soundest logical conclusions would stand no chance against a sudden wave of enthusiasm and passion’ – despite the fact that Grubb had said he had studied and thought quite deeply about the issue.⁸⁹ He may have acted as a Baptist minister at some stage or perhaps his baptism gave rise to this assumption,⁹⁰ but it does hint at the way that the Keswick message of Christian unity could help someone sit lightly to their denominational affiliation.

⁸⁴ Hopkins (ed.), *The Story of Keswick*, p. 46.

⁸⁵ Grubb may have been referring to a sub-leader in the *Mercury*, 21 November 1891, p. 2, which talks about the ‘extravagance of their ideas and the eccentricity of their actions’. A George Fagg replied three days later, defending Grubb and the convention and correcting inaccurate rumours. *Mercury*, 24 November 1891, p. 3.

⁸⁶ *Behold your God*, p. iv.

⁸⁷ See reports in the *Adelaide Advertiser*, *Brisbane Courier*, *Sydney Morning Herald*, etc. His impending visit, ‘not in the interests of any denomination, but in the broad interests of Christianity’ was reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 May 1911, p. 6.

⁸⁸ *NSW Baptist*, 1 November 1896, p. 142, *Church of England Messenger*, 1 May 1897, p. 62.

⁸⁹ *Church of England Messenger*, 1 May 1897, p. 62.

⁹⁰ The index to the *Church of England Messenger* (Melbourne) refers to the article about his baptism under the heading ‘as a Baptist’. Darrell Paproth, ‘Henry Varley and the Melbourne Evangelicals’, *Journal of Religious History* Vol. 25 No. 2, June 2001, p. 178, says that Grubb ‘later became a Baptist’, without giving a reference. For Meyer, see Ian M Randall, ‘Frederick Brotherton Meyer’, *ODNB*.

Possibly as a result of this action, Grubb's name disappeared from *Crockford's Clerical Directory* in 1897.⁹¹ Nevertheless, he held a pastoral position at Christ Church, Johannesburg from 1925-1930.⁹² He married in 1906,⁹³ but had no children, and also conducted missions in Russia, by interpretation, before the start of World War I. He died in 1940.⁹⁴

1894-1899: 'Preachers of the vagrant sort'⁹⁵

1892 and 1893 were quieter years, coinciding with the ending of the land boom and the great bank crashes which heralded the 1890s depression. In Melbourne, men such as James Balfour and David Beath, who had been generous benefactors of evangelical enterprise and involved in the movement at many levels, were at least temporarily financially restricted (Balfour more than Beath, it seems), although they do not appear to have been personally dishonest. Many of the men – pillars of society – with whom they had been associated were either bankrupted, or avoided insolvency by the slimmest of margins by paying their creditors as little as a halfpenny in the pound.⁹⁶

Local evangelists were active outside the capital cities: Mrs Baeyertz had left for New Zealand, North America and ultimately the UK at the beginning of 1890, not returning until mid-1904 for a visit of about two years,⁹⁷ and John MacNeil was engaging in itinerant gospel ministry, mostly in regional and country areas of Victoria and Tasmania. He also went to New Zealand early in 1894, and was in South Australia after that.

⁹¹ *Crockford's Clerical Directory*, microfilm in State Library of Victoria, 1891, 1896, 1897. He is not listed in the 1930 edition either.

⁹² Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary*, p. 164.

⁹³ He married Esther Wemyss Disney. She was presumably a capable speaker in her own right. In 1911 in Sydney 'Mrs George Grubb' was advertised as a speaker 'from the Mission from England', at the YWCA. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 July 1911, p. 6.

⁹⁴ Grubb, *The Grubbs of Tipperary*, p. 164.

⁹⁵ *Tasmanian Presbyterian Magazine and Missionary Record*, July 1878, p. 18.

⁹⁶ For example, J B Davies: Cannon, *The Land Boomers*, p. 161.

⁹⁷ See Robert Evans, *Emilia Baeyertz, Evangelist*, Hazelbrook, 2007, pp. 332-348.

George Soltau

While not exactly a local evangelist, George Soltau (1857-1912) launched into taking cross-denominational missions in about 1894. Nothing has so far been published on Soltau, a capable missionary who was an integral part of the revivalist milieu:⁹⁸ he had been on the CIM Council in England,⁹⁹ and also in charge of one of Dr Barnardo's enterprises.¹⁰⁰ He had also worked closely with Moody in both of his English campaigns.¹⁰¹ His father was a leading Brethren teacher and writer,¹⁰² his brother Henry had been a CIM pioneer on the Burmese border,¹⁰³ his sister Henrietta was in charge of the CIM training home for women in London,¹⁰⁴ and his other sister Charlotte (Mrs William Warren)¹⁰⁵ was to open a training home for CIM missionaries in Kew, Melbourne, in 1892.¹⁰⁶

Apart from his work with Moody in London, Soltau had undertaken evangelistic campaigns in the USA and Canada in 1884-5.¹⁰⁷ In another example of the networking of the revivalist sub-culture with loose links to the Brethren, he was recruited by Mrs Reed to be pastor to the Christian Mission Church in Launceston.¹⁰⁸ Possibly this was partly through the Guinnesses senior, as there is a letter of recommendation about his life to date from Mrs Guinness in the *Pioneer*.¹⁰⁹ The Soltaus were welcomed to Launceston in September 1886.¹¹⁰ He

⁹⁸ These are brought out well in a summary of his life in the *Clutha Leader* (New Zealand), 14 June 1895, p. 5, available through Papers Past.

⁹⁹ Soltau, *Personal Work for Christ and some experiences*, London, [after 1909], p. 13. This book consists mainly of his reminiscences and comments on dealing with people spiritually, edited by E Helps, but it has a biographical introduction by his wife Grace.

¹⁰⁰ Soltau, *Personal Work for Christ*, pp. 13-16; 1881 census.

¹⁰¹ Soltau, *Personal Work for Christ*, pp. 13, 16.

¹⁰² H Pickering (ed.), *Chief Men among the Brethren*, London, 1930, pp. 84-88.

¹⁰³ Various reports in the *Christian and the Missionary Echo*; A J Broomhall, *Hudson Taylor and China's open century*, Vol. 6, *Assault on the Nine*, London, 1988, passim.

¹⁰⁴ Broomhall, *It is not death to die!*, pp. 114, 254.

¹⁰⁵ Dr William Warren was one of the key Melbourne lay evangelicals. Evidently originally Brethren (e.g. he is mentioned in a report to the *Missionary Echo*, July 1880, p. 107, as 'among our dear brethren ... [who] seek to lift up Christ' in Melbourne), he emerged as a Baptist by the late 1890s. He was a leading surgeon: *Cyclopedia of Victoria*, Victoria, 1902, p. 125. The Victorian marriage index gives his birthplace as Co. Carlow.

¹⁰⁶ Loane, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, p. 14. A handwritten note on the back of the archive copy of the February 1881 issue of the *Missionary Echo* says that William Warren married Charlotte Matilda Soltau in Melbourne on 4 November 1880. Victorian Pioneer Index 1880/3230.

¹⁰⁷ *Christian*, 31 July 1884, p. 544; 8 January 1885, p. 37; 2 April 1885, p. 257; 30 April 1885, p. 325; 7 May 1885, p. 342; 11 June 1885, p. 438.

¹⁰⁸ Soltau, *Personal Work for Christ*, p. 17.

¹⁰⁹ *Pioneer*, June 1886, p. 2

and his wife were very happy there – ‘a period of home happiness such as was never again enjoyed’¹¹¹ – and Grace Soltau became a leading light in the infant WCTU there and has been honoured on the list of significant Tasmanian women.¹¹²

When his work at the Mission Church came to an end in about 1893,¹¹³ the Soltaus moved to Melbourne and George made himself available for missions.¹¹⁴ He was already known to the relevant constituency because of his involvement in the Christian conventions and conferences,¹¹⁵ his close friendship with H B Macartney¹¹⁶ and his membership of the first Australian CIM Council.¹¹⁷

However, his main work in the Antipodes was done in New Zealand, where they lived from about May 1895 to November 1897. Many of his missions were in Presbyterian churches, although the Bishop of Nelson also licensed him.¹¹⁸ He had quite thrown off his Brethren background,¹¹⁹ and his consistent emphasis was on a

¹¹⁰ *Pioneer*, September 1886, p. 2.

¹¹¹ Soltau, *Personal Work for Christ*, p. 19.

¹¹²

http://www.dpac.tas.gov.au/divisions/cdd/women/leadership/significant_tasmanian_women/significant_tasmanian_women_-_research_listing/grace_soltau. There are some inaccuracies in this citation: they did not come to Tasmania as Christian Brethren missionaries, and George did not die in 1896.

¹¹³ ‘Various reasons, too long to be stated, seemed to point to the end’. Soltau, *Personal Work for Christ*, p. 19. One can speculate that it is quite possible that the Soltaus found themselves unable or unwilling to work with Mrs Reed, whose generosity bankrolled the church at this stage and whose controlling nature may not have sat well with George’s independence and Grace’s evident intelligence and vitality.

¹¹⁴ *Southern Cross*, 13 June 1894, p. 467; 20 July 1894, p. 575; *Christian*, 20 September 1894, p. 22; *Southern Cross*, 30 November 1894, p. 1008.

¹¹⁵ He was evidently in Melbourne or Geelong for a number of conferences: Soltau, *Personal Work for Christ*, p. 18. He was considered to be instrumental in fostering the Launceston convention of February 1892 which featured Grubb’s ministry: Millard, *The Same Lord*, p. 268. He was secretary for that convention, addressed it on the topic of ‘Christ our power’, and wrote the introductory note: *Reports of Addresses at the Christian Convention Launceston January 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 1892*, Ballarat, 1892. He also spoke at the 1894 Geelong convention and edited the account of the proceedings: *Reports of the Bible Readings and Addresses at the Fourth Christian Convention, Geelong, Sept. 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th 1894*, Geelong, [1894]. His sister Mrs Warren also spoke in the missionary session of that conference about the training home.

¹¹⁶ Soltau, *Personal Work for Christ*, p. 18: ‘the closest friendship of his life was with the late H B Macartney’.

¹¹⁷ Loane, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, p. 7. Hudson Taylor, ‘an honoured visitor’, and Montague Beauchamp stayed with the Soltaus in Launceston in 1890. Soltau, *Personal Work for Christ*, p. 18.

¹¹⁸ Soltau, *Personal Work for Christ*, p. 21.

¹¹⁹ Franklin Ferguson, *Reminiscences of Christian Experience and Service in New Zealand from very early days*, Palmerston North, [c. 1943], p. 26. ‘He was an eloquent speaker with a commanding presence. But he stopped short of baptism and truths that would separate believers unto the Name of the Lord; a position he himself once occupied and exchanged for liberty to enter any Church or meeting that gave an open door. In discussing some matters with him, he said, “Brethren have had their day; now it is for us to press in wherever we can; where the Spirit is working!”’

deeper spiritual life and the power of Christ for service.¹²⁰ For some of this time his wife travelled with him and often spoke as well, including to mixed meetings.¹²¹

Soltau's work in Melbourne was no doubt over-shadowed by the major campaigns of 1894 to be considered next, and also by the death of his son Jack from typhoid.¹²² One has the impression that he was never quite as successful as might have been hoped. Eventually the Soltaus relocated back to England, where George continued his peripatetic lifestyle, giving Bible teaching during the week and spending weekends at home. They moved to the USA in 1902 for more of the same activities, and he died in 1909.¹²³ While his impact in Australia was not as obvious as that of many others, his life and activities illustrate very well the international networks which underlay so much of this evangelistic activity: the Brethren motif, the influence of and close contact with Moody, the message of spiritual power which was increasingly part of the repertoire, and the linkages through CIM and other faith missions.

Consideration of Soltau's career as a whole has taken us past 1894, when the renewal of large-scale evangelistic activity found the eastern colonies in a chastened mood. This was thought to have made the general public more receptive to considering their spiritual state and their future well-being. For example, John McNeill said that 'God must be thanked for distress, debt, and discontent if it opened their eyes, made them think of another way of life altogether.'¹²⁴ Thus when three 'names' in British evangelism targeted Australia (once again, as in 1877, apparently without much prior coordination), there were again large audiences, particularly for the Rev. John McNeill. The other two men, the Rev. Thomas Cook who was Wesleyan, and 'Gipsy' Smith, had most of their meetings in Wesleyan churches.

¹²⁰ There are a number of reports of meetings in Papers Past. See, e.g. *Feilding Star*, 26 July 1897, p. 2.

¹²¹ For example, see church notices in the *Feilding Star*, 24 July 1897, p. 3.

¹²² Soltau, *Personal Work for Christ*, p. 19; Victorian deaths index 1895/706: John Leonard Soltau, aged 11.

¹²³ Soltau, *Personal Work for Christ*, p. 29. Apart from his reminiscences, evidently written not long before he died and finished by Grace, Soltau wrote two books which can still be found through online sites: *The Enquiry Room: hints for dealing with the anxious* (1884), and *Four Portraits of the Lord Jesus Christ* (1905), and three or four booklets which are held in British libraries.

¹²⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 October 1894, p. 3.

In fact, the secretary of the Victorian Methodist Conference commented that the conjunction of so many at one time was perhaps unfortunate, although he perhaps felt bound to add that each had something different to offer.¹²⁵ As one commentator wrote, Victoria (and by inference the rest of the colonies) would be 'well missioned. ... If the sluggish waters of our Church life be not stirred, it will not be for the lack of an earnest special ministry.'¹²⁶ In addition to Cook, Gipsy Smith, and McNeill, a Canon Carter¹²⁷ and Dr Talmage¹²⁸ were all here in the middle months of that year. Because the focus of this thesis is on speakers who came from Britain and/or worked within the evangelistic / revival network, Carter and Talmage fall outside its ambit.¹²⁹ Nevertheless it is interesting to note that their meetings were all well-attended, and well reported, which supports the observation made at the time that the economic depression had had the effect of turning people's minds to eternal matters. Talmage's lectures, in particular, were well covered in the press.¹³⁰

Thomas Cook

Cook and Smith were well known evangelists in English Methodist circles. Both were in their mid-thirties and both had seen success, in terms of conversions, in missions in England. Thomas Cook (1859-1912)¹³¹ was born in Yorkshire,

¹²⁵ Thomas Cook, *Days of God's Right Hand: Our Mission Tour of Australasia and Ceylon*, London, 1896, p. 161.

¹²⁶ *Australian Christian World*, 19 July 1894, p. 3.

¹²⁷ Canon Carter was an English High Church missionary who worked within churches of that persuasion; almost certainly not Thomas Thelluson Carter (see *ODNB* article) who would have been 86 in 1894 and was living in retirement.

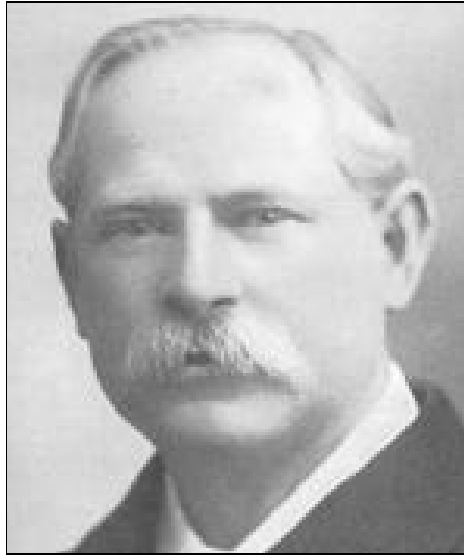
¹²⁸ Dr Talmage, an extremely well-known American minister, gave a series of lecture or addresses in most of the capital cities. He was apparently here to understand better one of the regions in which his lectures circulated; one reporter referred to him as the 'American Spurgeon' and said it was easy to see why twenty to thirty stenographers took down his sermons for circulation among 25 million readers world-wide. *Australian Christian World*, 3 August 1894, p. 2.

¹²⁹ *Australian Christian World*, 19 July 1894, p. 3: Talmage was 'to be regarded more as the lecturer than the Evangelist.'

¹³⁰ In Australia he gave only a few sermons; the rest of his talks were public lectures on matters of interest with a Christian or moral basis. The *Southern Cross* observed, 'He flies across the colonies on a brief lecturing tour, preaching only rarely, and the purpose of his visit is purely financial and personal.' 17 August 1894, p. 647.

¹³¹ Vallance Cook, *Thomas Cook – Evangelist – Saint*, London, 1914 is an admiring life by his brother. Robert Evans, *Thomas Cook: British evangelist in Australia in 1894 and 1895*, Hazelbrook, 2007, available as a PDF at <http://revivals.arkangles.com/docs/ThomasCook.pdf>, has a biographical introduction.

converted in his teens, and took to preaching almost immediately. By the 1880s he was appointed a Connexional¹³² Evangelist, and by the time he visited Australasia he was widely known in Britain, at least in Methodist circles, and had toured in America and South Africa.¹³³



38: Thomas Cook¹³⁴

He came to Australia in March 1894 and left in August 1895, covering the whole continent and New Zealand in this time.¹³⁵ He was one of the very few evangelists to include Western Australia – in fact, he started his tour there. He worked his way through South Australia, including some of the more remote towns. Methodism was very strong in South Australia and had taken root in the mining areas, partly because of the high proportion of miners who were of that background. In another unusual step, he went to the newly-established Broken Hill for ten days, and then to the better trodden trail of Melbourne/Geelong/Ballarat/Bendigo. A tour of Tasmania followed, during which he enjoyed an almost obligatory few days rest at Mrs Reed's home.¹³⁶ After

¹³² Methodist churches commonly called themselves the Methodist Connexion.

¹³³ *Brisbane Courier*, 1 June 1895, p. 6.

¹³⁴ Picture from http://www.finestofthewheat.org/Thomas_Cook/Thomas_Cook_Intro.php.

¹³⁵ See his own account in Cook, *Days of God's Right Hand*. Evans, *Thomas Cook*, includes a large number of primary sources from newspaper reports of his meetings, mostly from Methodist papers. See Appendix A for details of dates and places, and also Evans, *Thomas Cook*, pp. 57-8.

¹³⁶ Cook, *Days of God's Right Hand*, p. 154.

missions in regional New South Wales, he detoured to New Zealand for three months, before travelling back to Sydney and country NSW and on to Brisbane and north Queensland. Again, he was unusual in going as far as Rockhampton and Townsville. In all, he claimed to have preached about 560 times in Australasia.¹³⁷

While Cook's meetings attracted wide attention, they were almost all held in Methodist churches. This was because he was invited by the Australian conferences, and came 'under the authority of the English Methodist Conference'.¹³⁸ The link with the motherland and the denomination was emphasised in the *Argus* headline 'A British Methodist Mission'.¹³⁹ The strength of the Wesleyan branch of Methodism meant that in most of the cities, the central church held a thousand or more people, so this was not a major restriction.¹⁴⁰ That Cook saw his mission as one based in Methodism is shown by his frequent use of the phrase 'our church' in his book about the tour.¹⁴¹ He commented at one point that 'Methodists are at home with Methodists the world over'.¹⁴²

Nevertheless, his visit was supported by other churches: for example, the Brisbane Ministers' Union 'decided that the union should give its sympathy and support to the mission of the Rev. Thomas Cook on the occasion of his contemplated visit to Brisbane.'¹⁴³ In Adelaide, he noticed that his welcome meeting included representatives of all churches except the Church of England.¹⁴⁴ He also commented that his meetings on the 'higher Christian life' were attended by members of other churches, especially Anglicans who had been influenced by Grubb.¹⁴⁵

He also gave what would now be called seminars to ministers on preaching and the effective presentation of the gospel, and these were generally to Methodist

¹³⁷ Cook, *Days of God's Right Hand*, p. 303.

¹³⁸ *Brisbane Courier*, 3 June 1895, p. 5. The Melbourne *Argus* said he had been 'delegated by the British Methodist Conference to hold a twelve months' mission in Australia.' 2 July 1894, p. 6.

¹³⁹ *Argus*, 2 July 1894, p. 6.

¹⁴⁰ Even in a relatively small city like Hobart, Wesley Church seats 1100.

¹⁴¹ For example, see Cook, *Days of God's Right Hand*: 'our own church is best for us', p. 137.

¹⁴² Cook, *Days of God's Right Hand*, p. 42.

¹⁴³ *Brisbane Courier*, 8 May 1895, p. 7.

¹⁴⁴ Cook, *Days of God's Right Hand*, p. 41.

¹⁴⁵ Cook, *Days of God's Right Hand*, p. 266-7. For further analysis of Grubb's influence, see Chapter 8.

ministers. For example, in Melbourne he was ‘invited to meet the minsters of the various Methodist churches, and deliver an address on “How to preach, so as to save souls”’.¹⁴⁶ About one hundred turned up, and he was asked to repeat the address elsewhere. His main point was that preaching must have the goal of results in people’s lives – conversion of unbelievers, and ‘perfecting of the saints’.¹⁴⁷

At the farewell meeting in Melbourne W H Fitchett said that it was the ‘550th meeting which Mr Cook had conducted in 18 months’ and that he had ‘delivered the gospel to a number of people equal to one-half the entire population of the seven colonies.’¹⁴⁸ Obviously this included large numbers who had heard him several times, but it gives some idea of his Australasian popularity. Although he does not give figures for enquirers, accounts of some of the meetings mention hundreds in some places,¹⁴⁹ so the total must have been in the thousands.

Cook’s subsequent career was relatively short. His health did not stand up to the rigours of constant evangelism, and he became the influential principal of Cliff College, a centre for training lay evangelists which had been set up by Thomas Champness but which was taken over by the Wesleyans.¹⁵⁰ He wrote *New Testament Holiness*, a book which is still in print and which encapsulates his emphasis on holiness and had a wide impact.¹⁵¹ He died in 1913 aged only 53.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁶ Cook, *Days of God’s Right Hand*, p. 118. The various Methodist churches, then moving towards union which happened in 1902, were the Wesleyans, Primitive Methodists, United Methodists, and the Bible Christians.

¹⁴⁷ Cook, *Days of God’s Right Hand*, pp. 118-9.

¹⁴⁸ *Argus*, 15 August 1895, p. 7. He himself said that there were 560 meetings. Cook, *Days of God’s Right Hand*, p. 303.

¹⁴⁹ For example, 480 souls ‘brought to religious decision’ in Adelaide: Cook, *Days of God’s Right Hand*, p. 48.

¹⁵⁰ The actual buildings were taken over from the missionary training college run by Rev. Grattan Guinness and his wife – yet another example of the networking of the revivalist sub-culture. Harry Guinness, “*Not Unto Us*”: a record of twenty one years’ missionary service, London, [1908], pp. 16-17. The college is still in existence – see http://www.cliffcollege.ac.uk/page/about_us.

¹⁵¹ For an example, see http://www.finestofthewheat.org/Thomas_Cook/Thomas_Cook_Intro.php.

¹⁵² Evans, *Thomas Cook*, p. 26.

Gipsy Smith

The other Methodist evangelist of 1894 was Rodney ('Gipsy') Smith (1860-1947),¹⁵³ so called because he had been born into a gipsy family. He was converted as a teenager through a Primitive Methodist meeting. His father and two uncles had previously been converted through the preaching of Henry Varley. With limited education and without the resources to take up a position offered at Spurgeon's College, he spent five years as an evangelist with the Salvation Army. Though he was successful in this role, he felt constrained by their restrictions, and there was probably an element of relief when Booth dismissed him in 1882.



39: Gipsy Smith in the 1890s.¹⁵⁴

With local support, he continued as an evangelist, and was eventually taken up by the Methodists. In 1889 he took missions in America, where almost inevitably he

¹⁵³ On Smith, see John A. Vickers, 'Smith, Rodney (1860–1947)', *ODNB*. NB: In most sources the nickname is spelt 'Gipsy', but in the *ODNB* 'Gypsy', so this confusion can lead to unsuccessful searches. His autobiography is [Smith, Rodney], *Gipsy Smith: His Life and Work, By Himself*, London, 1902.

¹⁵⁴ Frontispiece to *Gipsy Smith: His Life and Work*.

became known to Moody and Sankey, and continued to take large missions in the UK and USA in the 1890s.

The timing of his visit to Australia was not optimal, overlapping with Cook's and McNeill's as it did. It was part of a projected world tour, but his arrival was unexpected. He arrived in Adelaide just after Cook's large and successful campaign, and he described his reception by Adelaide Wesleyans (who were just then meeting in General Conference) as 'anything but hearty and welcoming', indeed 'freezing'.¹⁵⁵ This reception may have been the result of a number of factors: as Smith tells it, they were clearly taken aback that he or his supporters had not written ahead about him, and it seems that they may not have known of him at all. Also, Thomas Cook had only just finished his meetings in Adelaide and no doubt there was an element of exhaustion as well. There is no evidence that his gypsy background was a negative factor, but it may have been an unspoken barrier. The Bible Christians were more welcoming: he had already met Chief Justice Way, a leading member of that congregation, in the USA, and probably Smith's style was more suited to their meetings.¹⁵⁶ In the end he also took large meetings at Archer Street Wesleyan church, and had a total of six weeks in Adelaide.

In Ballarat he preceded Cook, who wrote that he believed he did not have so much success there because 500 people had been converted through Smith a few weeks before.¹⁵⁷ In Melbourne they worked in tandem and took Sunday meetings together at Wesley Church in the centre of the city. As a result, Smith was begged to take some more services, but he did so only with Cook's agreement. These three noonday meetings attracted 'immense audiences ... the rush when the doors were open were perilous to life and limb'. The inevitable comparison with Moody and Sankey was made, however: although they were men of 'fine natural gifts,

¹⁵⁵ *Gipsy Smith: His Life and Work*, pp. 281-3.

¹⁵⁶ *Gipsy Smith: His Life and Work*, p. 283; Walter Phillips, 'Gipsy Smith in Australia, 1926: The Commonwealth Evangelistic Campaign,' in Mark Hutchinson, Edmund Campion and Stuart Piggin (eds.), *Reviving Australia: essays on the history and experience of revival and revivalism in Australian Christianity*, Sydney, 1994, p.186.

¹⁵⁷ Cook, *Days of God's Right Hand*, p. 139.

and of exceptional spiritual power', they had 'no pretensions for the [same] world-wide fame.'¹⁵⁸

He had already heard in Adelaide that his wife was seriously ill, so these Ballarat and Melbourne meetings were in some senses marking time until he could get a boat home – an 'agonising period' of three weeks.¹⁵⁹ The week before he sailed was spent in Sydney with crowds of over 2,500 packing into Centenary Hall, the great centre of Sydney and even Australian Methodism,¹⁶⁰ so that his farewell meetings were much more triumphant than his welcome. He then set sail for home via the USA, unaware until much later that one paper reported that his wife had died.¹⁶¹ Hearing that she was recovering, he spent some weeks preaching in America.

Smith's meetings were undoubtedly crowded and popular, and his down-to-earth manner, beautiful voice, and anecdotal approach were very attractive. In particular, people 'thronged' to the meetings where he told his life story.¹⁶² Nevertheless his meetings may be read as being at least as much an indication of the strength of Methodism in these years, as a reflection of his personal following. During the decades between 1880 and World War I, Methodism in Australia reached its highest proportion of the population (between 10 and 15 %, even higher in South Australia).¹⁶³ Most of the people who professed conversion were already at least church attendees, although this may well have been a profound step on their spiritual journey. For example, in Adelaide, as he himself wrote, 'sixty or seventy boys from the Way College, who all attend the church, passed through the inquiry-rooms.'¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁸ *Southern Cross*, 13 July 1894, p. 554.

¹⁵⁹ *Gipsy Smith: His Life and Work*, p. 287.

¹⁶⁰ *Gipsy Smith: His Life and Work*, p. 290. Centenary Hall was built in 1888, to a large extent through the vision and drive of Rev. W G Taylor.

¹⁶¹ His wife was reported to have died in Manchester: *Australian Christian World*, 17 August 1894, p. 6. Later news was that she was not dead but had been seriously ill and was now recovering. Smith had set off home via America and when he heard she was better, he took services there. *Australian Christian World*, 16 November 1894, p. 6.

¹⁶² *Australian Christian World*, 27 July 1894, p. 3 (Melbourne) and p. 6 (Sydney).

¹⁶³ Arnold Hunt, *This Side of Heaven*, Adelaide, 1985, p. 432; Elisabeth Wilson, 'The Methodist movement', in Alison Alexander (ed.), *Companion to Tasmanian History*, Hobart, 2006.

¹⁶⁴ *Gipsy Smith: His Life and Work*, p. 284.

In his subsequent career he ‘preached to vast congregations’ in the United Kingdom as well as South Africa and North America, for fifteen years as the appointed missionary of the National Council of the Free Evangelical Churches, and he also held other positions such as working with the YMCA in the First World War. In 1926 he toured Australia again, for a longer and more successful campaign. Although invited by Methodists, he was much better known by this time, and there was widespread support for him.¹⁶⁵ This tour is notable as the only major campaign between the Chapman/Torrey/Alexander meetings in the early 1900s and Billy Graham’s crusade in 1959. Smith continued to evangelise to the end of his life in 1947, ‘perhaps the best-known and most successful international evangelist of his day’.¹⁶⁶

John McNeill

John McNeill (1854-1933) was so well known that his Australian namesake with the slightly different spelling was known as the ‘Australian John MacNeil’ to distinguish him.¹⁶⁷ McNeill was a larger than life Scotsman who had risen from humble origins as a railway ticket clerk (during which time he continued reading Latin and Greek) to achieve theological training at Edinburgh and Glasgow universities, firstly through a benefactor, and then by a bursary and employment in a church.¹⁶⁸

His gifts as a preacher and his ebullient personality made him effective in YMCA and mission circles where he loved to work. A member of the Free Church of Scotland, he made an impression in Edinburgh at his first call,¹⁶⁹ attracting large congregations from the first, and was then called to be the minister of the large and fashionable central London Presbyterian church in Regent Square in 1889.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁵ Phillips, ‘Gipsy Smith in Australia’, pp. 186-7.

¹⁶⁶ Vickers, ‘Smith, Rodney (1860–1947)’, *ODNB*.

¹⁶⁷ The only biography is Alexander Gammie, *Rev. John McNeill, His Life and Work*, Glasgow, n.d. [after 1933].

¹⁶⁸ Gammie, *McNeill*, chapters 1-3.

¹⁶⁹ McCrie-Roxburgh Church. Gammie, *McNeill*, p. 63: ‘He literally took the city by storm.’

¹⁷⁰ Gammie, *McNeill*, chapters 4-5.

Well before he came to Australia the press had dubbed him the ‘Scottish Spurgeon’.¹⁷¹

Following the death of his wife, which profoundly affected him, he seemed unable to settle down anywhere,¹⁷² and he visited America where Moody heard him and ‘resolved to get him out of pastoral work into evangelistic work if he could.’¹⁷³ Once again Moody’s influence, in this case directly, was a factor in the life of an evangelist who came to Australia. McNeill worked with Moody in Scotland in 1892, and was then invited to go to the USA in 1893 for the campaign in connection with the World’s Fair in Chicago.¹⁷⁴ The following fifteen years were spent in itinerant evangelism, both overseas and in the British Isles, and he came to Australia via South Africa in 1894.

McNeill was physically tall and stocky¹⁷⁵, with a thick head of hair and beard (‘the bigness and hairiness of McNeill are the points which first strike the beholder’¹⁷⁶). Sydney readers learned that

a great mop of rather tousled dark-brown hair surmounts a face marked more by strength than any other characteristic, but with a pair of merry twinkling eyes that have a wonderful influence ... A bushy beard and whiskers surrounding a countenance tanned by the sun give the general appearance of a sturdy artisan or mechanic ...¹⁷⁷

He had an irrepressible sense of humour which occasionally got him into trouble, for example with inappropriate quick repartee or off-the-cuff quips. This sense of humour, which is evident even in photos which show what one must agree are

¹⁷¹ See for example *Leeds Mercury*, 21 December 1891; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 26 December 1892. That this was well known in Australia is evidenced by references in the *Australian Christian World*, 19 July 1894, p. 3: ‘sometimes designated the Scotch Spurgeon’, and 10 August 1894, p. 8, the title ‘Scottish Spurgeon which has been given to Mr M’Neil [sic] is very appropriate ...’

¹⁷² He resigned from his pastorate and settled his four small children in care in Scotland.

¹⁷³ Gammie, *McNeill*, p. 111.

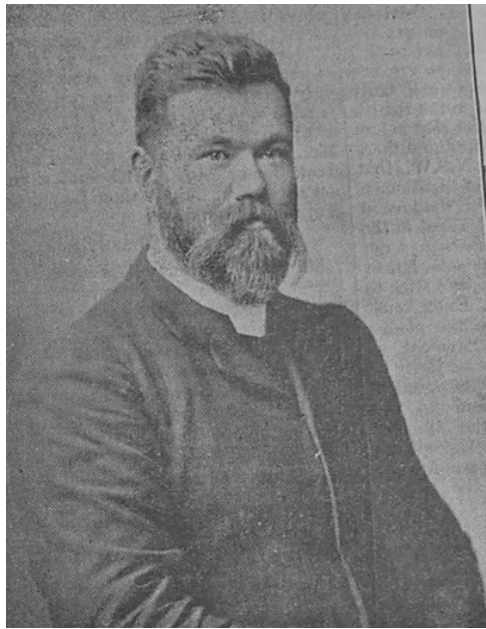
¹⁷⁴ *Argus*, 21 July 1894, p. 7.

¹⁷⁵ One reporter mentioned in passing ‘his enormous shoulders’. *Australian Christian World*, 19 October 1894, p. 3.

¹⁷⁶ *Bulletin*, 13 October 1894, p. 9.

¹⁷⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 October 1894, p. 5. The reporter thought this impression was reinforced by his dress – ‘a collar turned down all round, and a little bit of scarcely perceptible necktie, and an alpaca sac coat with his two hands in the pockets of it ...’

twinkling eyes, of course went down well with Australians, who flocked to hear him – although the *Sydney Bulletin* said he was a failure as a humourist.¹⁷⁸



40: John McNeill in Melbourne, 1894¹⁷⁹

He attracted adverse attention even from reasonably sympathetic sources when, as well as telling Christians they ought to ‘fling overboard ... drink, tobacco, theatres, and even football’, describing these things as ‘too much cargo’,¹⁸⁰ he scathingly attacked balls as ‘dancing through the night and on into the early morning with more or less naked women. (Sensation.)’¹⁸¹ He claimed they were ‘... unclean, dangerous, and deadening to the soul of the believer.’ This was too much for the hitherto supportive *Sydney Morning Herald*, which charged him with lack of delicacy, exaggeration, and a latent asceticism.¹⁸² McNeill’s was not the usual attack on immorality (the use of prostitutes, for example), but a direct affront to ordinary middle- and upper-class people, many of whom had thronged to his meetings and were at least nominally Christians. Several times he

¹⁷⁸ *Bulletin*, 13 October 1894, p. 9.

¹⁷⁹ *Southern Cross*, 3 August 1894, p. 613.

¹⁸⁰ *Argus*, 13 August 1894, p. 5. He said much the same in Sydney: ‘Pitch gambling, the theatre, the ballroom, the dram overboard: you can’t carry them in your leaky condition.’ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 October 1894, p. 6.

¹⁸¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 October 1894, p. 6.

¹⁸² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 October 1894, p. 4.

challenged the shallowness of their religion: ‘You are a tough crowd, so decent, so respectable, you would not do anything that would be considered vulgar – you will go to hell rather than be in earnest.’¹⁸³

There was also criticism of his staying in the Australia Hotel in Sydney, not so much on account of the cost, although this was mentioned,¹⁸⁴ as because he had likened hotel bars to slaughterhouses: ‘Back from the blood-stained threshold! I say there is not a public-house ... where you may not smell the blood of your butchered brothers.’¹⁸⁵ The quite reasonable charge of hypocrisy was made: ‘... as admirers of consistency, we feel ... that Mr McNeill should either give up speaking as he did about Hotel-bars, or give up making his home in Hotels.’¹⁸⁶ In seeking to stir up ministers, he also raised hackles by ‘recklessly’ talking about those whom he thought did not work hard enough – his terms being referred to as ‘the language of unmeasured contempt and vituperation.’¹⁸⁷ As a visitor whom many ministers had welcomed, this was hardly courteous, to say the least, and it seems that he may have been carried away on the wave of his own popularity and rhetoric.

McNeill was in Australia for over four months of very crowded meetings. He arrived in Tasmania in June 1894, having come from South Africa and New Zealand, and after meetings in Hobart and Launceston he was in Melbourne from 20 July to 12 August. After a little less than a week each in Bendigo and Geelong, he had three enormous culminating meetings in Melbourne on 29-31 August.¹⁸⁸ September 1894 saw McNeill in Ballarat for five days, then Adelaide and Brisbane, before three weeks in Sydney in October as a finale to his Australian tour.

¹⁸³ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 October 1894, p. 3.

¹⁸⁴ *Australian Christian World*, 2 November 1894, p. 1. McNeill had laughed about references to St Paul in letters to him – the article pointed out that St Paul ‘did not live in the most luxurious hotels he could find’ and that they thought Sydney was not so poor that he could not have found some ‘quiet and comfort, except at the Australia.’

¹⁸⁵ *Australian Christian World*, 2 November 1894, p. 1, quoting from the *Sydney Morning Herald*.

¹⁸⁶ *Australian Christian World*, 2 November 1894, p. 1.

¹⁸⁷ *Australian Christian World*, 1 February 1895, p. not noted – “Amicus” column.

¹⁸⁸ This was Show Week, which would give country visitors a chance to hear him. *Argus*, 13 August 1894, p. 5.



41: Exhibition Building, Melbourne¹⁸⁹

At his 29 August meeting in Melbourne, ‘the Australian John MacNeil’ was recognised in the audience and called up onto the platform to lead in prayer. He was on a brief trip home to Melbourne between several months in South Australia and a subsequent four months in Western Australia, and attended each of these meetings and shared a train ride home with McNeill one night. There had been much interest in the possible meeting of these perceived national and international figures in the revivalist world, both Scotsmen, both somewhat larger-than-life ‘personalities’, and it would have been interesting to hear their conversation.¹⁹⁰ Another connection was with Henry Varley, who informed British evangelicals via a report to the *Christian* that ‘we had the pleasure of receiving to our home for

¹⁸⁹ Photograph in *Album of views of Tasmania, Victoria and South Australia*, from the private library of Harry Grattan-Guinness, National Library collection, digitised at <http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-vn3077491>.

¹⁹⁰ Hannah MacNeil, *John MacNeil, A Memoir by His Wife*, London, 1897, p. 245-6. While still in South Australia, he had written on 4 August that there was ‘great excitement ... over John McNeill’s visit. May thousands be won for God’ (p. 244).

some hours our brother, John McNeill, before he left this city [Melbourne] for Calcutta.’¹⁹¹

The meetings were widely reported in both the secular and religious press, and for the first time since Dr Somerville’s time, papers like the *Southern Cross* put out large supplements reporting his meetings in detail and his sermons verbatim. Country readers or those who could otherwise not get to the meetings wrote requesting this and thanking them for it, wishing for a share in the blessing.¹⁹²

McNeill’s was the last big mission in the major capitals until the Chapman/Alexander campaign of 1902.¹⁹³ He was also the last major British evangelist to visit Australia, apart from Gipsy Smith’s Commonwealth tour in the 1920s.¹⁹⁴

McNeill continued a mainly itinerant preaching career in countries of the British Empire and the USA, with ‘interludes of more settled pastoral work’,¹⁹⁵ although he never returned to Australia. He married again and had several more children. During World War I, he was a chaplain with the YMCA, a position for which his straight talking and sense of humour fitted him well.¹⁹⁶ He died in April 1933, with *The Times* saying he would be remembered for the ‘power of his natural oratory, his keen insight into the human soul, and his great knowledge of the Holy Scriptures’.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹¹ *Christian*, 14 March 1895, p. 13.

¹⁹² See for example the letter requesting that all the addresses be printed in booklet form, *Southern Cross*, 10 August 1894, p. 642.

¹⁹³ See Darrell Paproth, ‘Revivalism in Melbourne from Federation to World War I: the Torrey-Alexander-Chapman Campaigns’, in Mark Hutchinson, Edmund Campion and Stuart Piggin (eds.), *Reviving Australia: essays on the history and experience of revival and revivalism in Australian Christianity*, Sydney, 1994, pp. 143-169.

¹⁹⁴ Phillips, ‘Gipsy Smith in Australia’, pp. 185-201.

¹⁹⁵ Obituary, *The Times*, 20 April 1933, p. 15.

¹⁹⁶ Gammie, *John McNeill*, ch. VIII.

¹⁹⁷ *The Times*, 20 April 1933, p. 15; Gammie, *John McNeill*, pp. 242-247.

Charles Yatman

Right at the end of the century there was one more evangelistic tour, this time by an American, Charles Yatman,¹⁹⁸ in that sense a forerunner of the major evangelists Torrey, Chapman and Alexander in the next decade. He had made a brief visit to Sydney and Melbourne in 1896 on his way to the Cape Colony,¹⁹⁹ but in 1899 he was brought here by the YMCAs for a longer tour, from June to November. He started in Brisbane, having arrived from Hong Kong via Sydney, and travelled south via Sydney and Newcastle to Adelaide and then Broken Hill – an indication of the importance of that town in the middle of its first mining boom. From there he went to Melbourne, Hobart and Launceston, and returned to Adelaide before departing for India.²⁰⁰

The mantra of his mission, repeated almost *ad nauseam*, was that he had come to ‘make bad people good, and good people better, by the gospel of Jesus Christ’.²⁰¹ This was then reflected in such reports as ‘Fully 1,000 persons have signed covenant cards, promising to live a better life.’²⁰² His intended audience was the boys and young men who were the YMCAs’ main target, although others were also attracted to the meetings. His main impact was probably within those circles, although he also held meetings for women only, on occasion.²⁰³ A wide range of clergy from most denominations was reported as supporting him, the YMCA being a generally acceptable non-denominational para-church organisation.

In view of the focus of this thesis on British evangelists in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, mainly because apart from Yatman and Inskip there were no Americans, it is instructive that in several reports his Britishness was emphasised.

¹⁹⁸ He was born on 27 June 1853, according to his US passport application in January 1899 (www.ancestry.com). In 1899 he was described as being ‘about 46’ by the *Brisbane Courier* (17 June 1899, p. 11). He was listed in the US Federal Census in 1920, living in Pennsylvania, a minister and evangelist working on his own account.

¹⁹⁹ This brief tour has been noticed by historians - for example, by Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, word and world*, South Melbourne, 1996, p. 57 - but not the longer 1899 one.

²⁰⁰ For details see Appendix A.

²⁰¹ See for example *Brisbane Courier*, 17 June 1899, p. 11.

²⁰² *Adelaide Advertiser*, 17 July 1899, p. 4.

²⁰³ For example *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 July 1899, p. 9.

This was still clearly the standard by which others were judged. In Brisbane it was pointed out that ‘his build and general appearance are rather those of an Englishman’,²⁰⁴ and in Adelaide there was approbation of his favouring ‘an alliance between America and Great Britain’, and of the fact that he was ‘an enthusiastic Anglo-Saxon, in the broadest sense of the word’.²⁰⁵

Looking forward

In 1899, the Australasian Evangelisation Society²⁰⁶ again invited D L Moody to Australia, and 15,831 people petitioned him to come.²⁰⁷ This time he apparently was seriously considering coming. However, this was not to be, as Moody died in that year. As a consequence, Reuben A Torrey, principal of the Moody Bible Institute, eventually came to Australia in 1902 with Charles Alexander as musician and choir leader. The ‘Simultaneous Missions’, particularly in Melbourne but also in other cities, were models of organisation and planning; Piggins says that the ‘Melbourne mission was preceded by prayer, work and unity on a staggering level.’²⁰⁸

The meetings were again reported extensively, with large newspaper spreads and, by this stage, photographs of the vast crowds.²⁰⁹ It is possible to see them as the culmination of the past thirty years of mass evangelism, and this is the view of Breward,²¹⁰ Howe,²¹¹ and Paproth.²¹² Howe contrasts previous revivalists with the ‘educated but evangelistic’ men from the Moody Bible Institute, but in this

²⁰⁴ *Brisbane Courier*, 17 June 1899, p. 11.

²⁰⁵ *Adelaide Advertiser*, 23 November 1899, p. 6.

²⁰⁶ The successor of the Evangelisation Society of Victoria.

²⁰⁷ Barry Chant, ‘The Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Origins of the Australian Pentecostal Movement’, in Mark Hutchinson, Edmund Campion and Stuart Piggins (eds.), *Reviving Australia: essays on the history and experience of revival and revivalism in Australian Christianity*, Sydney, 1994, p. 112.

²⁰⁸ Piggins, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia*, p. 59.

²⁰⁹ The *Southern Cross* once again published large supplements and verbatim reports of sermons. Other religious newspapers were similarly supportive. A search on Trove brings up over 800 references in secular newspapers digitised to date (April 2011).

²¹⁰ Ian Breward, ‘Religious life in Victoria 1880-1914’, *Our Yesterdays*, Vol. 10, 2002, pp. 12-25.

²¹¹ Renata Howe, ‘The Response of Protestant Churches to Urbanization in Melbourne and Chicago, 1875-1914’, PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 1971, pp. 289 ff.

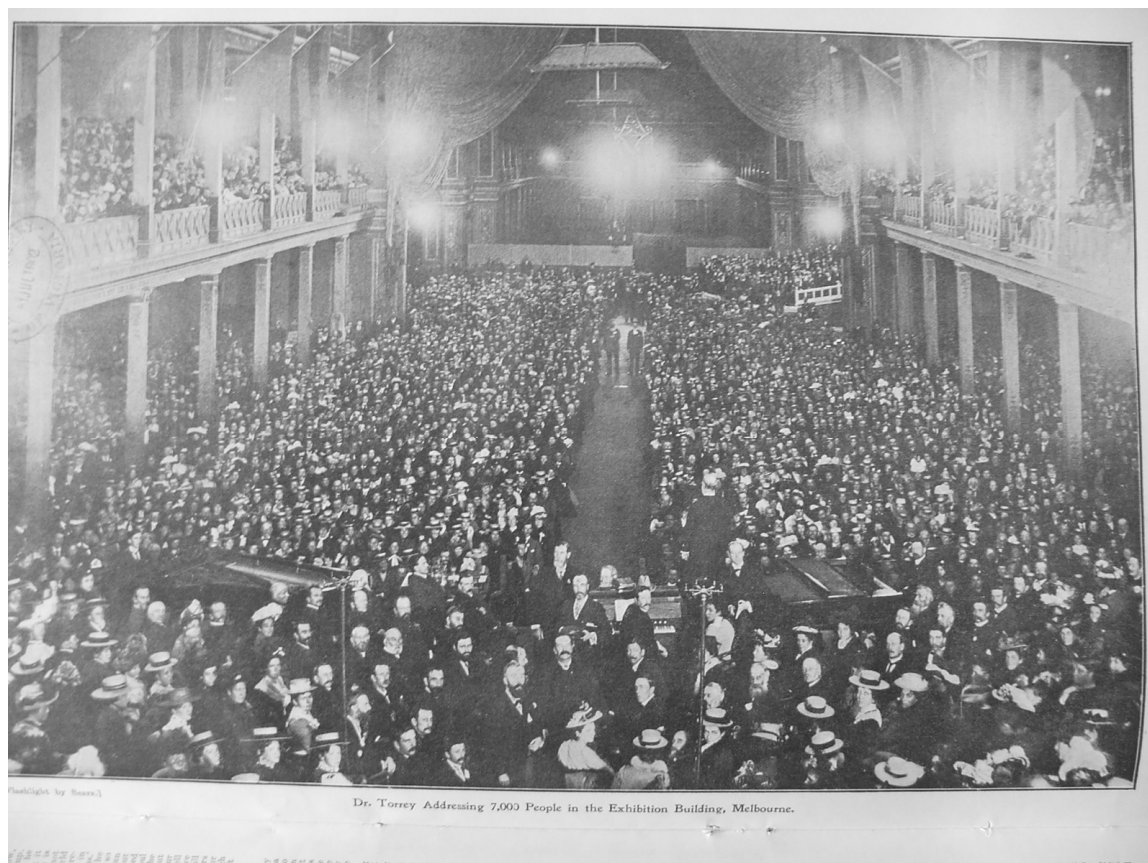
²¹² Paproth, ‘Revivalism in Melbourne’, pp. 143-169.

respect she is wrong: most of the British speakers had been better educated than the Americans.²¹³

However, there were far more comparisons than contrasts. Although many of the songs were new, they were firmly in the Sankey's mode. The organisation was able to spring into being through the networks already established, especially in Melbourne, but also in Sydney and other places. As Paproth writes, 'the ground had had a good deal of preparation before Federation in the form of revivalistic hopes and activity, especially from the 1860s.'²¹⁴ The idea of mass evangelism had been made acceptable to most evangelicals by the campaigns of the past quarter century, which had generally proved apprehension of excesses to be unfounded, and the presence of a charismatic preacher a focal point of attraction.

²¹³ Somerville, MacNeil and McNeill were graduates in Presbyterian theology; Guinness and Hudson Taylor were qualified doctors; Grubb (and Macartney) were graduates of Trinity College Dublin; Drummond had scientific and theological education; Mateer, Parker, and Thomas Spurgeon had Baptist theological training; Cook had Methodist theological training.

²¹⁴ Darrell Paproth, 'Revivalism in Melbourne from Federation to World War I: the Torrey-Alexander-Chapman Campaigns', in Mark Hutchinson, Edmund Campion and Stuart Piggin (eds.), *Reviving Australia: essays on the history and experience of revival and revivalism in Australian Christianity*, Sydney, 1994, p. 160.



42: One of Torrey's meetings in the Exhibition Building, Melbourne, 1902.²¹⁵

²¹⁵ *Southern Cross*, Souvenir edition 5 June 1902, p. 39.

Part II: MEETINGS

Chapter 5

‘Orgies of ecstatic piety’?: the methods, manner, and matter of evangelistic meetings

Any vast audience, with its sea of upturned questioning faces, is, no doubt, an impressive spectacle; and a religious audience on a great scale has ... a special impressiveness of its own. The chords of feeling struck are deeper than with other audiences, and the upturned faces reflect these deeper emotions and are shaped to a new gravity.

Argus, 25 July 1894, p. 4.

Introduction

This chapter looks at the way in which major evangelistic meetings were conducted, and at the innovations which were introduced in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. As Sandra Sizer has written, we should not assume that people who were involved in revival meetings were ‘conservative and backward-looking ... instead we must try and regard them as employing and adapting their religious ideas and practices to their current perception of reality.’² This can be seen in the way that Australian evangelicals eagerly embraced the methods employed by Moody and Sankey, having seen their success in Britain. Nevertheless, as will be seen, there were times when different evangelists adapted and varied the pattern to suit their personality, their audience, or the conditions.

The chapter examines the organisation of the meetings and their format, and the style and topics of the speakers. The music used was so important and its effect so marked that Chapter 6 has been devoted to this topic. The style and language of

¹ *Argus*, 12 June 1875, p. 10.

² Sandra Sizer, ‘Politics and Apolitical Religion: The Great Urban Revivals of the Late Nineteenth Century,’ *Church History*, Vol. 48, No. 1. (March 1979), p. 83.

the meetings had an on-going influence and changed some of the ways in which ordinary church meetings were held, even in some of the churches which were not actively involved in evangelistic campaigns. Many of these methods became entrenched in the evangelical sub-culture, perhaps because of the perceived success of the meetings, the fact that those who were later leaders were converted through them, and that these sorts of meetings were enjoyable. They this had an impact well past their actual occurrence.

The meeting places

Although many meetings of local evangelists were held in churches, some of them were held in mission halls and theatres. This was with the aim of attracting people who would not feel comfortable in a church, and also because in some cases the crowds were too great for even the biggest church. It also demonstrated the non-denominational, or inter-denominational, nature of the meetings in question, another way in which they imitated Moody's campaigns.³ Thus Mrs Baeyertz often preached in such places as mission halls, Mechanics Institutes, town halls, and theatres: for example, 'For six months ... she preached in the large Theatre Royal [in Melbourne] every Sunday night.'⁴ Often these were neutral venues, 'common ground, where many might hear the word who possibly would not attend any place of worship', and were large: 'a building of greater size than any of the churches was needed in consequence of the crowds that attended.'⁵

Major gospel campaigns were much more often held in secular buildings; sometimes they moved there when the popularity of the meetings became obvious. An indignant writer to the editor of the *Argus* who could not get into Mrs Hampson's Town Hall meetings asked why the committee could not secure the Exhibition Building, which they eventually did.⁶ The organisers of McNeill's

³ Lewis A Drummond, 'D L Moody and Revivalism', in Timothy George (ed.), *Mr Moody and the Evangelical Tradition*, London, 2004, pp. 96-7.

⁴ [Watson, Sydney], *From Darkness to Light: the Life and Work of Mrs Baeyertz*, Melbourne, [1910], p. 52.

⁵ *Truth and Progress*, 1 March 1882, p. 29.

⁶ *Argus*, 20 June 1883, p. 7.

meetings in Melbourne were castigated by the *Southern Cross* for not having chosen a bigger building from the beginning:

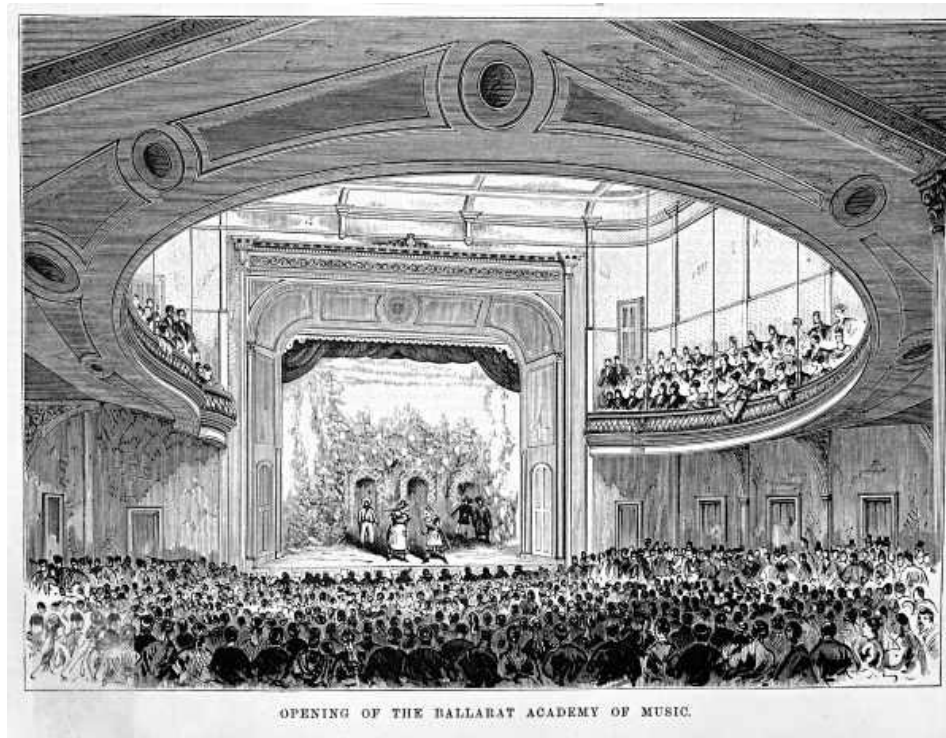
The committee have chosen the Collins-street Congregational Church, and think that by no means vast building will be sufficient to hold the crowds who will throng to hear Mr McNeill. They are utterly mistaken. The Town Hall itself could scarcely find standing room for the audiences [he] will attract ...⁷

The paper was quite right: the meetings moved to Wesley Church, which held between 1500 and 2,000, then to the Town Hall which could hold over 3,000, the Theatre Royal, and finally to the Exhibition Buildings which could and did cram in several thousand.

Another reason for holding such services in such venues was that they were denominationally neutral and, as the *Kilmore Advertiser* noted, 'It has become quite the fashion to hold special services in unconsecrated buildings for the purpose of kindling afresh that religious zeal which often seems in danger of expiring in the ordinary places of worship.'⁸

⁷ *Southern Cross*, 13 July 1894, p. 554.

⁸ Quoted in *Southern Cross*, 18 August 1877, p. 1.



43: Ballarat Academy of Music, 1875.⁹

In 1877 Varley filled the Theatre Royal in Collins Street every Sunday night for months,¹⁰ and in Ballarat, the Alfred Hall and the Academy of Music were used by several speakers including Somerville, Mrs Hampson, John MacNeil and Guinness.¹¹ Mechanics' Institutes often had a useful hall attached also.¹² Theatres had the advantage of being constructed with good acoustics, whereas the large Exhibition Buildings of the capital cities¹³ did not have good quality of sound as their first consideration. The carrying power of evangelists' voices, whether male

⁹ State Library of Victoria, Wood engraving published in *The Australasian Sketcher*, 12 June 1875.

¹⁰ See regular reports in the *Southern Cross* and *Willing Work*, passim.

¹¹ For example, for Somerville see *Ballarat Courier*, 23 July 1877, p. 4; for Mrs Hampson, see *Ballarat Courier*, 4 August 1884, p. 2; for John MacNeil, see *Ballarat Courier* 30 August 1886, p. 2; for Harry Guinness, see C W Mackintosh, *Dr Harry Guinness*, London, 1916, p. 27. His journal for 24 November says 'The Alfred Hall holds about three thousand, and is what R T Booth calls a paddock to speak in...' The Academy of Music held over 2,500.

¹² For the history of one such place, used by Varley in 1878 and by others later, see Stefan Petrow, *Going to the mechanics: a history of the Launceston Mechanics' Institute, 1842-1914*, Launceston, 1998.

¹³ Melbourne, Hobart and Adelaide had international exhibitions in the 1880s and built enormous public spaces for them. Brisbane's first exhibition building opened in 1876 and burned down in 1888. The Exhibition building in Sydney's Prince Alfred Park was built in 1870:

<http://www.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/AboutSydney/HistoryAndArchives/SydneyHistory/ParksHistory/PrinceAlfredPark.asp>. There was also a later exhibition building called the Garden Palace in the Domain.

or female, was often noted in these days before amplification. Mrs Hampson's must have been remarkable: even the somewhat hostile *Echo* commented that

Her throat and lungs must be of remarkable strength and capacity. Her sermon lasted an hour or more, and was delivered with impassioned energy. An admirably distinct enunciation made it possible (the building having been draped so as to stifle echoes) for the entire audience to hear almost every syllable.¹⁴

This is in contrast with Dr. Somerville, who had struggled in the same building and for whom a sounding board on the stage had had to be constructed,¹⁵ and with 'the pitiful attempts of clergymen and other local orators to make themselves heard half way down the Exhibition-building.'¹⁶ The building was acknowledged to have 'wretched acoustic properties' but a correspondent told English readers that 'with little effort, Mrs Hampson makes herself distinctly heard.'¹⁷ She was aided by elaborate attempts to improve the acoustics:

by hanging curtains from the galleries, running wires down the aisle and across the transepts, projecting the platform well into the building and covering it with a well-designed sounding board, and liberally laying the floor with sawdust, so as to deaden the sound of tramping feet.¹⁸

¹⁴ *Echo*, 17 September 1883, p. 4.

¹⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 September 1877, p. 5. A few days later it was noted that when the board was brought further forward, he was heard better. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 September 1877, p. 4.

¹⁶ *Echo*, 22 September 1883, p. 5.

¹⁷ *Christian*, 29 November 1883, p. 10. However, she had to postpone the final meetings of her campaign for a week or two because her voice failed, so perhaps she was straining it without realising.

¹⁸ *Weekly Advocate*, 22 September 1883, p. 203. Possibly this use of sawdust led to the phrase "the sawdust trail" (usually in America) for the pathway down to the front when appeals were given at revivalist meetings. See also *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 September 1883, p. 7: 'Hitherto this building has been somewhat shunned as a place for public speaking by reason of the defectiveness of its acoustic arrangements, but the committee ... have surmounted the difficulties ... by the erection of a stage, which extends some distance into the hall, and over which is a very effective sounding board. Drapery has been hung around the galleries, and canvas has been stretched across the southern end of the galleries, in order to break a kind of echo which was formerly experienced.'



44: Exhibition Building, Prince Alfred Park, 1870 ¹⁹

It is evident from an abundance of reports that it was rare for a major evangelist to speak to fewer than several hundred people, and that generally the crowds were in the low thousands.²⁰ Henry Varley's enormous meeting at the Richmond Paddock, now the MCG, was almost certainly the largest, and realistically he cannot have been heard by the majority of those present, especially as it was in the open air.

Safety was sometimes an issue: over and over again venues are described as being 'crowded to suffocation', and there were sometimes concerns that a building might collapse under the strain. For example, in Brisbane there was ongoing debate about the stability of the Town Hall; Dr Somerville's meetings had been moved from there to the Exhibition Building and there was an implication that

¹⁹ City of Sydney Archives SRC661.

²⁰ A somewhat blasé report of the crowds crammed into the Princess Theatre in Sandhurst (now Bendigo) to hear Dr Somerville said that the crush was such that great injury was feared, but 'beyond a few bruises and a number of ladies fainting, we have not heard of anything very serious happening.' *Southern Cross*, 1 September 1877, Supplement p. 2.

this was on the grounds of safety.²¹ This included the fear that the exits were inadequate in the case of a fire alarm.



45: Old Town Hall, Brisbane, c. 1879.²²

Supporting ministers were usually seated on the platform behind the evangelist, which presumably was meant to convey solidarity and unity of purpose between the churches. Often one or more of these ministers offered a prayer or gave a welcome to the evangelist. Very often these men were listed by name in newspaper reports. This could be interpreted in different ways: supporters of Mrs Hampson thought that there was a good cross section of the Christian community represented in the list of churches who would accept her converts,²³ but the more

²¹ Brisbane *Telegraph*, Letters to the Editor on 5 October 1877, p. 3; 6 October 1877, p. 3; 8 October 1877, p. 3; 11 October 1877, p. 3.

²² Old Town Hall in Queen Street, Brisbane, ca. 1879, Accession number APU-49; 6882, Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland.

²³ *Southern Cross*, 28 July 1883, p. 11: after Macartney read out 'a list of pastors of the different Churches', Mrs Hampson commented that 'all are pretty well represented by that paper'. It would be very interesting to have the list.

critical thought it showed what a small constituency actually supported her.²⁴ And although Varley's meetings started with wide approval, his actions in Melbourne lost him support,²⁵ and he was criticised in the Hobart *Mercury* because he 'occupied the platform alone, and was unaided, purposely so ... by our local ministers.'²⁶

The meetings

As subsequent visiting speakers followed much the same sort of program, it is worth outlining the standard pattern for Somerville's meetings – a pattern he had learned from Moody. He usually began by meeting with either the committee that had been formed to coordinate the meetings, or interested evangelicals. Even in the smaller country towns he would have a meeting for Christian workers, that is, those who were going to be involved in counselling the 'anxious' and otherwise helping with the running of the meetings, outlining his methods of working and encouraging prayer. A choir would also be formed.

During the days of the mission there were noon-day prayer meetings every week day, where items were passed in for prayer, and Somerville gave a short devotional. Bible readings – expositions of particular Bible passages – were given in the afternoon, and an evangelistic address in the evening. In the larger centres, there was usually a meeting for women only, and one for young men entitled 'The Fiery Furnace'. Again, in the larger centres, the series of meetings closed with a Christian Convention, which Somerville chaired, and he and other ministers or Christian workers spoke on topics related to more effective evangelism. Other

²⁴ *Argus*, 25 June 1883, p. 4: 'The great body of clergy appear, however, to have held aloof from the movement. Not more than eight or nine names were read to the final meeting of the Hampson mission as those of pastors prepared to receive the "converts," and these names in no way represented the denominations.'

²⁵ See Chapter 7. Also, they may have heard of one contretemps in Melbourne when 'turning around to the ministers on the platform' he inveighed against infant baptism. *Australian Christian Advocate*, Dec. 1877, p. 7. Brethren leader Captain W R Probert wrote approvingly, 'Our brother Varley's plain and wholesome truths, and his complete denunciation of sectarianism and denominationalism, have now made him almost alone on the platform.' *Missionary Echo*, February 1878, pp. 37-8.

²⁶ *Mercury*, 8 June 1878, p. 2.

preachers, notably Mrs Baeyertz and Mrs Hampson, often had a final meeting or meetings for converts.

There are a limited number of components of any meeting, evangelistic or not. There are generally opening remarks, some preliminary attractions which in a religious meeting may include songs by a choir, soloist, and/or the audience, possibly a collection, and a main speech or sermon. Sometimes there are questions or closing comments. In the case of the meetings under consideration, their format was fairly standard, and numerous detailed reports of them enable us to see this. For example, a report from South Australia giving Mrs Baeyertz' order of service outlines a version of what is sometimes called the 'hymn/prayer sandwich', but which must have been sufficiently unusual, or alternatively reassuring, to be described.²⁷

One of Mrs Baeyertz' innovations at a mission in Adelaide was to hold separate meetings for men. The reason that these proved successful was, she believed, that men did not like to be embarrassed in front of their female relatives, and because it was easier for parents 'among the poorer classes' [i.e. without servants] to take turns coming to meetings. Meetings for men only were sometimes held by male preachers, such as Henry Varley, who used the occasion to speak on matters of purity unfit for female ears, but Mrs Baeyertz was concerned that unless men came to the meetings she had 'not got hold of the people'.²⁸ She also held separate women's meetings on occasion.

Many meetings finished with an appeal and/or an enquiry meeting, designed for 'those who had been aroused, or who were unsaved, and anxious about their souls'.²⁹ Varley often concluded his meetings with a question and answer dialogue with a colleague, usually a member of his committee, who asked prepared

²⁷ *Truth and Progress*, 1 September 1881, p. 101: 'Generally an appropriate hymn was sung by the choir ... [during which] Mrs. Baeyertz would take her place upon the platform ... A hymn was then sung by the congregation, followed by prayer. Then another hymn, or short passages of Scripture read ... Then followed the discourse ... Usually at the close ... a touching and appropriate hymn was sung as a solo or duet, after which, with perhaps a few more words of appeal, another hymn would be sung by the congregation, and the service was closed.'

²⁸ *From Darkness to Light*, p. 52.

²⁹ *Truth and Progress*, 1 September 1881, p. 101.

questions designed to illustrate the process of conversion.³⁰ This seems to have been a personal innovation³¹ which was likely to maintain interest and make telling points succinctly.

The music

The most notable innovation in these meetings from 1877 onwards was the use of a music leader and choir. This was in direct imitation of Sankey's position in Moody and Sankey's mission in Britain. Of course churches had used choirs for centuries, but the combination of a skilful musician leading a specially trained massed choir singing the latest American gospel songs, was almost irresistible. As a Hobart reporter wrote, 'Their hearty and skilful rendering of the simple American hymns ... quite thrills the audience, and is an essential of the meetings.'³² In chapter 6 I examine the impact of Sankey's songs in Australia and their use in these meetings in detail.

Several of the songleaders were excellent soloists themselves, although not every evangelist came equipped with such a useful assistant. Music for Dr Somerville's meetings was taken care of by his son Willie, who, like his role model Sankey, played the harmonium and conducted the choir which was formed in each place. The *Mercury* was impressed by the 'beautifully toned Mason and Hamlin organ which he brought with him' and said the 'style of singing was a great improvement upon that adopted at recent Evangelistic gatherings'.³³ It even went so far as to refer to 'the no less seductive charms of his (Dr Somerville's) youthful hymn-singing son',³⁴ although a less flattering account from Brisbane

³⁰ For example, see *Australian Christian Advocate*, November 1877, p. 325, and *Launceston Examiner*, 9 February 1891, p. 3: 'Mr Varley held a kind of parabolic conversation with the Rev. A. J. Clarke. The various points raised were full of interest, and they illustrated the way of life very plainly.'

³¹ However, it may have been another technique learnt from Moody. See *Great Questions answered. Two colloquies between D. L. Moody and W. S. Plumer. (A scene at the Depot Meeting, Philadelphia, December 31, 1875.)*, New York, 1876, in the British Library catalogue. This sounds a very similar idea to Varley's.

³² *Christian*, 15 August 1878, p. 614.

³³ *Mercury*, 7 June 1878, p. 2. This is probably a swingeing reference to Varley's meetings in March/April.

³⁴ *Mercury*, 24 June 1878, p. 2.

said that he ‘supplied the elements of music and pimples, being fairly endowed in both respects.’³⁵

This conjunction of a gifted soloist and sometimes choir leader with the evangelist was also used by the Baptists Mateer (preacher) and Parker (singer), and the Congregationalists Mr and Mrs Mountain – Mrs Mountain being the musician. However, Varley, Mrs Hampson, and George Clarke did not have their own soloists, although their meetings certainly used choirs and songs from Sankey’s book. Harry Guinness and John MacNeil were both fine singers themselves, and Guinness played the cornet to some effect, and composed at least one song used in Australia.³⁶ In 1894, Gipsy Smith both sang and preached – he had a fine voice with a moving effect on his hearers.³⁷ Also in that year, John McNeill reverted to the Moody/Sankey combination with accompanying singer J H Burke. He was acknowledged as adding significantly to the atmosphere of the meetings, and a critic wrote of the ‘pleasing skill and expression’ with which he used his ‘light baritone voice’, adding that

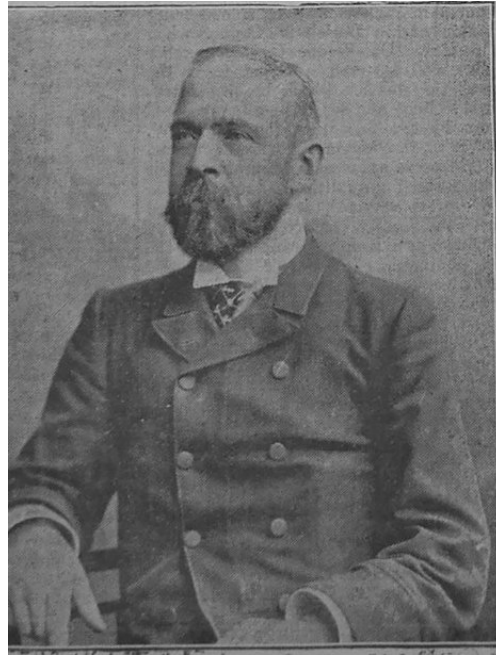
His interpretation of ‘Sacred Songs and Solos’ should be a revelation to pretensively hyper-critical deriders, who sneer at ‘Sankeys’ as a collection of tin-pot melodies only suited to the requirements of the barrel organ.³⁸

³⁵ *Argus*, 7 Dec 1877, p. 7.

³⁶ ‘I will trust’ - see the *Pioneer*, April 1886, p. 4, for a copy of words and music. There is at least one tune by him in *Hymns of Consecration and Faith*, No. 405, ‘Surely I come quickly’, with lyrics about the Second Coming by ‘Mrs H G Guinness’, probably his mother.

³⁷ The American Yatman also led the singing at his meetings: ‘Some of Sankey’s hymns were sung with loud and soft effect under Mr Yatman’s direction. In one instance he stopped the congregation in the rendering of a hymn, exclaiming, “Sing that verse again. You sing it too slowly. That don’t go well. Put more life into it.” His request was met by a hearty response.’ *Argus*, 2 March 1896, p. 6.

³⁸ *Australian Christian World*, 12 October 1894, p. 1.



46: Singer J H Burke, Melbourne 1894.³⁹

The music was universally considered to aid the speaker, in softening the hearts and preparing the minds of the listener. The choir both led the congregational singing and presented items, and the soloist was often used just before or just after the sermon for added effect. McNeill introduced one solo by saying

“We have known many men who were hardened against preaching, but some old song tune found a soft place in them at last, reviving old memories and leading them to Jesus.” ... Mr Burke then sang ... “The Ninety and Nine”, with intense pathos, the vast assemblage taking up the refrain at the end of each verse with sonorous and impressive effect.⁴⁰

The money

One aspect on which different evangelists had opposing views was the presence or absence of a collection. There were two major areas of cost of an evangelistic mission: living expenses for the evangelist, and payment for advertising, printing if any, music books, rent of the venues, cleaning, etc. The two needs sometimes

³⁹ *Southern Cross*, 3 August 1894, p. 613.

⁴⁰ *Southern Cross*, 27 July 1894, p. 585. There is actually no refrain to this song (*Sacred Songs and Solos* No. 97, later No. 43). The last line is repeated, so that may be what is meant by the refrain.

overlapped and there does not always seem to have been clarity as to how these expenses were to be met.

The discussion of monetary support was a delicate one and not often canvassed. While newspapers occasionally brought up the accusation (always refuted) that Moody and Sankey made money from the sale of the song books,⁴¹ they did not seem to attempt similar criticisms of evangelists in Australia. Earlier, 'California' Taylor had been quite open about the fact that one reason for his tour in 1864 was to recoup losses from a church fire, but this was largely achieved by sales of his book: offerings went towards new Methodist churches.⁴²

Most evangelists were supported in kind, at least, by accommodation in leading supporters' homes, and presumably by gifts. It is likely that Mrs Reed underwrote Harry Guinness' work, and as she is known to have been a generous benefactor of Christian causes, or at least the ones she approved of, she probably contributed to George Clarke's upkeep and gave to Hudson Taylor,⁴³ George Müller, and possibly General Booth.⁴⁴ Several evangelists also stayed at the Reeds' home at Wesley Dale for rest and recuperation.⁴⁵ James Balfour underwrote George Clarke's expenses,⁴⁶ and it is highly likely that other wealthy businessmen such as David Beath contributed generously to these causes.⁴⁷

⁴¹ See for example, *Southern Cross*, 10 November 1883, pp. 9-10.

⁴² Eric Clancy, 'William ("California") Taylor, First Overseas Evangelist to Australia', *Church Heritage*, Vol. 6, No. 3, March 1990, pp. 47-49.

⁴³ Henry Reed had been a consistent supporter of Hudson Taylor: 'Mr Hudson Taylor's work in China had also Mr Reed's heart sympathy up to his latest hour. He fully approved of, and endorsed, the principles and practice of the China Inland Mission; they were in harmony with his clearest convictions of what the 'more excellent way' is for the carrying on of any work of God.' Margaret Reed, *Henry Reed: An Eventful Life*, London, n.d., p. 74. As this is in a chapter about Reed's wide religious interests which includes many references to financial support, it is safe to assume that the CIM was also a recipient. Their daughter Mary was the first Australian CIM missionary (Marcus Loane, *The Story of the China Inland Mission in Australia and New Zealand 1890-1964*, Sydney, 1965, pp. 5-6), and it is obvious from the newspaper the *Pioneer* that the Reed family continued to have a close interest in the CIM.

⁴⁴ Her husband had been one of Booth's earliest supporters, giving him £5,000 to help establish the Salvation Army.

⁴⁵ Among them was Mrs Baeyertz who stayed there several times, both before and after Henry Reed's death. The early version of her biography says that 'Mrs Henry Reed was much help to her', possibly just before she went to New Zealand and then to the USA. This could have been financial help, or advice and moral support. *Christian*, 16 August 1894, p. 17.

⁴⁶ See below.

⁴⁷ Beath's name or that of his firm is on almost every list of donations to needy causes, mission work, etc, but lists of donors to the costs of gospel missions do not seem to have been published.



47: Mrs Margaret Reed, widow of Henry Reed and philanthropist in her own right⁴⁸

Some evangelists were self-supporting and did not require payment – as we have seen, the Somervilles' travel expenses were paid by the Glasgow Evangelistic Association, although it is not clear whether that included a stipend. In Ballarat it was emphasised that the local committee only had to cover the 'rent, advertising, and hotel expenses, as the rev. evangelist strenuously opposed any reward for his services'.⁴⁹ He would not even accept a gift for his wife. However, even though they did not have to pay his expenses, the Brisbane committee had a deficit showing several months after his visit.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ TAHO, image PH30-1-9176.

⁴⁹ *Ballarat Courier*, 3 August 1877, p. 2. The proposed gift was 'an emu egg inkstand, surrounded with golden quartz specimen, backed up with a view of Ballarat'. The Ballarat paper was proud to report that 'while in Melbourne the mere expenses of the evangelistic services were not met by one-half with voluntary contributions, the cost of the services in Ballarat has been subscribed twice over.'

⁵⁰ *Brisbane Courier*, 19 December 1877, p. 1: expenses had been £375.1.3, but only £350.2.0 had been received.

Varley seemed to have income from previous business successes.⁵¹ This may also have been the case with Mrs Hampson, although it was reported that ‘the expenses of the mission had been met voluntarily ... and ... the contributions obtained during the remainder of the mission ... would be devoted as a thank-offering to Mrs Hampson.’⁵² Varley did not object to ‘an occasional collection ... to defray expenses’, and a box was placed at prayer meetings and Bible readings to facilitate this.⁵³ This restriction may indicate one reason for the reluctance to have a collection – that it was not right to collect from those to whom the Gospel should be freely offered. The detailed statement of accounts from his Adelaide meetings shows that there were offerings at all services, totalling £294/18/9, which roughly equalled expenses, but Varley was also presented with a testimonial cheque of £110 even though he ‘named no charge for his expenses.’⁵⁴

There is little mention of George Clarke’s expenses, although one presumes his and his wife’s fares and upkeep were taken care of by the ESA committee, but it seems that he had financial difficulties nonetheless: Andrew Lemon says that leading evangelical and Victorian MLC James Balfour ‘kept visiting evangelist George Clarke from ever-threatening bankruptcy’.⁵⁵ However, looking back the next year, the ESA was pleased that at their fifth annual meeting they could report that the costs of the campaign were covered and they had a credit balance of £37 for the year.⁵⁶

However, Clarke’s attitude to monetary offerings was unequivocal: ‘He hated collections as he hated poison, and would not sanction them at his meetings.’⁵⁷

The advertisements were absolutely clear: ‘NO COLLECTIONS WILL BE

⁵¹ ‘He is known to be of independent means, to accept no reward for his services, and to have built and supported a large place of worship in London.’ *Spectator*, 11 August 1877, p. 174. Beath said at one Melbourne meetings that ‘Mr Varley did not receive a shilling for his lectures and services in the Town Hall, though it had been reported otherwise ... (Loud and prolonged applause.)’ *Spectator*, 6 October 1877, p. 271.

⁵² *Southern Cross*, 7 July 1883, p. 10.

⁵³ *Southern Cross*, 4 August 1877, p. 1.

⁵⁴ Henry Hussey, *More than Half a Century of Colonial Life and Christian Experience*, Adelaide, 1978 (first published in 1897), pp. 399-400. Hussey was the treasurer for the meetings.

⁵⁵ Andrew Lemon, *The Young Man from Home: James Balfour, 1830-1913*, Melbourne, 1982, p. 97. Lemon gives no more details.

⁵⁶ *Argus*, 28 June 1889, p. 5.

⁵⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 October 1888, p. 3.

TAKEN.’⁵⁸ I have not seen a stated reason for this, but it may have sprung from a feeling that God would provide for His work in His own way (the principle of living by faith, espoused and acted on by George Müller, Hudson Taylor, etc), or that collections were a barrier to those for whom the meetings were intended. The most he would allow was a ‘thank offering’ at the final meeting. In Sydney this was to be devoted to the establishment of an Evangelisation Society there, similar to the one in Melbourne.⁵⁹ In Melbourne these offerings at the various missions went to various causes, as indicated by the congregations: for example, after the St Kilda mission, about a third went to the general fund, the rest to the YWCA appeal.⁶⁰

John McNeill’s attitude to money was the opposite to George Clarke’s. He made no apology for the taking of a collection at his meetings: at the first public meeting in Melbourne:

He made a short financial statement ... in order to anticipate speculations. ... The expenses of renting halls and advertising thoroughly could not be paid without money, and all that he and Mr Burke wanted was enough to pay their way from day to day ... they did not ask for any salary ... they would be very glad if anything remained over to pay their personal expenses home again.⁶¹

He later let people know that ‘the increasing expenditure on the services was being very well met by the contribution’,⁶² which seems to infer that the group of ministers and laymen who had organised his meetings did not have a budget nor a

⁵⁸ See for example *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 October 1888, p. 3.

⁵⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 October 1888, p. 3.

⁶⁰ *Southern Cross*, 15 June 1888, p. 471. Clarke was very keen that there be a good building for the YWCA as there was for the YMCA. *Australian Christian World*, 27 September 1888, p. 411.

⁶¹ *Argus*, 23 July 1894, p. 6. The same statement was reported in the *Southern Cross*, 27 July 1894, p. 585: ‘... Mr McNeill made a short financial statement, which he put forward himself, he naively said, in order to anticipate the speculations which were sure to be made upon that subject. The statement was most praiseworthy concise and to the point. The expenses of renting halls and advertising thoroughly could not be paid without money, and all that he and Mr Burke wanted was enough to pay their way from day to day. In order to obtain that sum they would hold collections at their meetings, and although they did not ask for any salary – which they might do, for the labourer was worthy of his hire – they would be very glad if anything remained over to pay their personal expenses home again. Mr Burke had to go back to Chicago, and he had to go back to Glasgow, eventually after going round the world on their mission tour. That was plain and fair, wasn’t it, but if anyone in the audience objected to contributing – well, they could keep their money in their pocket, and he and Mr Burke would get around the world all the same.’ McNeill’s biographer said that ‘Whatever other faults might be alleged against Mr McNeill, he could never have been charged with the love of money. If he erred at all, it was rather in the other direction.’ Alexander Gammie, *John McNeill*, Glasgow, n.d., p. 221.

⁶² *Argus*, 30 July 1894, p. 5.

way of meeting the expenses apart from the nightly collections.⁶³ In terms of modern-day accountability, the approach seems somewhat risky, but I have not seen any serious criticism of the way in which money was handled.

George Grubb was criticised by some for his unorthodox approach to money. The team trusted God for their financial needs, which were supplied in some remarkable ways, and they practised faith healing.⁶⁴ However, Canon Finnis of Hobart, writing a carefully critical letter to the Anglican newspaper, offered his opinion that ‘Mr Grubb ... should have been guaranteed a sufficient salary made up of thankofferings or otherwise, and the balance should have been strictly accounted for and a properly audited balance-sheet published at the end of the Mission.’⁶⁵ Clearly, the two attitudes were poles apart. The editor, Geiss, tried to achieve a balance by saying that Grubb ‘occupied a unique position, and professed to go upon principles the exact opposite to those adopted by men of business.’⁶⁶

Müller also lived by faith, the prime exponent of this way of life. A minor disagreement seems to have arisen in Melbourne, where the Evangelisation Society wished to guarantee his expenses. Müller demurred, ‘preferring to come independently’, but the Society still solicited donations towards the expenses of the meetings.⁶⁷ Mrs Baeyertz also followed this way of life. In an interview in Auckland, she was reported as saying, ‘I trust the Lord entirely. I have no guarantee, and make no charges. I have never failed yet. If it doesn’t turn up one way, it does in another. I get sums of money, I often don’t know from whom.’⁶⁸

The most spectacular example of giving occurred at the Geelong Convention in 1891, under Grubb’s chairmanship, although it was very far from being a collection at an evangelistic meeting. The incident was extensively reported in

⁶³ This is supported by a paragraph in the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 8 October 1894, p. 4, which stated that the cost of the services would be about £600, which would be recouped from offerings.

⁶⁴ Hopkins (ed.), *The Story of Keswick*, pp. 48-50.

⁶⁵ *Church News*, November 1892, p. 760.

⁶⁶ *Church News*, November 1892, p. 761.

⁶⁷ *Argus*, 25 March 1886, p. 7, letter from W A Southwell, secretary of the YMCA.

⁶⁸ Evans, Emilia Baeyertz, p. 232.

both secular and religious newspapers, under headings such as ‘A Scene of religious Enthusiasm – Extraordinary Munificence’.⁶⁹ At the end of the final meeting a stream of people followed one lady’s lead in bringing to the front money, jewellery, titles to land, and promissory notes for mission work overseas, particularly China, which eventually came to a value of £1,000. News of these ‘excesses’ reached as far as England. The level of emotion of the occasion was reported very differently depending on the viewpoint of the journalist.⁷⁰

It was probably evident that most evangelists were not wealthy or making money by their tours, although the *Bulletin* did refer to McNeill as ‘that misguided collection-taker’, suggesting that he had somehow won over the Melbourne papers: ‘Result: another nauseating burst of pious hysteria, and a lot of money for M’NEILL to spend as he chooses.’ However, they did admit that ‘probably he is an honest egoist, who devotes the surplus cash to what he considers “GOD’S work”’.⁷¹

A sarcastic columnist in Launceston suggested, possibly apropos of Varley, that ‘itinerant Gospellers who go meandering round the colonies seeking whom they may levy contributions upon, have generally what the Yankees call a “real good time.” ... Their stock-in-trade is never exhausted, and they find their lines cast in pleasant places.’⁷² However, this was a rarely expressed opinion and Varley and others refuted the allegation that preaching was making him rich – rather the opposite.⁷³ He also vigorously and vehemently challenged the assertion that implied that he had filled up a blank cheque for £750, forcing an apology and retraction.⁷⁴ While the cynical might think that evangelists were getting a cheap

⁶⁹ *Geelong Advertiser*, 19 September 1891, p. 2.

⁷⁰ For Grubb’s version, see Evan Hopkins (ed.), *The Story of Keswick*, London, 1892, p. 49; for a reasoned assessment by a middle of the road Christian newspaper, see *Australian Christian World*, 21 January 1892, p. 5; for examples of secular comment, see the *Argus*, 19 September 1891, p. 9, and *Geelong Advertiser*, 19 September 1891, p.2; for a sympathetic view, see Watsford, *Glorious Gospel Triumphs*, p. 273.

⁷¹ *Bulletin*, 4 August 1894, pp. 7-8.

⁷² *Launceston Examiner*, 4 March 1891, Supplement p. 1.

⁷³ *Launceston Examiner*, 27 March 1891, p. 3: ‘When I retired from business I had a modest competency of nearly £11,000. I have today, after preaching all over the earth, little more than £3000 (applause)...’

⁷⁴ Retraction from the proprietor, Henry Button, *Launceston Examiner*, 23 March 1891, p. 3; apology from the author, ‘Tommy Trot’, *Launceston Examiner*, 25 March 1891, p. 1.

world tour, anyone at all involved with the meetings could see that they did not live lavishly and were generally worked hard.

The main event – the sermon

Davies, in his classic study of worship and theology in England from the Reformation to the mid-twentieth century, stated that ‘the nineteenth century, like the seventeenth, was the great age of the pulpit.’⁷⁵ The sermon by the visiting ‘star’ was the central part of the evangelistic meeting, and many sermons were reported at length, most often in religious newspapers, but sometimes in secular ones as well. With such a focus on the preacher and his or her message, there was concomitant assessment of the style and effectiveness of delivery, and analysis of how this was achieved. At times, reporters struggled to explain the ‘power’ behind an evangelist’s attraction; Christian newspapers of course attributed it to the power of the Holy Spirit as well as the individual’s personality.

In the second half of the nineteenth century there was an increase in the scale of public meetings in Australia, on a number of causes from anti-transportation in the 1850s to federation in the 1880s and 90s. However, although comparisons could presumably have been made with political speakers, for example the great Sir Henry Parkes, the ‘Father of Federation’, or in later years Alfred Deakin, I have seen virtually no comparisons with secular speakers, apart from generic allusions to ‘great orators’. There were sometimes comparisons with well-known preachers, such as Spurgeon; McNeill’s sobriquet was ‘the Scottish Spurgeon’.⁷⁶ Those listening to Spurgeon’s son Thomas made the inevitable comparisons; a South Australian writer felt that he had

⁷⁵ Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England IV: From Newman to Martineau, 1850-1900*, Grand Rapids, 1996 (1962), p. 282.

⁷⁶ See, for example, *Australian Christian World*, 10 August 1894, p. 8: the sobriquet ‘Scottish Spurgeon which has been given to Mr M’Neil [sic] is very appropriate. In fact the scenes which have marked his mission thus far vividly recall what I remember of Spurgeon’s advent, when, like a meteor, he burst on the ecclesiastical horizon. In his wit, humour, genial-pointed satire, his plain speaking, straight hitting, Mr M’Neil recalls C. H. Spurgeon.’

a little of his father's wit, a little of his father's fluency, and a great deal of his father's evangelical spirit. For a young man of 21 his power of speech is wonderful, and he will no doubt in time develop into a noted preacher.⁷⁷

Far fewer had actually heard Moody, and his sermons were nowhere near so available in print, so there were almost no comparisons with him, even though in content and approach he was a major influence.

Speakers were also compared with each other at times. For example, a Sydney *Echo* journalist, who had no great opinion of revival meetings nor of Mrs Hampson's theology, was nevertheless increasingly impressed with her vocal technique:

No clergyman in Australia possesses physical qualifications for pulpit oratory equal to the dower of Mrs Hampson ... [Her voice] is probably superior in strength [to Spurgeon's], though possibly inferior in tone. It is not sweet ... but neither is it harsh. It is exactly suited to the work that is laid upon it, clear and ringing, of vast carrying power; and it is managed with consummate skill. Not one man or woman in a million has such a voice ...⁷⁸

First and foremost the speaker had to be heard. This was the last generation of public speakers before the invention of public address systems,⁷⁹ and there was wide awareness of oratorical skills, as shown by critiques of these meetings. As we have seen earlier, being heard was a challenge, one which Dr Somerville failed at times. As well as this, speakers had to keep the attention of the audience, and this does not seem to have been a problem with speakers of this calibre, who generally (apart from Thomas Spurgeon and Harry Guinness at the beginning, and the 'home-grown' Mrs Baeyertz and John MacNeil) came to Australia with established reputations.

⁷⁷ *Words of Grace*, 5 January 1878, p. 147.

⁷⁸ *Echo*, 22 September 1883, p. 5.

⁷⁹ Public address systems were invented early in the twentieth century, following Edison's invention of a microphone. See 'Loudspeakers and Earphones,' *Encyclopedia of 20th Century Technology*, London: Routledge, 2005: http://www.credoreference.com/entry/routt/loudspeakers_and_earphones (accessed 16 February, 2011). Megaphones of various sorts had been in use since the 1600s. However, though these might be used for street corner open air preaching, they did not befit the dignity of a formal evangelistic service. Geoffrey Blainey, *Black Kettle and Full Moon*, Camberwell, 2004, p. 144, says that the microphone became influential in public speaking in the 1920s.

Gestures and movement could also focus attention: Dr Somerville tended to walk around the stage,⁸⁰ and in fact apparently had a mannerism which ‘stands between preacher and hearer a time or two’. However, familiarity with him resulted in the ‘peculiarities ... no longer [being] noticeable ... the gesticulation becomes then a powerful ally....’⁸¹ Somerville was particularly given to using telling examples as he strode around the stage: in Brisbane it was noted that ‘his address, as usual, was embellished by numerous anecdotes and parables ... [it was] evident that he carried the sympathies of his audience throughout.’⁸² The picture of Varley at the Richmond Paddock shows his left fist lifted high, possibly holding a Bible, and his right arm extended as though in entreaty.⁸³ Temperance evangelist William Noble used a number of dramatic skills to keep his audience’s attention, as the *Brisbane Courier* reported:

It would be impossible to find amongst the actors we have had amongst us a more amusing exponent of exaggerated melodrama ... It is evident that Mr. Noble’s form of attack on intemperance is not by means of dry statistics or empty exhortation ...⁸⁴

Another reporter felt that ‘by his mimicry, pathos and skill in anecdote [he] kept the interest of the meeting at flood-tide for over an hour.’⁸⁵ McNeill also had great dramatic power and used the whole platform as a ‘stage’, rather than staying near a pulpit.

It was also imperative to enunciate well. Mrs Baeyertz’ manner of speaking was always complimented: in January 1879 the Hobart *Tribune* told its readers that

Mrs Bayertz [sic] has elocutionary ability, a good command of simple but forcible language; she possesses a clear and distinct utterance, an earnest, pleasing, and modulative voice, and an intonation of pathos and feeling which renders her addresses very impressive, and gives her power over her hearers.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ ‘It is amazing how the earthly house of his tabernacle stands the shaking given to it ...’ *Southern Cross*, 25 August 1877, p. 3.

⁸¹ *Tasmanian Presbyterian Magazine and Missionary Record*, July 1878, p. 17.

⁸² *Brisbane Courier*, 12 October 1877, p. 3.

⁸³ See the copy of this picture in Chapter 2.

⁸⁴ *Brisbane Courier*, 7 September 1886, p. 4.

⁸⁵ *Australian Christian World*, 15 October 1886, p. 452.

⁸⁶ The *Tribune*, January 17, 1879, p. 3. During the same month Mlle Hermione, the ‘accomplished elocutionist’ gave a lecture on ‘Our Queen’ in the Town Hall. The report of the meeting was quite critical of her elocutionary skills, so the paper was not just fawning on an overseas visitor.

A report from Tasmania thought that Mrs Baeyertz was ‘most impressive in her style ... she would be good example to preachers in her delivery.’⁸⁷ Summing up her speaking style, Walker writes of her ‘simple homely anecdotal style of preaching which was combined with her careful avoidance of emotional excess and uncompromising presentation of sin and redemption.’⁸⁸ The *Los Angeles Churchman*, quoted in her biography, noted ‘her profound knowledge of Scripture; her spiritual perception of its truths; her soundness in the faith of Christ; her aptness, grasp, pathos, boldness, hard common sense, [and] freedom from cant ...’⁸⁹

The *Argus* correspondent from Adelaide held Mrs Hampson up as an example also: ‘Henry Varley’s power pales before the wonderful influence she exercises. Men go to scoff, and remain to pray. ... Her success and her power are a painful commentary upon the ineffectiveness of the ordinary run of our regularly ordained ministers.’⁹⁰ In general there was overwhelming praise for Mrs Hampson’s preaching, the Sydney *Daily Telegraph* editor stating unequivocally that ‘She is undoubtedly the greatest speaker that ever appeared in this country.’⁹¹

Clearly, someone who could be heard so well in probably the largest building in Australia at the time would have had no trouble in the venues available in other cities. Even so, there must have been considerable vocal strain, as during her prolonged stay in Sydney her voice broke down and she was forced to postpone her final services for a couple of weeks.⁹²

Varley had a declamatory style which was much admired: ‘he has the orator’s presence, the orator’s self-poise and command, and above all the orator’s voice’, wrote the *Southern Cross*.⁹³ Less impressed with him was the Tasmanian observer

⁸⁷ *Willing Work*, 16 August 1878, p. 271.

⁸⁸ John Walker, ‘Emilia Baeyertz’, *ADEB*, p. 19.

⁸⁹ Watson, *From Darkness to Light*, p. 69.

⁹⁰ *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad*, October 1883, p. 147.

⁹¹ *Daily Telegraph*, 1 October 1883, p. 2.

⁹² *Daily Telegraph*, 24 September 1893, p. 2.

⁹³ *Southern Cross*, 25 August 1877, p. 1.

who thought that the Christian message needs humility and tenderness, and wrote of his hard hitting and combative style:

Had Mr Varley been a sailor, he would have shot men off the yard arm, as a business man he would make a fortune [he already had] and earn general dislike, as a professional man he would have bullied his way over opponents, and in a legislative body he would have found his place continually on the opposition benches, shaking his fist at the Government.⁹⁴

Nevertheless, his preaching was often the yardstick against which others' was held, perhaps as much an indication of his exposure and familiarity as his skill.

Another speaker with a forceful personality was John McNeill. The *Bulletin* referred to his 'aggressive confidence and whirling mode of delivery',⁹⁵ which more friendly commentators described as 'direct, forcible, pungent, and practical.'⁹⁶ As one wrote:

Nearly every newspaper in Australia ... has been attempting to explain in cold type, the secret of the great preacher's power ... Mr McNeill is a blunt-spoken, burly Scot, bounteously laced with natural Irish humour, blessed with a genial eloquent face, and practical to the fingertips.⁹⁷

This one struggled as well to explain his hold on audiences, referring to his vitality, his 'nature highly charged with the Holy Ghost unction', his 'thunderous [sic] tones', and particularly his practicality and originality.⁹⁸

The briefest glance at transcripts shows his style to be quite different from most of the other speakers studied, with far more anecdotes, illustrative stories, dramatic retelling of Bible stories, and humorous asides. There was indeed some concern over McNeill's irrepressible sense of humour, which did not fit all tastes. An Anglican editor wrote that 'we cannot think that the hour when the offer of salvation is being brought home to the ... careless and unbelieving is a suitable

⁹⁴ *Tasmanian Evening Herald*, 23 March 1878, p. 3. I am indebted to Laurie Rowston for this reference.

⁹⁵ *Bulletin*, 13 October 1894, p. 9.

⁹⁶ *Australian Christian World*, 19 October 1894, p. 3.

⁹⁷ *Australian Christian World*, 12 October 1894, p. 1. The reference to Irish humour may be simply a way of characterising it, or it may refer to the fact that his father, though of Scotch extraction, was born in Northern Ireland.

⁹⁸ *Australian Christian World*, 12 October 1894, p. 1.

time for the merry story or for the joke that brings the house down.’⁹⁹ McNeill himself was aware of such criticism, as were his supporters,¹⁰⁰ and many felt that his sense of humour was part of his special rapport with Australian audiences. As the Melbourne *Argus* commented, his ‘jokes ... often graze the edge of irreverence: but they delight the crowd.’¹⁰¹

Several preachers had much calmer styles: a commentator on Harry Guinness found

his power on the platform ... surprising, and ... largely due to the informal style of his delivery, the earnestness of his nature, the thorough grasp he has of young men’s ways and language, and the ready application of suitable anecdotes ... His voice is ... attractive and forceful ...¹⁰²

This more casual but still direct approach was clearly attractive. As Guinness was still in his twenties, he did not have the authority of age as Somerville did, but his ‘man to man’ technique nevertheless had a pull over his audiences.

Some of the reporters of Clarke’s meetings also struggled to decide what constituted his ‘power’. Indefinable spiritual strength, in an age which saw itself as increasingly scientific, was an explanation they were reluctant to recognise but sometimes forced to fall back on. After his address to Christian workers right at the beginning of his tour, the *Southern Cross* attributed his secret to ‘a certain transparent sincerity which disarms prejudice’, and a faith of ‘unique calmness and certainty’.¹⁰³ ‘Apemantus’ in his long analysis put it down to that fact that it was because he was ‘somewhat of the poet, the enthusiast, the man with one idea; and partly [because of] the intense realistic common-sense of his arguing and talking.’¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ *Church of England Messenger*, 10 August 1894, p. 10.

¹⁰⁰ See an interview in *Southern Cross*, 3 August 1894, p. 613, where he basically says that humour is part of his personality, and that God was the inventor of laughter and of seriousness.

¹⁰¹ *Argus*, 25 July 1894, p. 4. A chapter of his biography is given solely to examples of his humour: Gammie, *McNeill*, pp. 248-260.

¹⁰² *Australian Christian World*, 9 July 1886, p. 219.

¹⁰³ *Southern Cross*, 11 May 1886, p. 363.

¹⁰⁴ *Daily Telegraph*, 20 October 1888, p. 11.

This directness of speech and calmness was attractive to those who were made uneasy by more overblown flights of rhetoric: the Sydney Anglican *Australian Record* approvingly noted that he spoke naturally, in simple language, with no drama or tricks,¹⁰⁵ and that ‘all pretension to pulpit oratory was kept subordinate to the message ... the simple message of the Gospel ...’¹⁰⁶ With relief they reported that ‘there was neither *rant* ... nor *cant* ...’; that his sermons were ‘marked by honest, manly utterances ...’¹⁰⁷ And despite the fact that, as another wrote, he was ‘the most sensible, as he certainly is the quietest, evangelist we have heard’,¹⁰⁸ his ‘full and pleasant voice ... was distinctly heard all over the large and crowded building.’¹⁰⁹

Observers were always glad to note that speakers were not sensationalist, although a degree of appropriate emotion was acceptable. Thomas Cook was a much less dramatic preacher than most:

Mr Cook called to his aid none of the dramatic gestures of the stage orator ... he scarcely changed his position, and, except with an occasional comprehensive wave of the hand ... did nothing to disturb the fixed gaze of his hearers.¹¹⁰

At a seminar he presented to ministers he suggested that they try ‘[talking] in ordinary newspaper English’, and surprising people into thought: ‘Points are more effective than arguments, and illustrations than rhetorical appeals’.¹¹¹ An assessment by the *Southern Cross* echoed this: ‘His voice is of ordinary quality; he has little humour [a notable contrast to McNeill!]; he attempts no novelties of method.’ They concluded that his power lay in his ‘entire simplicity, his intense concentration’, and of course ‘divine endowment.’¹¹² American Charles Yatman also drew praise for his relatively calm approach compared to ‘evangelists who

¹⁰⁵ *Australian Record*, 17 November 1888, p. 7.

¹⁰⁶ *Australian Record*, 3 November 1888. Italics in original. Cf *Australian Christian World*, 19 April 1894, p. 6: ‘Mr George Clarke, the well-known evangelist, has closed a most successful mission in Clifton and Bristol, England. His meetings have been very largely attended. Mr. C is said to have wielded extraordinary power over large audiences without the least excitement, and no attempt at oratory or flights of eloquence.’

¹⁰⁷ *Australian Record*, 17 November 1888, p. 7.

¹⁰⁸ *Australian Christian World*, 18 October 1888, p. 457.

¹⁰⁹ *Australian Christian World*, 1 November 1888, p. 489.

¹¹⁰ *Brisbane Courier*, 3 June 1895, p. 5.

¹¹¹ Cook, *Days of God’s Right Hand*, pp. 120-1.

¹¹² *Southern Cross*, 20 July 1894, p. 563.

have visited Brisbane of recent years. The *Brisbane Courier* noted that ‘Their methods were emotional, but Mr. Yatman is quiet and unobtrusive in comparison. He declared that Christianity is a life, and not a mere emotional sweep of some great meeting.’¹¹³

George Müller’s presentation was very different from most of the speakers under consideration, and this was noted at the time. He spoke with a German accent even after over fifty years in England, and the *Southern Cross* reported that, ‘staid, sedate and unimpassioned, he is very unlike Mr Booth and Dr Somerville. He has not the silvery voice and melting power of Mrs Hampson’.¹¹⁴ This is borne out in a newspaper report that ‘As a preacher the Rev. Mr Müller is ... a striking character, and his discourse yesterday was marked more by its simplicity than by any elaboration or straining after effect...’¹¹⁵

By contrast, George Grubb was a lively, enthusiastic, perhaps even eccentric, speaker. One commentator referred to his ‘singular and singularly attractive personality’,¹¹⁶ and a Mr Hinzell of Adelaide wrote that he had a ‘winning personality that [people] found absolutely irresistible.’¹¹⁷ There is still a warm, direct, and compelling tone to his addresses, even read in cold print over a century later. No doubt he both repelled some hearers and attracted others, as enthusiasts often do. He had a definite message of ‘Holy Ghost revival’ - ‘not to *discuss* a doctrine, but to *lay hold* of an experience’¹¹⁸ - which went beyond that of any of the other speakers considered in this thesis. Many would have endorsed much of what he preached, but without the daring and verve, and even humour and overstatement, which characterised his sermons. One observer wrote, ‘The real secret of his success lies in the man’s burning soul’.¹¹⁹

¹¹³ *Brisbane Courier*, 17 June 1899, p. 11.

¹¹⁴ *Southern Cross*, 2 February 1886, p. 13.

¹¹⁵ *Brisbane Courier*, 19 July 1886, p. 5.

¹¹⁶ *Australian Christian World*, 21 January 1892, p. 5.

¹¹⁷ *Adelaide Advertiser*, 10 October 1911, p. 12.

¹¹⁸ *Proceedings of the Christian Convention for the deepening of the spiritual life: held in the Centenary Hall, Sydney, Jan. 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th, 1892*. President: George Grubb, Sydney, 1892, p. ix. Emphasis in the original/

¹¹⁹ *Australian Christian World*, 7 January 1892, p. 7.

At times his statements seem designed to shock people out of complacency, and there is a 'don't care air' about them. Although his report to the Keswick missionary meeting after his second tour needs to be read in entirety to capture the flavour, a few comments may give the feel. Referring to a delay in sailing from Gibraltar which enabled them to hold a meeting for soldiers, he said, 'God had stopped the boat in His own way, according to the soldiers' prayers ... The captains of the P. and O. vessels are under the control of my God.'¹²⁰ In Ballarat he said that there were prayer meetings for the mission 'in a Baptist vestry every morning. I am not afraid of praying in a Baptist vestry.'¹²¹ Referring to the 'Praying Band' in Melbourne, he told the audience with tongue firmly in cheek that 'Some clergymen in Melbourne used to meet for an all-night's prayer meeting. Fancy clergymen doing that! It is bad enough for the Salvation Army, but for respectable clergymen!'¹²² A year later in Belfast, he told the YMCA that 'most of them had sufficient religion to make them miserable; they had not enough to make them happy.'¹²³ The sense of never quite knowing what he was going to say must have kept his audiences' attention.

On the negative side, his outspokenness could touch a nerve. One reporter wrote that he commented on 'formalism and hypocrisy' with 'scathing denunciations' and 'seemed to be doing an injustice to his own tender and gracious spirit.'¹²⁴ When addressing ministers in Sydney, he 'did not scruple to tell them that smoking hindered ministerial success, and that if they wanted God to bless their work they must abandon their pipes and burn their favourite novels.'¹²⁵ This sort of direct attack did not go down well, although Geiss, a sympathiser in Hobart, defended him by saying 'Mr Grubb's Hibernian origin appears to have given him a freedom of expression, which, to the more restrained Saxon, is apt to seem at times reckless and extravagant'.¹²⁶ In other words, everything is explained and exonerated by his Irishness!

¹²⁰ Hopkins (ed.), *The Story of Keswick*, p. 46. A cable had got wrapped round the propeller.

¹²¹ Hopkins (ed.), *The Story of Keswick*, p. 47.

¹²² Hopkins (ed.), *The Story of Keswick*, p. 49.

¹²³ *The Belfast News-Letter*, 20 October 1892, p. 6.

¹²⁴ *Australian Christian World*, 21 January 1892, p. 5.

¹²⁵ *Australian Christian World*, 7 September 1894, p. 9.

¹²⁶ *Church News*, November 1892, p. 761.

It is clear from various reports that people who longed to see the church grow and cared deeply about evangelism were nevertheless equivocal about his personality and methods. Herbert Finnis¹²⁷ wrote a long and reasonable analysis of Grubb's mission in Hobart in which he sympathised with his basic message but sadly found several major points of concern and deficiencies.¹²⁸ Bishop Saumarez Smith of Sydney epitomised this attitude in his report to synod: 'Grubb's mission exercised a very stimulating effect ... although all will not equally approve of or admire the man or the method ...'¹²⁹

It is tempting to think that the mostly positive assessments of speakers were the result of the colonial cringe, or sycophancy to visitors, but it is evident from comparisons with reviews for plays and other performances that even visiting stars were subject to cool assessment. For example, this was the case with a Mlle Hermione in Hobart in 1878.¹³⁰ Certainly some reports seem to have been made by sympathisers, but on balance it seems clear that all speakers considered in this thesis were in their different ways distinguished presenters, well able to convey their message clearly and distinctly, and usually equipped with either oratorical skills of emotion and pathos, gesture, anecdote and force, or earnestness and eloquence of a high order. Thus the expression 'wandering stars' is indeed appropriate for these talented communicators.

With regard to their themes, Davies' analysis of Victorian sermons resulted in the observation that they were overwhelmingly topical; blatantly appealed to the emotions, especially pity and fear; used copious illustrations, notably from

¹²⁷ Finnis was probably the Herbert R Finnis who was born in 1855, married Augusta Felicia Percy in 1882 in the Clarence area (Colonial Tasmanian Family Links Database) and who died in 1936 in England as a clerk in holy orders at Nevendon, Wickford, Essex (will no 21703, TAHO reference AD960/1/61 page 63).

¹²⁸ *Church News*, November 1892, p. 760-1.

¹²⁹ Sydney Diocesan Synod, Proceedings 1892 9th Synod, 1st Session (16-23 Aug) (Sydney Diocesan Archives 1995/35/33), p. 27.

¹³⁰ The noted and accomplished elocutionist gave an address in Hobart in 1879 entitled 'Our Queen: the Crown of the Nineteenth Century'. While the *Tribune* said that she 'not only fulfilled but surpassed the expectations of all who were fortunate enough to be present', and gave a glowing report of the content of her address, it also said that 'although sometimes there was a slight indistinctness in her enunciation at the close of some of her sentences, owing to a rather too abrupt dropping of the voice, still, on the whole, the performance was an unqualified success.' *Tribune*, 17 January 1879, p. 3.

Nature; and had a ‘flavouring with the spices of humour and wit’.¹³¹ In these respects, sermons by major evangelists in Australia showed that they were indeed children of their time. By far the majority preached on topics, and a number of themes or general topics emerge from a study of transcripts of the sermons and addresses. The key ones which will be examined in this section are conversion, assurance, holiness, apologetics, the second coming of Christ, and social purity and temperance.

First and foremost was the idea of conversion, which was central to the whole point of evangelism and evangelicalism. Instantaneous conversion was itself a moot point; Somerville defended it in an address to supporters on this precise topic.¹³² However, there were many who were wary of sudden conversions, either from theological or psychological reasons. In 1877, the high church Anglican *Australian Churchman* stated in a long and carefully argued editorial that ‘the Protestant error consists in confounding regeneration with conversion’, and that ‘conversion is a lifelong work’, and warned, ‘Never believe in instantaneous conversion’.¹³³ In 1894, High Church missionary Canon Carter was reported as not coming to preach ‘a cheap and easy gospel’. He said that he was not

consciously referring to any other Christian work [i.e. McNeill or Cook] that might be going on in Melbourne ... His own study of the Bible, and his own experience of mission work in England, had convinced him of the necessity of putting repentance as an essential prelude to faith ... Most serious teachers were with him in deploring the results of superficial and emotional “conversions”.¹³⁴

McNeill fell somewhere between the two: ‘insisting upon the possibility of immediate conversion’, he nevertheless did not issue appeals, and some felt that he did not press home the effect of his powerful preaching.

All the speakers under consideration would have said they were charged with preaching the Gospel, and that they felt a particular calling and drive to do so.

¹³¹ Davies, *Worship and Theology in England IV*, pp. 287-300.

¹³² This was a talk he gave several times at midday prayer meetings during his campaigns. See for example *Queensland Evangelical Standard*, 29 September 1877, p. 149.

¹³³ *Australian Churchman*, 28 November 1878, p. 291.

¹³⁴ *Argus*, 1 August 1894, p. 6.

However, the actual content of their messages varied greatly. Intriguingly, the basic message of the gospel, that people were sinners in the sight of a holy God and that redemption through the death and resurrection of Christ was possible by personal appropriation of His death by faith, was not always the articulated message. Some aspect of this message was almost always incorporated, but there was recognition that many in the audiences were already believers of some sort. Acknowledging this, the *Southern Cross* felt, however, that the meetings had ‘set in motion a machinery which will continue to operate long after he has left us ... [it was] refreshing, actually quickening to hear the more peculiar doctrines of the Gospel, sin, atonement, the work of the Holy Spirit, faith, regeneration...’¹³⁵

This description reflects the definition of evangelicalism that Bebbington has encapsulated as crucicentrism, Biblicism, conversionism and activism – ‘Bebbington’s quadrilateral’.¹³⁶ Almost every preacher emphasised some aspect of saving faith through the work of Christ, and based their sermons on the Bible. Many if not most had some kind of appeal for those who wished to be converted or changed or assured of faith. And as the extract above implies, revivalist activity might not save sinners but it revitalised the faithful for further work. We will also see in chapter 8 that it set in train various other long-lasting outreaches.

Concomitant with an emphasis on conversion was the idea of assurance of salvation, ‘entering into rest’, ‘finding joy and peace in believing’. In an age when a high proportion of the population were church goers¹³⁷ and an even higher proportion would have had some exposure to Christian teaching in childhood, there was clearly an assumption that Bible stories and the basics of Christian doctrine were known and could be referred to with facility. Speakers often urged people to return to the faith of their childhood which they had been taught by

¹³⁵ *Southern Cross*, 14 July 1877, p. 2.

¹³⁶ This definition was first proposed by D W Bebbington in his *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A history from the 1730s to the 1980s*, London, 1989, pp. 2-17. Aspects of this definition, and variations of emphasis, have been proposed, but its general usefulness has been acknowledged by scholars working in the evangelical history field. Haykin, Michael A C and Kenneth J Stewart (eds.), *The emergence of evangelicalism: exploring historical continuities*, Nottingham, 2008, contains a number of discussions by scholars looking back at the twenty years since Bebbington put forward this definition. The basic consensus is that it has stood the test of time so far.

¹³⁷ See Chapter 1.

parents (particularly mothers), or appealed to them to trust in Christ alone rather than good works, religious rituals, church attendance and membership, or forms of words such as creeds.

Holiness, of the sort expounded at Keswick conventions, went hand in hand with this sort of revivalist preaching. George Grubb's meetings were aimed at the lukewarm Christian as much as the unconverted person or fringe dweller, and sought to lead people to a higher Christian experience of peace through 'full surrender', victory over sin by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and entire sanctification.¹³⁸ The choice of songs for his mission songbook is revealing, many being taken from the Keswick hymn book.¹³⁹ Grubb's meetings built on years of similar teaching by John Watsford, John MacNeil and Mrs Baeyertz,¹⁴⁰ and to some extent Henry Varley.¹⁴¹ Interestingly, while John McNeill became a speaker at Keswick,¹⁴² it seems it may have been more in an evangelistic role than as a holiness speaker,¹⁴³ and his addresses in Australia were not on holiness lines.

According to the *Southern Cross*, Müller, on the other hand, was 'not a revivalist, and there is no attempt at effect. Leading men to decision is not the chief aim of his addresses. Nor is much said about "the blood" and there is more of God and less about Christ than in revival addresses ...'¹⁴⁴ Müller's teaching of reliance on God through prayer was possibly more prosaic and aimed at a life-long, consistent

¹³⁸ *Australian Christian World*, 21 January 1892, p. 5.

¹³⁹ See chapter 6. For example, songs sung at the Sydney convention included 'Jesus, Thine all-victorious love', 'Out of my bondage', 'Grace there is my every debt to pay', 'I am Thine, O Lord', 'Full Salvation!', 'All my doubts I give to Jesus' (*Australian Christian World*, 14 January 1892, p. 3) and 'one of the favourites of the late convention', 'Jesus, I am resting, resting, in the joy of what Thou art' (printed in full in *Australian Christian World*, 31 March 1892, p. 2).

¹⁴⁰ Some of her most frequently repeated sermons were on Holiness, The Enduement of Power, and the Baptism of the Holy Ghost. One English pastor wrote that her 'teaching on this subject is wholesome, robust, and eminently Scriptural; free on the one hand from "perfectionism" ... and on the other hand from those culpable inconsistencies in which so many professed Christians permit themselves to indulge upon the ground that absolute freedom from all sin is possible.' *Christian*, 26 October, 1893, p. 16, transcribed in Evans, *Emilia Baeyertz*, p. 258.

¹⁴¹ This was especially so in the early Christian conventions he organised in various places in 1877-8. Varley had attended the pre-Keswick Oxford and Brighton conferences and had been very much influenced by Pearsall Smith. Varley, *Henry Varley's Life-Story*, pp. 104-6.

¹⁴² Gammie, *John McNeill*, has a photograph facing p. 192 showing McNeill as one of the Keswick speakers of 1929. There is no other mention of his involvement, but several well-known Keswick speakers were among his friends.

¹⁴³ Charles F Harford (ed.), *The Keswick Convention: its message, its method and its men*, London, 1907, p. 11.

¹⁴⁴ *Southern Cross*, 2 February 1886, p. 13.

mind-set. His wife listed the objects of his tours as preaching the gospel, showing the true standing of believers in Christ, bringing Christians back to the scriptures, removing sectarianism, strengthening faith, inspiring more heavenly-mindedness, and arousing interest in the second coming of Christ.¹⁴⁵ He does not seem to have sought to lead believers into a second blessing or an experience of consecration – and there were certainly no charges of emotionalism in regards to his meetings.

There was also a vein of apologetics running through many addresses. By the 1890s, even papers such as the *Southern Cross* and the *Australian Christian World* were acknowledging that some notice had to be taken of modern criticism, and that there was a new outlook on religious matters. While they and others were still largely supportive of large evangelistic efforts, they were not as accepting of what might be called naïve Gospel addresses. So in the generation after the publication of *The Origin of Species*, some speakers took the opportunity to defend the Bible, often in passing comments or by inference in disparaging atheists or infidels.

Somerville had an immensely popular talk called ‘The Bible for the World’, which covered the claims of the Bible, the inspiration of the Bible, and the circulation of the Bible.¹⁴⁶ He repeated it in various locales (it went for about an hour and a half) and it was printed in newspapers and published as a pamphlet, so its reach was much further than those who heard it. It was a rhetorical and broad brush approach rather than a forensic or scientific defence of the Bible, but it clearly impressed at least already convinced or perhaps wavering listeners.¹⁴⁷

Along the same lines, Harry Guinness had a talk entitled ‘Pills for Free-Thinkers’; one observer wrote that he had ‘exceptional reasoning powers ... [and] seldom loses a chance of sending a truth home to the “free-thought brothers” as he terms

¹⁴⁵ Mrs Müller, *The Preaching Tours*, pp. iv-vii.

¹⁴⁶ Copies can be found in the Special Collections section of the Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne, and in the Tasmaniana Library of the State Library of Tasmania, Hobart: Alexander N Somerville, *The Bible for the World, a lecture delivered in the Town Hall, Hobart Town*, Hobart, 1878. A report from Launceston said that ‘no more brilliant lecture was ever heard in this fair city.’ *Southern Cross*, 29 June 1878, p. 3.

¹⁴⁷ It was divided into several sections: The Bible as a revelation from God, attacks on the Bible, the vitality of the Bible, the inspiration of the Bible, the duty of circulating the Bible, the Bible as a house of many mansions.

them.’¹⁴⁸ Mrs Hampson was reputed to have convinced avowed atheists to change their minds.¹⁴⁹ One of her addresses was described as ‘a series of beautifully sustained passages of eloquence and power, argumentative, searching, and sometimes thrilling; a great deal of it bearing on infidelity and scepticism.’¹⁵⁰ Varley had a set piece lecture called ‘Modern Miracles’, which was used as a fundraiser, about ‘the wonders effected by the faith, prayers, and labours of eminent Christian workers in the latter half of the present century.’¹⁵¹ He also regularly took on modernist or free-thinking ideas in his combative way.¹⁵² For example, in Launceston in 1891, he ‘endeavoured to refute many of the arguments usually advanced by freethinkers, and also dwelt on the existence of the devil as proved by the Scriptures.’¹⁵³ None of these addresses were noted by Smith in his study of free-thought in Melbourne in 1870-90.¹⁵⁴ It is possible their effect was so negligible as to be not worth mentioning, but it seems more likely that Smith just did not take cognisance of these meetings – he certainly looked at religious papers which described them.

McNeill was given to swingeing asides or direct attacks on freethinkers: he was criticised for ‘one of those spasmodic attempts to revive old theology’,¹⁵⁵ and a report of the Adelaide Ministerial Association meeting at which he spoke was critical of his unsophisticated approach to the Bible, and wondered that he found nothing of value or enlightenment in the newer commentators: ‘These attacks on earnest, devout, and scholarly men are very absurd, and quite outside the work of the Evangelist.’ While the writer was happy with his ‘refreshingly direct

¹⁴⁸ *Australian Christian World*, 9 July 1886, p. 219.

¹⁴⁹ ‘Many of the professedly infidel class have been attracted to the meetings, and in some cases brought under very deep spiritual feeling.’ *Southern Cross*, 2 June 1883, p. 5.

¹⁵⁰ *Southern Cross*, 2 June 1883, p. 10.

¹⁵¹ *Spectator*, 6 October 1877, p. 271

¹⁵² He had no sympathy whatsoever for unbelievers. In Adelaide, ‘in language of fiery vehemence [he] condemned “the abominable sin of unbelief in God” ... He said he had no sympathy with “honest doubt” ... It was generally the consequence of a love of sin.’ *Truth and Progress*, July 1878, p. 82.

¹⁵³ *Launceston Examiner*, 31 January 1891, p. 4.

¹⁵⁴ Francis Barrymore Smith, ‘Religion and Freethought in Melbourne, 1870-1890’, MA thesis, University of Melbourne, 1960.

¹⁵⁵ *Adelaide Advertiser*, 15 September 1894, p. 6. The writer to the editor had evidently achieved some synthesis of science and religion, and resented McNeill’s simplistic approach and condemnation of this stance: ‘I have by no means departed from the faith, but on the contrary have got nearer to the centre of truth; truth relying on a more reasonable view of the universe, and with a mind as far as possible kept free from the influences of human interest, error, and superstition.’

preaching', he or she felt it was inappropriate for him to 'fling out at theologians'.¹⁵⁶

McNeill thus aroused controversy by being too conservative in his theology. As the *Argus* put it,

Mr McNeill is the most unclerical of orators. His theology is untechnical and homespun; his expositions of Scripture, we fear, would make scholars, of a certain school at least, gasp; and his sermons are packed with purely secular elements – if humour and laughter and words borrowed from the street and the fireside are secular.¹⁵⁷

McNeill's theology arose out of his solid Presbyterian training, and apparently he had the ongoing habit of reading Calvin's *Institutes* every winter.¹⁵⁸ To this must be added the influence of Moody and his preaching of a gospel which avoided the extremes of either Calvinism or Arminianism. This resulted in a theology which was definitely evangelical and even proto-fundamentalist, although his biographer claimed he was not 'uninformed on the trend of modern thought, and the results of Higher Criticism'.¹⁵⁹ However, this did not mean he agreed with it; he had an unshaken faith in 'Christ's Atoning Death and Resurrection, and in the Scriptures as the inspired Word of God.'¹⁶⁰

By contrast, Henry Drummond's was a calm and winsome presence. There are no detailed summaries of his talks because he did not have big public meetings and shunned publicity, but obviously information, and even conjecture, found its way into the Christian press. Many young men found his exposition of Christianity, with its synthesis with scientific thought, immensely reassuring and affirming. One reminisced thirty-five years later that 'He used none of the words and phrases familiar on the lips of the professional evangelist ... But he put the Christian life in a light that to most of us was refreshingly new and irresistibly attractive.'¹⁶¹ Drummond was willing to answer questions after meetings, and spend hours in

¹⁵⁶ *Australian Christian World*, 21 September 1894, p. 1.

¹⁵⁷ *Argus*, 25 July 1894, p. 4.

¹⁵⁸ Gammie, *McNeill*, p. 227.

¹⁵⁹ Gammie, *McNeill*, p. 196.

¹⁶⁰ Gammie, *McNeill*, p. 197 – quoting from a letter

¹⁶¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 October 1925, p. 9, article by R A Thompson.

private conversation, if it would help enquirers become personally committed to following Christ. His biographer noted that many were encouraged to maintain their faith through the 'new possibilities ... which lie in the rational and discriminating criticism of the Old Testament.'¹⁶²

Others found their faith shaken by his approach. There was a spate of correspondence in the conservative evangelical newspaper *Southern Cross*,¹⁶³ which indicated that students from what might later be called fundamentalist backgrounds struggled with this presentation. A medical student confessed that he and others were 'startled and puzzled', and wondered why Drummond no longer spoke of the Fall of man and the atonement of the Cross. Showing the opposite ways in which Drummond's views could be received, he wrote that 'Some young men have been shaken to the foundations of their faith, others have adopted his teachings in their entirety.' He put his finger on the crux of the matter when he said that it was vital that they should know how a man might become a Christian, 'whether it is by getting to know Christ and growing into His character, or whether it is through a saving faith in His atonement.'¹⁶⁴

The other main doctrinal theme that linked most speakers was the second coming of Christ. Most if not all held to the pre-millennial views which had come into the evangelical world via the Brethren.¹⁶⁵ Varley and Mrs Baeyertz, both with close Brethren ties, were particularly likely to speak on this theme, and H B Macartney and others organised Second Advent conferences. It was noted that Grubb held 'any moment' views, 'to the evangelist a great joy and a great inspiration for work,'¹⁶⁶ although the reporter who noted this did not agree with him and thought such views unnecessary.

¹⁶² Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, p. 371.

¹⁶³ Notwithstanding this, the *Southern Cross* published a major article by Drummond in 1894, entitled 'What Science is Doing for Religion' (22 June 1894, p. 492), even though the paper (presumably via Fitchett) was quite ambivalent about Drummond's theology. It also published a number of reviews of *The Ascent of Man* from various sources – most somewhat bemused, though recognising that the beautiful expression masked some deficiencies of science and logic. *Southern Cross*, 6 July 1894, pp. 525-6.

¹⁶⁴ *Southern Cross*, 18 July 1890, p. 566.

¹⁶⁵ See Ernest Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930*, Chicago & London, 1970, pp. 39-41.

¹⁶⁶ *Australian Christian World*, 21 January 1892, p. 5.

Last among the broad themes which can be identified is commentary on contemporary social issues. While all visiting evangelists carefully avoided expressing any political opinion, many were more than happy to comment on social evils and indeed, offer faith in Christ as the saving power which could help people overcome these evils. The cause of social purity and the acceptance or otherwise of their strictures is important enough to warrant a separate chapter,¹⁶⁷ but most evangelists urged their converts to live pure lives and expend their energies in Christ's service.

Temperance is a topic of its own, and has been dealt with by other writers, but apart from the specifically temperance evangelists such as Burnett,¹⁶⁸ Richard Booth and William Noble,¹⁶⁹ Mrs Hampson had a major emphasis on temperance. She pleaded with both men and women to abolish the curse of alcohol from their homes, and sign the pledge. However, this was subordinate to her Gospel message; in Melbourne she kept this talk until the final meeting for converts.¹⁷⁰ However, McNeill was the most notably vehement in his castigation of hotels and bars for their involvement in people's ruin through alcohol: 'I say there is not a public house, an hotel bar, where you may not smell the blood of your butchered brothers.'¹⁷¹

Many of these speakers also urged converts to avoid the theatre, dances and balls, as places and events which would detract from their focus on Christ. Somerville held several question and answer meetings, at which he gave fairly balanced replies on the issues of dancing, concerts, Sabbath observation, suitable reading matter, etc.¹⁷² Varley stimulated a major debate on theatre going, involving the Bishop of Melbourne,¹⁷³ and evidently had a wide range of socio-religious

¹⁶⁷ See Chapter 7.

¹⁶⁸ See Chapter 2.

¹⁶⁹ See Chapter 3.

¹⁷⁰ *Southern Cross*, 28 July 1883, p. 11: 'There is one subject which I have not mentioned before during my mission...'

¹⁷¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 October 1894, p. 6, and see *Australian Christian World*, 2 November 1894, p. 1, for a discussion of the inconsistency between his extreme attack on hotels and the fact that he was staying at the *Australia*.

¹⁷² For an account of one such meeting, in Sydney, see *Spectator*, 13 October 1877, p. 283.

¹⁷³ See for example the long reply to Varley by Bishop Moorhouse, defending attendance at certain theatrical performances, in the *Church of England Messenger*, 13 December 1877, p. 13.

activities in his sights: Brethren leader Captain Probert wrote approvingly to a friend in England that

Infant sprinkling, pew rents, bazaars, oratorios, religious concerts, collecting cards, and all descriptions of money-getting for the maintenance of the different denominations, come in for public denouncement from the platform before thousands ... I never thought I should witness such things in Melbourne.¹⁷⁴

Mrs Baeyertz was very specific on social and cultural *mores* for new Christians, and also on the matter of suitable dress: 'If we are not to belong to the world, then our whole dress and deportment must not be like what the world practises.'¹⁷⁵ On another occasion,

her emphatic utterances ... startled some and offended the mere professor. What! She exclaimed, is it possible that consecrated hands can be employed playing billiards and shuffling cards, and that Christian people must go for pleasure to the theatre, the ball, the dance?¹⁷⁶

It is unlikely that all these suggestions were followed by any but the most conservative, and indeed, there were occasional published reactions of bemusement or quiet demurral.¹⁷⁷

There was a much stronger reaction when McNeill told his Sydney audience 'Keep away as far as possible from everything that would lower your relish for Jesus, prayer, and the Bible ... This mixing up of Christ with the theatres, balls, gambling, and unclean speculation in business is the ruin of Sydney.' Partly because of his forthright expression – 'You can't stand and dance half through the night and on into the early morning with more or less naked women...

¹⁷⁴ *Missionary Echo*, February 1878, pp. 37-8.

¹⁷⁵ Evans, *Emilia Baeyertz*, p. 147, transcript of a report from *Truth and Progress*, 1 January 1882, pp. 2-4.

¹⁷⁶ *Southern Cross*, 21 May 1881, p. 1, evidently taken from the *Victorian Freeman*, June 1881, p. 128.

¹⁷⁷ See report from the *Areas Express*, reprinted in *Truth and Progress*, 1 December 1883, p. 144, in Evans, *Emilia Baeyertz*, p. 174: 'We are willing to admit that the precious services held here were to us in a measure disappointing, the wholesale denunciations of many things which are enjoyable, and her teachings would, if pushed to its [sic] logical conclusion, destroy much of which goes to expand the soul, and magnify the powers which the Creator has bestowed upon us. We are prepared to go on the question of expediency in such matters ...' The editor of *Truth and Progress* disassociated himself from these views, but printed them nonetheless, feeling that 'the favourable view however of the latter meeting is all the more valuable from the exceptions taken in the earlier part.'

(Sensation)¹⁷⁸ and then go home and read the Bible – and partly because of the content,¹⁷⁹ there was considerable reaction. The *Sydney Morning Herald* editorial wryly said that ‘no such defect as want of plainness could be attributed to his observations’, and in a long column argued against asceticism, obviously feeling that McNeill had overstepped the bounds of delicacy and good sense, apart from anything else.¹⁸⁰

The second characteristic of Victorian sermons identified by Davies was the illustration or anecdote. In evangelistic sermons this aspect was strongly linked to the third characteristic, the appeal to the emotions, and it was another notable way in which speakers followed Moody, who had found this an effective way to gain a rapport with listeners and to drive a point home. Many were, as Davies also observes, based on an incident or description from nature – the quintessential Romantic allusion. Somerville was particularly notable in this respect, and effective with less well-read listeners, as a Methodist editor commented:

His style, abounding as it does with vivid illustrations, is especially adapted to a popular audience. To minds free from the refinements of culture – in fact, to the great mass of gospel-hearers – truths presented in this form come with double force and produce tenfold impression.¹⁸¹

In fact, the writer thought that though his arguments might not be remembered, ‘his illustrations, given with such beautiful force, will never be forgotten.’¹⁸² One example might be the last section of his address on the Bible, in which he used the metaphor of the Bible being a palatial house with many different rooms, and ‘walked’ listeners through it in a most poetic way.¹⁸³

Illustrations were not always sentimental but they generally had some element of warning or entreaty. McNeill, Grubb, Mrs Hampson, Mrs Baeyertz, and Clarke, in

¹⁷⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 October 1894, p. 6. By the end of the sermon ‘Mr McNeill was considerably heated, and the huge crowd was evidently somewhat astonished at the unusually strong utterances they had been treated to.’

¹⁷⁹ This was the same sermon in which he attacked hotels and bars.

¹⁸⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 October 1894, p. 4.

¹⁸¹ *Spectator*, 21 July 1877, p. 138.

¹⁸² *Spectator*, 21 July 1877, p. 138.

¹⁸³ Alexander N Somerville, *The Bible for the World, a lecture delivered in the Town Hall, Hobart Town, Hobart, 1878*, or see examples printed in papers such as *Spectator*, 14 July 1877, p. 125.

particular, seemed to have an almost inexhaustible fund of such stories to draw on. As though to underline their links with Moody, some either told stories he had used, or stories about him and his interactions with people.¹⁸⁴ This was also another way in which listeners were linked to the wider world of evangelicalism; almost no illustrations were Australian in content. Most illustrations sought to underline the importance of not deferring a decision about commitment to Christ, and such illustrations were often referred to as ‘pathetic’ in the sense that they were moving, and aroused the sensibilities of the audience.

In terms of subject matter, a number of speakers had a finite repertoire of sermons, and many repeated their addresses with little or no revision. That Somerville’s set pieces were delivered in almost the same words every time¹⁸⁵ is shown by the more or less verbatim accounts of his sermons in different places,¹⁸⁶ and it could hardly be expected that people with the punishing schedules to which they were subjected could have prepared fresh material all the time. However, this was also a feature of contemporary parochial preaching: Dickson calls repetition ‘an established teaching tool’ and gives detailed examples from evangelical Irish preachers.¹⁸⁷ It was also one of Moody’s techniques.¹⁸⁸

McNeill used sermons over several decades and in many places.¹⁸⁹ In Australia, he told an interviewer, he was using sermons preached in his most recent pastoral situation, Regent Square Presbyterian Church in London.¹⁹⁰ Mrs Baeyertz preached the same sermons for well over thirty years, increasingly focussing on

¹⁸⁴ For a long anecdote of this sort used by Mrs Baeyertz, see *Truth and Progress*, 1 October 1881, p. 115.

¹⁸⁵ ‘The sermon [in Sydney] was substantially the same as many of our readers [in Melbourne] will remember having heard in this colony.’ *Spectator*, 6 October 1877, p. 271. A number of Somerville’s sermons, including some used in Australia, were published after his death: A N Somerville, *Precious Seed sown in many lands*, London, 1890. See <http://www.archive.org/details/preciousseedsown00some>

¹⁸⁶ Well-rehearsed addresses included the Fiery Furnace, as noted; Come, Love, Follow, his standard address for children’s meetings; The Bible for the World; Practical Christianity, delivered to men and women separately; Hosea 14, especially for backsliders; Laodicean or lukewarm Christianity; Daniel in the lions’ den; the Love of God; Song of Solomon 6:2.

¹⁸⁷ J N Ian Dickson, *Beyond Religious Discourse: Sermons, Preaching and Evangelical Protestants in Nineteenth-Century Irish Society*, Milton Keynes, 2007, pp. 106-8.

¹⁸⁸ Dickson, *Beyond Religious Discourse*, p. 206. Moody apparently preached his sermon on ‘The New Birth’ more than 180 times, although with variations. D W Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, Downers Grove, Illinois, 2005, p. 47.

¹⁸⁹ Gammie, *McNeill*, pp. 188-190.

¹⁹⁰ *Southern Cross*, 3 August 1894, p. 613.

about a dozen topics.¹⁹¹ This is evident from hundreds of reports, including many from her latter years in England.¹⁹² In her case, a version of twelve addresses (considerably shorter than the oral ones must have been) was published, with a subsidiary set of six published separately, and a set of five in Canada.¹⁹³

The titles and indeed the content show the truth of her biographer's comment that 'Unlike many evangelists, she does not confine herself merely to preaching the Gospel to the unconverted, but devotes a large portion of her time to instructing Christians in the Word of God.'¹⁹⁴ Robert Evans has analysed her sermons and pointed out how many were on Old Testament themes or concerned with holiness and the overcoming life, or a pre-millennial view of the Second Coming.¹⁹⁵ While it would be possible to do some statistical analysis of the topics, this would probably not be valid, as not every place reported the sermon titles, and often the most impressive meetings were the only ones reported. Nevertheless, a rough listing shows that her sermon on the Passover was by far the most mentioned, especially as time went on, the next three being the Great White Throne, the Atonement, and the Second Coming, outnumbering others mentioned by more than five to one.¹⁹⁶

A Methodist observer said that Mrs Baeyertz 'follows no one church's lead, but ... appears to have imbibed something from several, combined with her own

¹⁹¹ Her son Charles apparently had a 'prodigious memory' – basically photographic – and he had memorised some of her sermons when still a teenager through having heard them several times even then (early 1880s). Joanna Woods, *Facing the Music: Charles Baeyertz and the Triad*, Dunedin, 2008, pp. 22-3.

¹⁹² Robert Evans has collated reports of her work from *The Christian*; see Robert Evans, *Emilia Baeyertz Evangelist*, Hazelbrook, 2007, pp.242-413.

¹⁹³ *Twelve Addresses by Mrs Baeyertz*, Melbourne, Varley Bros, [19--]: The Jewish Passover, The Great White Throne, The Two Offerings of Cain and Abel, The Coming of the Lord, The Clean Heart, Holiness, Seven Steps to the Blessed Life, The Overcoming Life, The Parable of the Ten Virgins, The Baptism of the Holy Ghost, The Unpardonable Sin, and Worry. *Six New Addresses delivered by Mrs Baeyertz*, Perth, 1904: Tears, "Impossible to renew them again unto repentance" – Whom?, The Personality of the Holy Spirit, Is There a Hell?, The Young Ruler and Bartimaeus, The Jewish Day of Atonement. Mrs Baeyertz, *The two offerings of Cain and Abel; The clean heart; Seven steps to the blessed life; The coming of the Lord; The overcoming life: five lectures delivered by Mrs. Baeyertz, the converted Jewess, with the story of her conversion from Judaism to Christianity*, 2nd ed., Toronto: Printed for the authoress by Hill & Weir, 1891: <http://www.canadiana.org/ECO/mtq?doc=91157>. Even her most directly evangelistic messages (most of those in the *Six Addresses*) assume a considerable degree of familiarity with the Bible.

¹⁹⁴ *From Darkness to Light*, pp. 97-8. A Christchurch, NZ, report made the same point: 'Unlike most of the evangelists who have visited Christchurch ... Mrs Baeyertz has directed much of her time and teaching to those who are professedly Christian in life as well as doctrine.' *Southern Cross*, 27 June 1890, p. 515.

¹⁹⁵ Evans, *Emilia Baeyertz Evangelist*, chapters 4-6.

¹⁹⁶ See Appendix D. She was frequently asked to repeat the one on the Passover, which included a demonstration of a table laid for the traditional Jewish Passover celebration.

devout studies, which present the air of a gospel in mosaic.’¹⁹⁷ Her Jewish background evidently enriched and informed her addresses, and numerous listeners reported that they felt the Bible come alive for them. This was also the case with Varley’s preaching; a Launceston reporter wrote that his ‘addresses are very striking ... he ... invests the teachings of the Bible with a charm and freshness that is remarkable.’¹⁹⁸

Few of these preachers engaged in expository teaching. Varley’s preaching came closest; many people commented that it was a revelation of what Bible teaching could be. The long transcripts of his 1877 Melbourne sermons show a similarity to Brethren ‘Bible readings’, perhaps evidence of his closeness to Benjamin Wills Newton¹⁹⁹ and other more contemporary Brethren leaders. It was unusual enough for Mrs Baeyertz to ‘take a text’ and expound it for it to be made the matter of comment,²⁰⁰ and indeed this was not a usual occurrence with many of these speakers. Much more often they chose a topic, and covered aspects of it with reference to the Bible.

McNeill’s sermons were Bible-based but not in any real sense Biblical exposition. Rather, they brought incidents alive, with the sermon often based around the vivid re-telling of a Bible story with applications made *inter alia*. Some examples, which lent themselves well to this style, are the prodigal son, blind Bartimaeus, the rich young ruler, Christ walking on the sea, the lame man healed by Peter and John. Others were on themes such as salvation by looking to Jesus and salvation illustrated by the Passover, or on people such as Daniel, David and other Old Testament heroes.

¹⁹⁷ *Spectator*, 18 December 1885, p. 613.

¹⁹⁸ *Launceston Examiner*, 9 February 1891, p. 3.

¹⁹⁹ By 1877, Newton had not been with Brethren for thirty years. Aspects of his teaching (see Timothy Stunt, ‘Benjamin Wills Newton, 1807-1899’, *ODNB*), and Darby’s rivalry with him, was the original trigger for the split between what became the Open and Exclusive wings of the movement. Varley greatly admired Newton and had often listened to him preach, writing when he died that there was ‘No living servant of Christ ... for whom I have a deeper reverence or a more profound regard.’ *Christian*, 20 July 1899, pp. 23-4. Both were independent spirits.

²⁰⁰ *Truth and Progress*, 1 December 1883, p. 144.

Thomas Cook, like McNeill one of the last of this line of speakers, seemed to straddle the older and newer approaches, in that ‘he [was] pointed, pithy, practical, anecdotic in his method of address ... teaching a doctrine of faith and full salvation that is effective, impressive – aye, magnetic – in a large assembly, but which sadly fails to satisfy the calm enquiry of the “still hour”.’²⁰¹ On the other hand, the presumably sympathetic treasurer of the Brisbane mission fund wrote that his faithful presentation of the ‘Old Gospel’, and his ‘intense concentration of purpose, his persuasive pathos of appeal, his abstention from rant and sensationalism’ had produced a ‘profound impression’.²⁰² Much of this impression depended on the ear and mindset of the listener.

Based on his analysis of evangelical preaching in Ireland in the nineteenth century, Dickson found that Irish preachers had ‘four primary concerns: the centrality of the Biblical text, doctrinal fidelity, passion in delivery, and “fruitfulness”, or, tangible evidence of success, usually in the form of conversions.’²⁰³ These four features also characterised the British evangelists in Australia, although their preaching was of course focussed on evangelism even more than a local minister’s would be. Indeed, given the influence of the 1859 Revival on revivalism in Britain, this correspondence is not surprising. As we have seen, reliance on the Bible was a given; all these preachers were orthodox evangelical Protestants (although there were those who queried Henry Drummond’s complete orthodoxy); passion, or at least deep sincerity and engagement with the audience, was expected and admired; and the whole aim of their meetings was conversions.

The appeal and after meeting

The final part, or possibly addendum, of an evangelistic meeting was the appeal and after meeting. As Sizer wrote, feeling was a ‘“mysterious language” binding together a community, and binding them to God’ – something she argues was

²⁰¹ *Australian Christian World*, 19 July 1894, p. 3.

²⁰² *Brisbane Courier*, 15 June 1895, p. 7.

²⁰³ Dickson, *Beyond Religious Discourse*, pp. 60-1.

peculiarly part of revivalism.²⁰⁴ In the temporary community created in a meeting or series of meetings, the feelings of wanting to be in agreement with the speaker, of regret for the past, of desiring to change, of genuine spiritual conviction, could be very strong, and in order to build on this the majority of evangelists held some kind of enquiry meetings for the ‘anxious’. At the end of their sermon they would usually ask for some indication of response – most often a raised hand, but sometimes those who had been touched were asked to stand or even come forward.²⁰⁵ After all, the whole purpose of these meetings was to persuade those who were not committed Christians to become so – or even better, convict out-and-out sinners of their need of repentance and a Saviour.

Enquiry meetings were another initiative of Moody’s which was carefully followed; as Bebbington says, his ‘great innovation was the enquiry room’.²⁰⁶ The *Southern Cross* identified this feature of revivalism as ‘new, very marked, and to many sincere Christians very objectionable’;²⁰⁷ but still argued that the impression, or ‘feeling excited’ made by preaching should be followed up. Referring to the Calvinist arguments about conversion and how it can be accomplished, the editor wrote

We must deal with our unconverted fellow-men as if the Holy Spirit entrusted us the work of bringing them to the Saviour; and if so, how many souls have been lost through the want of those very appeals which revivalists have introduced.²⁰⁸

Somerville evidently did not want to be found lacking in this area, and generally concluded with an appeal and after meeting.²⁰⁹ As one approving Methodist wrote,

²⁰⁴ Sizer, ‘Politics and Apolitical Religion’, p. 85.

²⁰⁵ A good description of this process may be found in Cook, *Days of God’s Right Hand*, p. 209: ‘The address ended, Mr. Cook desired that every head should be bowed. He then asked those who felt that this was the hour of their visitation to stand up and sit down again. Many did so, as could be inferred from the oft-repeated ‘God bless you’ of the preacher, and in a brief prayer their desires were laid before God. After another hymn, during which liberty was given to those who wished it to retire, every head was again bowed, and those who had previously stood up were asked to openly and courageously make their way into the enquiry-rooms. While the hymn ‘Almost Persuaded’ was being softly sung, some rose from their seats and did as they were desired. Between the verses of the hymn, and one or two subsequent hymns, Mr. Cook urged the halting to immediate decision. Avoiding the emotional, he appealed to the best in men to their sense of right, and to the claims of God to life and service. From thirty to forty eventually went forward, and were received by the large body of willing workers in the class-rooms.’

²⁰⁶ Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, p. 46; Drummond, ‘D L Moody and Revivalism’, pp. 100-1.

²⁰⁷ *Southern Cross*, 25 August 1877, p. 2.

²⁰⁸ *Southern Cross*, 25 August 1877, p. 2.

*The conclusion of the sermon was a most impassioned address to the unconverted ... [with] an intensity ... which could only come of a profound desire to see men giving up their sins and accepting the love of God in Jesus Christ.*²¹⁰

A most vivid and verbatim example of an appeal comes from one of Mrs Hampson's meetings and is worth quoting at length to obtain the full impression:

“How many of you dare lift up your hands to signify that you want to ask me to help you to ask Him for it [spiritual sight]? ... Ah! one, I see. That is right. Be not afraid. How many more? Lift it up! Lift it up! If I had a hundred arms and hands, I would lift them up for Jesus. How many shall I pray for? 2, 6, 8 10, 11, 12. Go on! put your hands up, and I will see them ... 15, 16, 18, 20. Yes! I see them all – 23, 25. Away in the gallery yonder, I see it. Oh! thank God! 25 right hands for Jesus. How many more? ... Oh! dear friends, I am going to kneel down presently. How many more? Ah! 33, 35, 37, 40, 42. Sister, you shall get your eyes opened, 43, 44 ... Are there any more? 46, 47, 48 ... I know that those who have lifted up their hands will come to me in the Inquiry Room.”²¹¹

Even if the evangelist did not ask for a public response in the meeting, there would usually be an after meeting. Clarke and McNeill were the only ones who did not regularly have this, apart from Drummond about whom we do not know, although he clearly spent hours in private conversations helping young men with questions of faith. Guinness obviously had appeals, as a writer in Brisbane queried his putting ‘moral screws’ on people. However, the evangelical newspaper, hedging its bets, commented that ‘the preferable conviction of calmness and earnestness is made independently of such a meeting, but the conviction of excitement – supposing that is all that is attained – is better than the utter want of conviction which precluded it.’²¹²

Such meetings were definitely meant for the genuine enquirer. Henry Varley made short shrift of a Church of Christ elder who stayed behind at a meeting in

²⁰⁹ In a letter to his wife, he outlined in detail his method which he said was ‘somewhat new’. He asked those who wanted to leave to do so, then addressed the remainder in sequence: Christians, and those not yet Christians but who were anxious. These addresses, prayer for them, and the explanation of salvation, were all done as a group. He wrote, ‘The after-meeting is conducted with great stillness, with freedom from excitement, with slow deliberation and solemnity, and occupies ... about an hour.’ George Smith, *A modern apostle: Alexander N Somerville, D.D., 1813-1889*, London, 1890, pp. 173-4.

²¹⁰ *Spectator*, 22 September 1877, p. 248.

²¹¹ *Southern Cross*, 23 June 1883, p. 12.

²¹² *Queensland Evangelical Standard*, 30 July 1886, p. 86, quoting a writer in the *Brisbane Telegraph*.

Melbourne to question him about his attitude to baptism. While Varley was dealing with inquirers, Jacob Hogg engineered a conversation with a Rev. Green, and then Varley himself, about the necessity for baptism for salvation. Neither of them would acknowledge his view of Scripture on this matter and in the end Green hustled him out of the building, probably seeing that it was pointless to continue the debate.²¹³

Mrs Baeyertz was acknowledged to be very thorough in her dealings with people in the inquiry room, making sure that they understood the step they were taking.²¹⁴ She gave enquirers either a Bible, or in the early days, a 'tractate' with Scripture selections. Then she 'directed their attention to certain portions of the word', working her way through the plan of salvation. She would then ask 'those who were trusting in Christ to signify it by a word or sign.'²¹⁵ Most speakers had local workers who talked and prayed with inquirers, although it is remarkable how often these people were recruited at the last minute – for example, being asked to come forward in the same advertisements which announced the first meetings of the mission.

The difference between inquirers (or the 'anxious') and converts was carefully delineated in many reports which often stated how many had stayed behind, and how many of those found peace. Harry Guinness wrote, 'Don't call enquirers *converts*! And be not over-careful concerning the numbering of the hosts of Israel, or assuring any man that he is saved. Let the Lord do that.'²¹⁶ The frequent use of the term 'anxious' seems to apply both to people who realised that they were far from having a needed relationship with God, and also to those who already had Christian beliefs and even commitment, but were uncertain of their salvation – possibly a legacy of Calvinist doctrines of election.

²¹³ *Australian Christian Advocate*, November 1877, pp. 324-328. It is fair to say that Hogg and other Disciples were impressed by Varley and glad to see his grasp of the Scriptures and his stand against denominationalism. However, they thought that he did not go far enough. *Australian Christian Advocate*, December 1877, pp. 356-360.

²¹⁴ A good description of this process can be seen in *Truth and Progress*, 1 September 1881, pp. 101-2.

²¹⁵ Evans, *Emilia Baeyertz*, p. 184.

²¹⁶ Mackintosh, *Dr Harry Guinness*, p. 26. Emphasis in the original.

It is interesting that Clarke was cautious about enquiry meetings, in view of his connections with Moody. When he was working in close collaboration with the various churches, it is likely that people convicted or affected by his preaching were dealt with by friends who had invited them to the meetings, or by local church workers. At his welcome meeting in Sydney, he actually said that ‘he dreaded the ordinary after meetings, for from long and careful study he had arrived at the conclusion that the result of some after meetings was to send women and men away with a false sense of security regarding their belief in Christ.’²¹⁷ As at least some of his experience had been gained with Moody, one wonders if his observations arose from those campaigns; this is precisely the sort of criticism that was directed at Moody’s after meetings by those outside them.

He did, however, hold after meetings on occasion, where one account shows that he aimed to bring his message home more personally to those remaining behind after the general meeting. Although ‘all sorts and conditions of people were there’, the reporter was struck by the fact that it was ‘mostly a congregation of church-going folk’, which in itself is a comment on the equation of respectability with church going. But even though ‘the well-to-do were well represented, and young men and young women were there in force’, s/he felt there were ‘abundant materials for the kind of work Mr Clarke seeks to accomplish.’²¹⁸

Clarke’s message was often directed more at the outwardly conformist church-goer, or the lapsed one, who knew the basics of the Christian faith but lacked inner conviction or ‘power’. Although he sometimes spoke in defence of the Gospel against modern criticism, more often he appealed to people to live in the truths of what they professed or had been taught. The *Australian Record* thought that the outcome was that many had ‘decided to live a righteous and a sober life, [had] accepted Christ as their Saviour, and the Holy Spirit as their leader and guide ... that henceforth the Spirit of Christ should control them altogether.’²¹⁹ It seems likely that people were not pressed for decisions at that time, although they

²¹⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 October 1888, p. 3.

²¹⁸ *Weekly Advocate*, 10 November 1888, p. 334.

²¹⁹ *Australian Record*, 17 November 1888, p. 7.

were prayed for, and certainly no estimates of professions or conversions are given as was common on these occasions.

McNeill was flexible in his approach to the enquiry room. As one observer wrote, 'He delivers his message – faithful, pointed, pungent, oft pathetic, and leaves it with heart and conscience to do its work.'²²⁰ Another wrote that he 'made no attempt to reap an immediate and visible harvest,'²²¹ although at times he did hold a meeting for prayer after the address, where people could request prayer for themselves or others.²²² It seems that he did not want to be restricted by 'evangelistic ritualism' or in 'danger of super-inducing [the signs of God at work] by "our methods"',²²³ a reference to the argument about whether it was right to use 'means' to foster conversions. He himself referred to his approach as 'playing fast and loose with second meetings',²²⁴ not wanting people to become used to the idea that this was the only place in which they could surrender to Christ. This led to doubts as to how effective the meetings actually were.²²⁵

Cook was quite definite that 'none but those who have a settled, unconquerable purpose will succeed in leading men to Christ'.²²⁶ This purpose was reflected in his holding after-meetings for enquirers, in distinction to McNeill. Indeed, Cook felt that he (McNeill) had 'helped to prepare the way for some of the glorious ingatherings we rejoiced over', in that people who had become anxious about their salvation through listening to McNeill came to a settled confession of faith through Cook's preaching and being dealt with in after-meetings.²²⁷ Cook's method was to ask for a few moments of silent prayer after his sermon, then to ask

²²⁰ *Australian Christian World*, 10 August 1894, p. 8.

²²¹ *Southern Cross*, 27 July 1894, p. 583.

²²² *Argus*, 25 July 1894, p. 5. McNeill's rationale for this meeting when he announced it before his sermon can be found in the transcript in *Southern Cross*, 27 July 1894, p. 586-7.

²²³ Gammie, *John McNeill*, p. 202.

²²⁴ Interview in *Southern Cross*, 3 August 1894, p. 614.

²²⁵ In *Southern Cross*, 31 August 1894, p. 690, an A Jackson wrote an article on the 'Spiritual Results' of the mission, to reassure people about this, giving many examples from letters received. The article started with the sentence, 'The absence of after-meetings in connection with most of the services, and the difficulty experienced by workers in reaching enquirers in such large audiences as have gathered together during the mission, has led many to question those directly associated with the work as to the blessing received through the ministry of the evangelists.'

²²⁶ Cook, *Days of God's Right Hand*, p. 123.

²²⁷ Cook, *Days of God's Right Hand*, p. 162.

‘all who have resolved to accept Christ to signify that supreme act by rising for a moment.’ They then made their way to the enquiry rooms.²²⁸

American Charles Yatman had an ambivalent approach to appeals: one meeting in Melbourne terminated abruptly with “You are dismissed” after the benediction.²²⁹ However, another, shared with Henry Varley, was a ‘discourse of the typical revivalist character’, asking people to consider their final destination after death. ‘This was but the prelude’, wrote the reporter, ‘to just such an appeal to the emotional instincts of the hearers as was witnessed again and again at the services of “General” Booth.’²³⁰

How these converts were to be followed up was often of concern. As far as possible, they were referred to the churches with which they were affiliated – Mrs Baeyertz had a system of tickets which were collected and distributed to ministers.²³¹ Most evangelists urged their converts to become involved with a church quickly; Macartney read out a list of suitable churches ready and waiting to welcome them, at Mrs Hampson’s final converts’ meeting.²³² Even so, in the early days of these meetings, the *Southern Cross* fretted over follow up:

Some means should be adopted whereby the names of those who have made religious decisions could be registered, together with the churches they have been accustomed to attend, so that minister and others interested could have a special care over them.²³³

This of course was the method eventually adopted by twentieth century evangelists like Billy Graham and his followers. It was easier to implement in smaller towns – but almost impossible for the massive meetings experienced under Mrs Hampson and McNeill, for example, in the capital cities.

²²⁸ *Southern Cross*, 20 July 1894, p. 563.

²²⁹ *Argus*, 2 March 1896, p. 6.

²³⁰ *Argus*, 4 March 1896, p. 7. First he asked those who were saved to stand, then those who would like to be, and then asked the latter to state this publicly – nine did so.

²³¹ *Launceston Examiner*, 6 June 1884, p. 2.

²³² *Southern Cross*, 28 July 1883, p. 11.

²³³ *Southern Cross*, 22 September 1877, Supplement p. 1.

Conclusion

The legacy of these meetings can be seen, in some cases even to this day, in the denominations most in favour of revivalism – the Baptists, Brethren, some Anglicans, and many Methodists. Evening meetings, in particular, used aspects of the revivalist style for many years. Evidence of this influence can be seen in the lively discussion at the Victorian Church of England Assembly of 1891 about the ‘desirableness of holding ... frequent services of a more informal and an evangelistic character...’²³⁴ While nothing was decided, it was agreed that action was needed to hold on to men, in particular. It was also acknowledged that ‘during the mission of 1888 there was no doubt that hundreds and hundreds of persons attended who never went to church.’²³⁵ Even the cautious Anglicans were acknowledging that there was value in something like revivalist services.

This chapter has demonstrated that most evangelists followed Moody and Sankey in the way their meetings were organised, in the music used, often in the style of sermon, and in the use of the enquiry room (despite some variations and occasional disenchantment with this). In this last quarter of the nineteenth century there were no significant innovations or departures from what had been found to have worked in other places, and no expressly Australian contributions. Varley’s dialogue at the end of meetings was possibly the only imaginative initiative, and even this was not done on every occasion. The following chapters will look at two specific aspects of these meetings: the introduction and use of Sankey’s hymns, and way in which social evils were confronted.

²³⁴ *Church of England Messenger*, 4 December 1891, p. 18. Mr Bradshaw who seconded the motion said that ‘the intention was that there should be a somewhat brighter service, with a few more hymns interspersed ... He did not mean that they should lean towards Wesleyanism.’

²³⁵ *Church of England Messenger*, 4 December 1891, p. 18.

Chapter 6

‘Hymns of a more or less idiotic character’¹: the impact and use of Sankey’s hymns in Australia

When a familiar hymn to some well-known tune, with flowing melody and simple harmonies, is undertaken at the Exhibition Building, the effect of so many thousand voices, led by the great organ, is simply overwhelming. It is a river of full-throated sound flowing out in waves of worship and hallowed desire!

Southern Cross, 10 August 1894, p. 627.

As intimated in the previous chapter, music, in particular singing, had such an integral role in nineteenth-century evangelistic meetings² that it deserves a chapter of its own. Indeed, the songs and their content may well have been more memorable than the sermons, and they were certainly seen as supporting and reinforcing the message. This chapter will discuss the nature of the songs associated with Sankey, outline their introduction in Australia in the 1870s, analyse the songs used in evangelistic meetings, and show their impact in Australian society.

Background

The gospel songs colloquially known as ‘Sankey’s’ shot into prominence because of the campaigns of Americans D L Moody and Ira D Sankey in the UK from 1873 to 1875, although the gospel song genre had arisen several decades before

¹ *Argus*, 27 March 1875, p. 5.

² Major considerations of this topic are Sandra Sizer, *Gospel Hymns and Social Religion: The Rhetoric of Nineteenth Century Revivalism*, Philadelphia, 1978; Susan Tamke, *Make a joyful noise unto the Lord: hymns as a reflection of Victorian social attitudes*, Athens, Ohio, 1978; Richard Mouw and Mark Noll, *Wonderful Words of Life: Hymns in American Protestant History and Theology*, Grand Rapids, 2004; Ian Bradley, *Abide with Me: The World of Victorian Hymns*, London, 1997; John Wolffe, ‘“Praise to the Holiest in the Height”: Hymns and Church Music’, in John Wolffe (ed.), *Religion in Victorian Britain: Volume V, Culture and Empire*, Manchester and New York, 1997, pp. 59-99.

this. Sankey was a singer and composer who accompanied himself on a portable harmonium. His fine tenor voice, clear articulation, and attractive demeanour had a drawing power on the huge audiences who came to hear Moody preach the gospel and Sankey sing it.³ He led large choirs recruited from local churches, and this winning combination of soloist, choirs, and moving songs was continued right into the twentieth century with international evangelists such as Billy Sunday and Billy Graham.⁴

The first edition of 'Sankey's' was published in England in 1873,⁵ with an American version in 1875. By February 1874, in the middle of Moody and Sankey's campaign, the *Christian* announced that 'several former editions [were] exhausted.'⁶ A few years later the edition used in Australia in the late 1870s had over 200 songs; later editions rapidly went to 750,⁷ 888,⁸ and finally 1200.⁹ In 1899, it was reported that the hymns had been 'translated into over 100 languages and sung all over the world by Catholics and Protestants alike.'¹⁰ The various editions of 'Sankey's Songs' are reported as selling between fifty and eighty million copies by the mid-twentieth century.¹¹ The book is still in print in a 2001 edition from religious publishers Marshall Pickering.¹²

³ Sankey's autobiography, replete with anecdotes about the effect of some of his songs or his rendering of others' works, is Ira D Sankey, *My Life and Sacred Songs*, London, 1906. For a brief biographical sketch, see E L Blumhofer, 'Ira D Sankey', in Timothy Larsen (ed.), *Biographical dictionary of evangelicals*, Leicester, England; Downers Grove, Ill., 2003, pp. 580-2.

⁴ Sandra Sizer, *Gospel Hymns*, p. 4. Billy Graham had a soloist (George Beverley Shea), a pianist (Tedd Smith) and choir leader (Cliff Barrows) for the major part of his career, which gives some idea of Sankey's skills, in that he combined all three roles.

⁵ The first edition of 28 songs was advertised on the cover page of the *Christian*, 18 September 1873, p. 1. Ian Bradley, *Abide with me: the world of Victorian hymns*, London, 1997, p. 183, says that the first booklet had sixteen songs.

⁶ *Christian*, 12 February 1874, p. 64.

⁷ A words edition in my possession, n.d. but inscribed as a gift in 1910, has 750 Sacred Songs and Solos and 138 New Hymns and Solos. A music version of this edition can readily be found on Google Books.

⁸ A music edition in the museum at Woodsdale, Tasmania, is one which has consolidated the 888 songs.

⁹ The standard edition which is still for sale dates from the early twentieth century. In this edition, the songs are renumbered, but the previous numbers are provided in brackets.

¹⁰ Report from the *Christian World* (London), reprinted in *Southern Cross*, 25 August 1899, p. 827.

¹¹ Sizer, *Gospel Hymns*, p. 4, NB footnote 6. The figure of fifty million is frequently stated as though it were axiomatic. The British version was *Sacred Songs and Solos*, which was the one available throughout the Empire. In America there was a different version, known as *Gospel Hymns and sacred songs*. P G Scott, in an article about R C Morgan, the English publisher of the books, says that 'over ninety million copies were sold', without giving a source for this number. P G Scott, 'Richard Cope Morgan, Religious Periodicals, and the Pontifex Factor', *Victorian Religious Periodicals Newsletter*, 1972, p. 11. Presumably these larger figures include words only editions, purchased in bulk for congregational use.

¹² In America, the books came out as *Gospel Songs nos. 1-6*, and were eventually combined in one volume. Some of the individual volumes are apparently still in print.

Nature of the songs

Notwithstanding their enormous popularity, these songs were and are disparaged by hymnologists. Both music and words were criticised: in the 1880s, Congregationalist musician John Curwen wrote that ‘the plan of these tunes is bad enough to start with, but still worse when they multiply by the hundred ...’¹³ J N Darby, the Exclusive Brethren teacher and evangelist who was to some extent supportive of Moody, wrote acerbically of him and Sankey that ‘their songs are everywhere in the mouth of the drunkard’.¹⁴ An Australian editorial in the 1890s quoted a ‘wise teacher’ who said ,

I am sick of the loathsome lusciousness of these modern hymns ... the language of sensuous sentiment or amorous devotion. They teach us to sing of ‘dear Jesus’ or the ‘sweet Saviour’ ... these things emasculate faith and impoverish piety ... they are tending to throw the emphasis on man’s part in it to the suppression of God’s...¹⁵

Later critics continued such themes, based on value judgments that saw ‘good’ music as harmonically complex and ‘good’ hymns as having theological depth. For example, Horton Davies wrote, ‘... the need to reach the uncommitted thousands by providing them with “popular services” inevitably lowered the quality of worship.’¹⁶ The hymns in ‘Sankey’s’ were and are thought of as lowbrow, vulgar, simplistic in theology (or basically deficient of theological content), musically banal, and repetitive. One of Moody’s biographers bluntly writes that ‘The music and the musicians of which Sankey was the arch-type are derided. The name, if remembered, is mud.’¹⁷

The British hymnologist Erik Routley was even more scathing, saying that ‘the musical content ... is so low as to be infantile’ and describing Bliss’s technique as

¹³ J S Curwen, *Studies in Worship Music*, London, 1885, quoted in John Wolffe (ed.), *Religion in Victorian Britain: Volume V, Culture and Empire*, Manchester, 1997, p. 290.

¹⁴ Letter from Chicago dated 23 June 1876, G Morrish (ed.), *Letters of J N Darby*, Vol. 2, 2nd edition, London, 1914, p. 443. I am indebted to Dr Roger Shuff for this reference. Darby would have been happy to see drunkards converted, but would have baulked at spiritual songs being sung mindlessly or satirically.

¹⁵ *Australian Christian World*, 14 September 1894, p. 9.

¹⁶ Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England IV: From Newman to Martineau, 1850 -1900*, Grand Rapids: 1996 (1961), p. 347.

¹⁷ J C Pollock, *Moody without Sankey*, London, 1963, p. 124.

‘puerile’,¹⁸ and again, that the songs were ‘a slough of sentimental music hall sloppiness ... flabby and futile.’¹⁹ Davison believed that ‘gospel hymns, as well as many “legitimate” hymns, are written in a sadly depreciated musical currency; in a language compounded of sentimentality and musical triteness, familiar, friendly, natural, orienting us solidly in the weekday world of musical experience’.²⁰ John Kent argues that, effective though the songs were, their emotion and sentiment reflected and propagated a ‘simple substitutionary version of the atonement’ which diluted a more robust intellectual theology and contributed to the alienation of the upper and lower classes from orthodox religion.²¹

Despite the scorn of critics, the songs were overwhelmingly popular – perhaps because they did indeed relate to people’s everyday experience. Sandra Sizer, who has undertaken a large-scale study of Sankey’s hymns, says that ‘a phenomenon of such immediate impact and long-range influence deserves some attention, some attempt to understand and account for it.’²² She attributes the songs’ popularity to their exposure through Moody’s campaigns, a general movement of popular hymnody in nineteenth-century America on which to build, and the ‘flowering of nineteenth-century evangelicalism in the medium of revivals’.²³

There were also social factors which made for their popularity. Dianne Gome argues that the increase in singing in national education systems, and the ‘remarkable nineteenth-century developments in large-scale publishing’ fostered both the acceptability and availability of the songs.²⁴ Geoffrey Troughton points out that ‘awareness of Sankey coincided with a period of heightened enthusiasm for musical accompaniment’ (usually at this point the harmonium),²⁵ and Joan Mansfield sets their popularity in the context of the great surge of hymn writing in

¹⁸ Erik Routley, *The Church and Music*, London, 1967, p. 189.

¹⁹ Quoted in the introduction by H Wiley Hitchcock to the facsimile copy of *Gospel Hymns nos 1-6 complete*, New York 1972, no page number.

²⁰ Archibald Davison, *Church Music: Illusion and Reality*, Cambridge, 1966, p. 113.

²¹ John Kent, *Holding the Fort*, London, 1978, pp. 220 ff.

²² Sandra Sizer, *Gospel Hymns*, p. 5.

²³ Sizer, *Gospel Hymns*, pp. 6-7.

²⁴ Dianne Gome, ‘Australian Colonial Hymnody 1788-1901: a preliminary investigation of sources’, *Australasian Music Research*, Vol. 1, 1996, p. 143. See also Wolffe, ‘“Praise to the Holiest in the Height”’, pp. 64-5.

²⁵ G M Troughton, ‘Moody and Sankey Down Under: a case study in “Trans-Atlantic” revivalism in nineteenth century New Zealand’, *Journal of Religious History*, vol 29 no 2, June 2005, p. 149

the nineteenth century.²⁶ American author Louis Benson wrote towards the end of what might be called the apogee of such music, that the songs

carried the more emotional and less cultivated element of religious people off its feet, and furnished for a time the familiar songs of vast numbers hitherto unacquainted with hymns and unused to public worship.²⁷

A kinder description than those of the critics is that the songs are ‘simple, strophic melodies set homophonically to strong tonal progressions in major keys’,²⁸ and an even kinder one is that the music is ‘uncomplicated, lyrical, and memorable.’²⁹ Hitchcock wrote that ‘the result, at its best, was a kind of religious pop art almost irresistible in its visceral appeal; at its worst, an embarrassing trivial counterpart of the sentimental “songs of hearth and home” of the same era.’³⁰ Even though he considered that the songs were ‘crude in sentiment and unrefined in expression’,³¹ Benson recognised the appeal to the senses that came from the fact that the tunes were

“easy”, and “catchy” and sentimental, swaying with soft or martial rhythm and culminating in the taking “refrain”; calling for no musical knowledge to understand and no skill to render them; inevitably popular with the unfailing appeal of clear melody.³²

In fact, points considered negative by critics provided positives as a corollary. It is true that the songs are not challenging (in fact they are boring) for an accomplished musician, but this does mean that even adequate musicians can play them, and most find them easy to learn and memorise. The repetitive choruses lend themselves to audience participation, so that that even where there were no song books, the audience or congregation could join in the singing at least part of

²⁶ Mansfield states, without giving a reference, that ‘it has been estimated that 400,000 hymns were written in English between 1837 and 1901’. Joan Mansfield, ‘A History of Music in Australian Church Life’, *Church Heritage*, Vol. 13, No. 4, September 2004, p. 129. This seems an extraordinarily large number, but there were certainly tens of thousands.

²⁷ Louis Benson, *The English Hymn: its development and use in public worship*, Philadelphia, 1915, p. 487.

²⁸ ‘Gospel #2’, in *The Harvard Dictionary of Music* (2003), retrieved from <http://www.credoreference.com/entry/harvdictmusic/gospel>. Most of the hymns contain only four or five chord changes.

²⁹ Troughton, ‘Moody and Sankey Down Under’, p. 155.

³⁰ H Wiley Hitchcock, introduction (no page numbers) to the facsimile copy of *Gospel Hymns nos 1-6 complete*, New York 1972.

³¹ Benson, *English Hymn*, p. 489.

³² Benson, *English Hymn*, p. 488.

the time, and in fact add a swelling volume of sound after the verses sung by the choir. Referring to 'There is life for a look at the crucified One', a New Zealand reporter noted, 'How stirring is the beautiful refrain which accompanies it, and in which the audience join!'³³ And Moody's early biographer, Goodspeed, carried the war into the critics' camp when he wrote in 1876,

The people were eager for the rich and soul-subduing melodies which [Sankey] poured out upon them in floods. His soul inundated his words with pathos and fire, and these elements reached a multitude who were weary of the stupid, drawling hymns and tunes so common before the evangelists reached British soil.³⁴

Moody's biographer Pollock points out too that 'Sankey music needs one singer – or massed voices', and that the enormous and instant public demand meant that the 'bad' music did not get weeded out by time. Thus songs which Sankey or Bliss or other writers would have seen as appropriate to a temporary moment became embedded in the popular psyche. Sankey also distinguished between songs with a teaching or evangelistic purpose, and hymns for praise and worship in the church setting, and did not expect or intend that the gospel songs would be a substitute for the latter.³⁵

Even Routley admitted that the songs 'proved to be so popular among people whom even the revived and strenuous churches were not reaching that they took firm root, and are very much with us still'.³⁶ Elsewhere he recognised that the 'revivals of the later nineteenth century brought the Gospel to many to whom the Bible was a closed book and the Church a barred mansion', and that in this process 'singing played ... a greater part than preaching'.³⁷ While he and others deplore the musical poverty of gospel songs, and damn them with faint praise – 'they [the masses] responded to a music which gave them the strongest feeling of exaltation with the minimum of effort'³⁸ – they nevertheless recognise that they

³³ *Willing Work*, 9 January 1880, p. 277, quoting a report from Port Chalmers (Dunedin).

³⁴ Edgar J Goodspeed, *A Full History of the Wonderful Career of Moody and Sankey, in Britain and America*, London, Ontario, 1876, p. iv.

³⁵ Pollock, *Moody without Sankey*, pp. 125-6.

³⁶ Routley, *A Short History of English Church Music*, London, 1977, p. 75.

³⁷ Routley, *The Church and Music*, p. 187.

³⁸ Routley, *The Church and Music*, p. 190.

were extremely effective in conveying a certain religious sentiment among people who usually never sang hymns or entered a church. They considered it regrettable that many others who regularly sang hymns also fastened onto the songs.

The overall feeling is caught by the description from John McNeill's meetings in 1894 that heads this chapter. Another report said, 'When ... voices by the thousands are poured into the linked and leisurely harmonies ... he must be singularly incapable of feeling who is not conscious of being thrilled by the ebb and flow of the great sea of harmonious sound.'³⁹ Anyone who has sung in such circumstances will empathise with the powerful emotions engendered, and in the Christian context, the spiritual strength and affirmation of faith of such an experience. In general, music is considered to touch human emotions, and its use in the form of gospel songs in revival meetings was both feared (by critics) and welcomed (by supporters) as overcoming the resistance of mere thought and reason. Sizer emphasises the part played by music in creating the 'community of feeling' which was thought necessary and desirable for such meetings, in order to break down the forces which would keep people from turning to God.⁴⁰

Bebbington has emphasised that 'Romantic traits deeply affected the evangelical movement',⁴¹ but although he acknowledges their 'immediate worldwide impact',⁴² he does not discuss the songs in any detail. My argument is that, despite their admittedly simple tunes and often equally simple words, they made more of an impact than much of the preaching. It is difficult to remember much of a sermon, however powerful; it is easy to remember a singable song, and 'Sankey's songs' were essentially singable. The warmth and sentimentality of many of the lyrics, the catchy tunes, and the repetitive nature of both words and music,

³⁹ *Argus*, 25 July 1894, p. 4.

⁴⁰ Sandra Sizer, 'Politics and Apolitical Religion: The Great Urban Revivals of the Late Nineteenth Century,' *Church History*, Vol. 48, No. 1. (Mar., 1979), pp. 85-6.

⁴¹ D W Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, Downers Grove, 2005, pp. 152-3.

⁴² Bebbington, *Dominance of Evangelicalism*, p. 95.

especially in the choruses, meant that they quickly became immensely well-known,⁴³ a fact illustrated from contemporary sources in this chapter.

Early caution was replaced with (often reluctant) approbation and widespread use in very many contexts. In the 1870s in Australia these hymns swept the religious world, and even its fringes, and they continued in popularity well into the twentieth century through being absorbed into other books such *Alexanders*,⁴⁴ *Golden Bells*,⁴⁵ *Redemption Songs*⁴⁶, and to a lesser extent in denominational hymnals. They were used at almost all the meetings under consideration in this thesis,⁴⁷ and thus became known to a wide audience, although there does not seem to have been an edition actually published in Australia.⁴⁸ Their effect on hearers was also noted repeatedly. It is arguable that these songs were the most significant part of the impact of these evangelistic campaigns, both because of their wide dissemination in the populace, and because of their longevity in church life.

⁴³ Robert M Stevenson, *Patterns of Protestant Church Music*, North Carolina, 1953, cited in Pollock, *Moody without Sankey*, p. 124, suggested that fewer people 'listened to actual performances of Bach's works during the entire nineteenth century than heard Sankey sing in 1875' alone.

⁴⁴ The music score of an edition I believe to have been produced in 1902/3 is held in the National Library: *Revival Songs: for the mission, the choir, the Sunday-school, and the home; used in the great Melbourne simultaneous mission 214 churches united*, edited by Charles Alexander, Melbourne: J. Shaw Fitchett, [191-?]. I have a words copy in my possession (a cloth covered paperback) which says it is the fifth and enlarged edition. It has 68 songs. A book with much wider circulation, which has 439 songs including 5 short choruses, is *Alexander's Hymns No. 3*, edited by Charles M Alexander, London and Edinburgh, n.d. but probably after 1910, by which stage the evangelists were known in Britain. It omits at least 23 songs from the earlier edition and adds many more, including 70 by Australian Robert Harkness who had joined the team.

⁴⁵ Published by Scripture Union in England, and widely used by CSSM and SU in Australia. First published 1890, revised and enlarged 1926: Cecil Allen, *Hymns and the Christian Faith*, London, 1966, p. 153.

⁴⁶ Published by Pickering and Inglis in England in the 1920s; widely used in Christian Brethren assemblies for evening services. It is still available through internet sources such as Amazon. A reviewer's comment on their website says, 'The "Redemption Songs" were much used by the Brethren but we sing those hymns among Lutherans, Baptists and Pentecostals as well, all over the world.'

⁴⁷ However, at least one, and possibly two, hymn books were produced for George Grubb's meetings: *Hymn Book: Rev. G C Grubb's Mission*, Melbourne: Mason, Firth & McCutcheon, 1891. However, this does not go to high enough numbers for some of the songs reported. It is probable that they also used the first edition of *Hymns of Consecration and Faith*, the Keswick hymnal. There was also a song book for Mrs Baeyertz' meetings in South Australia: *Hymns for Mrs Baeyertz's evangelistic services*, Adelaide, 1881 (Dianne Gome, 'Australian Hymnody, 1821-1901: an annotated checklist of sources located in Australian libraries', *Continuo*, Vol. 24, 1995, p. 16).

⁴⁸ All the editions (over 100) listed in Libraries Australia were published by Morgan and Scott or later, Marshall, Morgan and Scott (London), Hodder and Stoughton (London), or Biglow and Main (USA).

Introduction into Australia

The immense popularity of Moody's meetings in the United Kingdom (attendances of around two million are estimated for his London meetings alone) meant that they were well-reported in Australia, and as a corollary there was great interest in the songs sung there as well. By mid-1874 the *Argus* reported that a special meeting of the Presbytery of Melbourne had been held, to consider the 'great religious revival now taking place in Scotland'⁴⁹ (i.e. Moody and Sankey's meetings in Glasgow and Edinburgh), and in the religious papers there was of course even more reportage and interest. A somewhat cynical critique taken from the *Saturday Review* said that,

In intervals of Mr Moody's lectures, Mr Sankey sings hymns. Abhorring the notion of providing a musical entertainment merely to please those who are not in the Kingdom of God, he seeks to move by truth expressed in the most winning tones. It is also in subservience to spiritual ends that Mr Sankey uses the harmonium. Sankey's "Sacred Solos" are sold by the thousand, and his example and exhortations are also said to have given great impulse to the trade in harmoniums.

The writer later commented that 'Sankey's lively solo [is] sung in a very good style to a melody that might pass for secular in a worldly concert room but for the words.'⁵⁰ A more jaundiced *Argus* journalist, critical of a possible visit by the evangelists to Australia, described Sankey's songs as 'hymns of a more or less idiotic character'.⁵¹

The secular nature of the melodies and the use of the harmonium were features which more conservative church goers tended to deplore, but a measure of Sankey's charisma is that both were accepted in Scotland, where the use of any instrument in churches was still rare. In Australia this was also still an issue for some churches, and it was the effectiveness of the music in softening hearts for the Gospel – in other words, a pragmatic reason – which won over opinion.

⁴⁹ *Argus*, 9 June 1874, p. 5.

⁵⁰ *Argus*, 10 April 1875, p. 5.

⁵¹ *Argus*, 27 March 1875, p. 5.



48: Advertisement for a harmonium, 1894.⁵²

A debate in the *Methodist Spectator* in 1876 gives an illustration of the difference between older forms of religious music and this new, catchy format. It concerned the abandonment of the old method of ‘lining’ the hymns, where the minister would say one or two lines, or perhaps the whole verse, which would then be sung. This had originated when there were few printed hymn books, and a low level of literacy in Methodist congregations. However, the argument for continuing the practice was that ‘most of our hymns are too long to sing through’, that ‘to sing any number of verses without any pause or break will generate a slothful, slovenly habit’, and that giving out a verse at a time was ‘the superlative point of perfection. It ensures attention, liveliness, impression’ and approximated to a ‘responsive ritual of worship.’⁵³ While most of the correspondents preferred the modern way, ‘Hereditary Methodist’ supported the old method, and at the same time had a swipe at ‘those miserable doggerels which go under the name of modern hymns.’ In his opinion, they were ‘rubbish dignified by the name of hymns, sung to ranting music, in the manufacture of which neither poet nor

⁵² *Australian Christian World*, 4 January 1894, p. 11.

⁵³ *Spectator*, 16 September 1876, p. 861.

musician had any concern ... [they are] equally destitute of sense and sound and rhyme and reason. The very best that can be said of them is that they are pious nonsense ...'⁵⁴

Secular critics could be even harsher, linking the emotional effects of crowded revival meetings and the singing with attacks of mental illness in susceptible people. A London writer, commenting on Moody and Sankey's meetings there, believed that the whole scene was 'calculated to promote artificial stimulation of the emotions' and strain nervous systems 'to the utmost pitch of tension':

Mass people together [so that] ... an adequate supply of fresh air ... is out of the question; set them all singing at the same moment with such a flood of vehement voice that you might fancy they would sing the roof off; let them sway and surge to and fro ... and then get them preached at by a preacher who ... is at liberty to say anything.⁵⁵

More sympathetic users were not necessarily unequivocally supportive: the Hobart Town *Christian Witness* editor, while basically positive towards the idea of 'singing the gospel', thought that

...modern revival hymns and tunes ... judged by the strict canons of good taste, can hardly be said to be likely to improve our congregational psalmody. A wholesale adoption of them would be to degenerate the character of our public worship. Their chief value is that they are in harmony with popular taste ... hence they are especially useful in evangelistic efforts.⁵⁶

He warned that singing 'excites the emotional part of our nature' and that it was important to 'hold the balances evenly between the intellectual and emotional.'⁵⁷

A few years later a correspondent writing in the quasi-Brethren paper *Willing Work* argued that, although sometimes only Sankey's was available, 'a cheap gospel hymnbook, with the truth more correctly stated than in some of Sankey's hymns, seems desirable.'⁵⁸

⁵⁴ *Spectator*, 30 September 1876, p. 885.

⁵⁵ Quoted in the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 16 October 1875, p. 2.

⁵⁶ *Christian Witness*, 16 September 1875, p. 8.

⁵⁷ *Christian Witness*, 16 September 1875, p. 8.

⁵⁸ *Willing Work*, 28 January 1881, p. 30.

However, such critics or even cautionary voices were in the minority. In 1876, the *Spectator* also printed a long article by Sankey himself, where he advocated the use of a choir of ‘converted persons’ who would encourage the congregation to sing heartily, with good deportment and enthusiasm. His desire that the singing in ‘union services’ should be ‘of the most spirited and spiritual character’ and that the songs should be ‘such as are easily caught by the people, and ... contain the simple gospel’⁵⁹ is borne out by the style of songs he selected for *Sacred Songs and Solos*. However, it is important to note that he was not intending that these songs be the only sort used in more formal church services, though his preference would still have been for lively and heartfelt singing. A similar article was published in the *Southern Cross* in which Sankey wrote, ‘I would have more praying for the singing, and less criticism.’⁶⁰ Sankey was the man of the moment in popular Christian music.

Evidence from reports of meetings in religious papers shows that hymns of the sort included in Sankey’s collections were known in Australia from at least 1874. Of course, many of the hymns had been written before this date, by what almost amounts to a ‘school’ of American writers, and were included in other collections. Matthew Burnett’s compilation *Sixty-seven revival hymns and forty-six temperance melodies* (1871)⁶¹ had about twenty songs in it which were later in Sankey’s – some not until the final large edition. As Burnett worked largely with working class audiences *en masse*, this would have been one way in which unchurched people learnt some of the songs. The ‘Singing Pilgrim’ Philip Phillips toured the colonies in 1875, bringing many of these hymns to public notice.⁶² In 1875, a Sydney clergyman brought out *Some of Messrs Moody and Sankey’s new*

⁵⁹ *Spectator*, 6 May 1876, p. 629.

⁶⁰ *Southern Cross*, 21 July 1877, p. 3.

⁶¹ *Sixty-seven revival hymns and forty-six temperance melodies* compiled by Mr. M. Burnett (the Yorkshire Evangelist), and sung in the religious services and working men’s meetings conducted by him, Melbourne, 1871. Online <http://nla.gov.au/nla.aus-vn4660434>. See Evans’ summary, Evans, Robert, Matthew Burnett: The Yorkshire Evangelist, Hazelbrook, 2010, p. 142.

⁶² See *Argus*, 31 March 1875, p. 5, for a mildly critical review of his first concert in Melbourne; *South Australian Advertiser*, 14 August 1875, p. 6, for a more positive review of his first concert in Adelaide; *Mercury*, 20 September 1875, p. 2, for a favourable review of his first Hobart concert; and *Christian Witness*, 16 Sept 1875, p. 8, for a sympathetic review.

revival hymns and spiritual songs,⁶³ which is an indication of speedy acquaintance with and growing acceptability of the songs. A Church of England mission in Hobart in December 1875 used ‘a selection of Messrs Moody and Sankey’s hymns’.⁶⁴ Advertisements for meetings of the Brethren evangelists Harrison Ord and Douglas Russell in 1876 frequently mentioned that Sankey’s hymn books would be used.⁶⁵ The songs had thus become known in Australia before the Somerville/Varley campaigns of 1877-8 catapulted them into public consciousness.

The visit of Dr Somerville from July 1877 to August 1878 overlapped with that of Henry Varley, and both men’s meetings were reported in copious detail in the religious press, and to a lesser but still quite full extent in the secular papers. Reports for most of the meetings included a summary of the sermon or often what seems like a copy taken down verbatim by shorthand,⁶⁶ and a description of the meeting from beginning to end – more often than not, at least in the religious press, including the numbers and/or names of the songs. This implies that many people owned copies of the hymn book to which they could refer, as a stated reason for reporting the meetings in such detail was that those who could not attend might benefit from them also, and clearly they were expected to be able to look up the hymns – the full lyrics are rarely printed. Even where the hymns are not listed, usually it is noted that ‘Sankey’s hymns were used.’

There are some indications of how this ownership of the books came about so quickly. When Varley wrote to a Melbourne correspondent about plans for his visit, he asked, ‘Can you make some arrangement as to the formation of a choir? Not for display, but for hearty praise. I shall bring about 10,000 copies of

⁶³ Dianne Gome, ‘Australian Hymnody, 1821-1901: an annotated checklist’, p. 15; a copy is in the National Library. This is the only title which explicitly mentions the songs by name, so it may be the one she means when she writes elsewhere that there were ‘Australian editions of the hymns of Dwight Moody [who did not write a word or note of music!] and Ira Sankey’ (Dianne Gome, ‘Australian Colonial Hymnody 1788-1901: a preliminary investigation of sources’, p. 160).

⁶⁴ *Mercury*, 6 December 1875, p. 2.

⁶⁵ For example, *Southern Cross*, 11 November 1876, p. 1.

⁶⁶ In fact this is specifically mentioned for Dr Somerville’s famous sermon ‘The Bible for the World’ in Brisbane; see *Brisbane Courier*, 23 October 1877, p. 3. Varley’s speech on the Social Evil was also taken down in shorthand and later published; see the Preface to *Mr Varley’s Full Address on the “Social Evil”*, Melbourne: C T Scown, 1878, p. 3.

Sankey's hymns and thus we shall be provided in that respect ...'⁶⁷ The availability of the hymn books was often advertised by booksellers anxious to catch on to the prevailing trend; for example, Walch's and Birchalls were selling them in 1878 in Tasmania,⁶⁸ and in Melbourne in 1881, the Sandridge Sailors' Rest noted that they had 300 copies of *Songs and Solos no. 3* for sale in aid of the mission and believed they were not obtainable elsewhere in the colony.⁶⁹ For Varley's Hobart meetings, 'the hymns sung were a selection from sacred songs and solos [sic], printed on a sheet for the occasion'.⁷⁰

Over and over again advertisements for conferences and conventions in the next few decades invited potential attendees to bring their Bible and Sankey's hymn book with them, indicating the wide availability of the books and their reach into the evangelical community. In the 1890s, during McNeill's campaign, an advertisement in the *Sydney Morning Herald* advised that Stationer's Hall Company and Book Depot were offering Sankey's hymn books at special prices,⁷¹ and choir members were asked to bring Sankey's 750 piece book with them to rehearsals⁷² – the assumption being that they would have a copy, or could easily obtain one. In Adelaide, a newspaper item said that 'Sankey's hymn books are to be used, and all are asked to bring their own books.'⁷³

One of the ways in which the songs were popularised was by the use of a choir at the large meetings. Even where attendees did not have song books, the choruses of the songs were generally repetitive and rousing enough to be picked up quickly by the congregations. For example, in Geelong, where the *Spectator's* special correspondent reported solemnly that 'The hymns used were those introduced by Messrs. Moody and Sankey', he noted that 'the hymns were exceedingly well rendered [by the choir], and were joined in by the large assemblage.'⁷⁴

⁶⁷ *Southern Cross*, 14 July 1877, p. 1.

⁶⁸ For example, see advertisement in the *Mercury*, 14 March 1878, p. 2.

⁶⁹ *Willing Work*, 4 February 1881, p. 38.

⁷⁰ *Mercury*, 23 March 1878, p. 2.

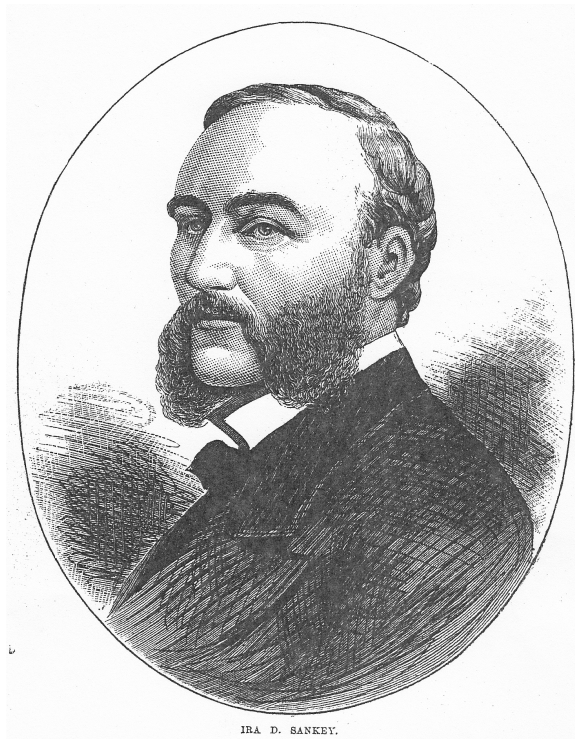
⁷¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 October 1894, p. 16.

⁷² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 September 1894, p. 5.

⁷³ *Adelaide Advertiser*, 8 September 1894, p. 6.

⁷⁴ *Spectator*, 11 August 1877, p. 175.

By 1878, the Melbourne paper *Words of Grace* was featuring a new song every month, and it published a major article on Sankey, complete with portrait.



49: Portrait of Sankey in *Words of Grace*, March 1878

This long article quoted from a number of writers who were unstinting in their praise for Sankey and the music he had engendered: ‘No one can estimate the service he has rendered to the church of Christ by the compilation of his book,’ and ‘the wave of sacred song has spread over Britain ... Mr Sankey’s collection of sacred songs has been translated into five or six languages, and are winging their way into tens of thousands of hearts and homes.’⁷⁵

In Somerville’s meetings, which set the pattern for the next decades, the choir was formed as a special group in each place, so there was obviously some speedy learning required, but nevertheless it is often mentioned as singing the hymns very effectively. Comment was not totally uncritical, however: the *Brisbane Courier* remarked that ‘... the singing last night showed a very marked improvement on

⁷⁵ *Words of Grace*, March 1878, p. 202.

the performances of last week, and the progress made under the able leadership of Mr W F Somerville is exceedingly creditable.’⁷⁶ Another ‘marked improvement’ was noted a week later as well,⁷⁷ and finally at the end of the series of meetings there was warm praise:

The aptitude of Mr W F Somerville for his portion of the work is also remarkable ... The able manner in which he formed and led the choir contributed very much to the interest and success of the evangelistic services, and it may be hoped that the hints he has given will have a good effect on the character of psalmody in the various churches of the city.⁷⁸

In many centres, notably Melbourne, the Evangelistic Choir continued to exist, and contributed to other interdenominational outreaches of various sorts.⁷⁹

On occasion there was some demurral about the speed of the singing, but it was generally expressed along with a determination to see some good in it. A Methodist wrote that ‘Sometimes we thought the singing a little too fast for the congregation to unite in it; but even this, if an error, was in the right direction.’⁸⁰ From Sydney, a correspondent wrote that

People may ... differ in their opinion as to the *time* of the singing and playing. Some of us thought the time too fast, as we have been accustomed to sing the hymns according to the time set down in the book; but Mr Somerville has had many opportunities of observing what effect more lively singing has upon a general audience, and doubtless regulates the time according to the results of his observations.⁸¹

An 1886 report was decidedly unenthusiastic about John MacNeil’s song leading, describing his singing as ‘energetic’, but bordering on ‘boisterous and vulgar, while his unnatural drawl seriously marred the beautiful hymns which he announced.’⁸² Although it is unclear whether the songs on this occasion were from

⁷⁶ *Brisbane Courier*, 16 October 1877, p. 3.

⁷⁷ *Brisbane Courier*, 25 October 1877, p. 2.

⁷⁸ *Brisbane Courier*, 21 October 1877, p. 2.

⁷⁹ See paragraph in *Willing Work*, 24 November 1877, p. 42.

⁸⁰ *Spectator*, 21 July 1877, p. 138.

⁸¹ *Southern Cross*, 20 October 1877, p. 3. Emphasis in the original.

⁸² *Australian Christian World*, 12 February 1886, p. 728.

Sankey's, one wonders whether the drawl was his Scottish accent or the Americanising effect of the songs.

Many reports commented on the effect of the music on the meetings. The Methodist *Spectator* editorialised in Melbourne that 'One feature of these services, that has undoubtedly contributed much to their success, has been the admirable singing. Seldom have Sankey's hymns been rendered with greater sweetness and feeling.'⁸³ Another reporter wrote that

it is one of the discoveries of recent evangelism, that [sacred song] may be largely helpful to the preacher ... This gift ... has been frequently referred to by Dr Somerville as one which may be employed successfully in Christian work.⁸⁴

As well as being perceived to soften hearts in preparation for the message, they were often used to reinforce it. For example, Dr Somerville's long talk on social purity, 'The Fiery Furnace', was invariably accompanied by 'Dare to be a Daniel', challenging young men to 'dare to stand alone' and 'dare to have a purpose firm'.⁸⁵ The fact that audience participation was relatively easy meant that they could be encouraged to join in as a sign of commitment to what the words expressed.

In the midst of Dr Somerville's campaign in Melbourne, the *Southern Cross* commented that 'it may almost be said that Mr Sankey, by his hymns and the way they are sung, has introduced something into evangelistic work which approaches a new power.'⁸⁶ Clearly it was felt that something in these songs was different from ordinary hymns. The fact that they were taken up so quickly and readily, and took hold so firmly, seems to say something about the society in which this happened. They certainly appealed to the Romantic sensibilities of the age, and a report from Dunedin of a meeting for sailors gives this feeling very well: 'Sankey's hymns were sung with heart and force; and I felt that a wave of the blessings which these simple lyrics have borne with them over the breadth of

⁸³ *Spectator*, 21 July 1877, p. 138.

⁸⁴ *Southern Cross*, 7 July 1877, p. 2.

⁸⁵ *Sacred Songs and Solos*, No. 7 in 750 word version, No. 707 in 1200 word version.

⁸⁶ *Southern Cross*, 18 August 1877, p. 2.

Christendom had reached Dodson's loft...' ⁸⁷ The emphasis was on personal challenge or commitment and the appeal to feelings, and possibly a need for warmth and comfort – songs about mother and home, and linking the idea of heaven with home, were often used in Gospel appeals.

One of the strengths of these songs is the ease with which they may be sung in four-part harmony. The simple harmonic progressions mean that even those who cannot read music, but have a good ear, can learn a part or extemporise one. Some of the choruses, in particular, have a bass and/or tenor line or echoing women's voices, and this can have a potent effect. ⁸⁸ One example is 'Mighty to Save', one of the most popular songs of Somerville's meetings; the same device is noticeable in 'I've been redeemed', a chorus attached to 'There is a fountain', far and away the most popular song in the 1877-8 meetings. ⁸⁹ However, even without this device, the combination of four voice parts in simple, straightforward harmonies can be very powerful.

Analysis of songs used in Australian meetings

The question then arises as to which were the actual songs making such an impression on so many minds. If we can get some indication of this, we can look at the ideas and themes which were most popular, and presumably considered to have the desired effect on participants. Earlier analyses of the themes of these songs have been based on their occurrence in the actual hymn books. This is the case with Marini's 'Ranked list of most frequently printed hymns, 1737-1960', ⁹⁰ Tamke's wide-ranging discussion, ⁹¹ Sizer's in-depth study, ⁹² and Mansfield's analysis of 'Sankey's' songs. ⁹³ However, Tamke says that counting the number of

⁸⁷ *Willing Work*, 9 January 1880, p. 277.

⁸⁸ No. 185 in the 750 song version of *Sacred Songs and Solos*, though not eventually included in the 1200 song version.

⁸⁹ See Appendix C.

⁹⁰ Stephen A Marini, 'American Protestant Hymns Project: A Ranked List of Most Frequently Printed Hymns, 1737-1960', in Richard Mouw and Mark Noll, *Wonderful Words of Life: Hymns in American Protestant History and Theology*, Grand Rapids, 2004, pp. 251-264.

⁹¹ Tamke, *Make a Joyful Noise*.

⁹² Sizer, *Gospel Hymns and Social Religion*.

⁹³ Mansfield, 'The Music of Revivalism', pp. 123-142.

times a song appears in denominational hymnals, while the most obvious way to judge popularity, has its problems of bias and selectivity. She states that from her experience ‘there are many hymns in sanctioned hymnbooks which were never sung. Little evidence has survived on the subject of what hymn was sung on any given occasion – the incidents where observers have noted the hymn are infrequent and scattered.’⁹⁴

While this may be the case generally, it became apparent when researching newspaper accounts of the evangelistic campaigns of the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Australia that, especially in the first few years, not only were sermons reported at length, but that the titles and/or numbers, and sometimes a line or a verse or two of the songs used were also reported. This in itself was an indication of the popularity of the songs: the exact opposite of what Tamke reported. If numbers only are given, it is evident that a considerable proportion of the readership must be presumed to have had copies of the books, and that those who were not able to attend meetings would thus be able to follow them in some detail. The exciting possibility emerged of actually being able to assess the popularity of songs that were used in the 1870s and 1880s, and to that end I gradually constructed a database of songs used (Appendix C), which now has over 1350 entries. Most of the reports were from evangelistic meetings or interdenominational conferences, but any hymns noted from ordinary church services were also included.

Considerable and meticulous detective work was involved in this process. From the beginning I had access to a music edition of the 1200-song version of *Sacred Songs and Solos*, and part-way through the process I was given a words-only edition of the 750 song version from which most of the numbers were taken, which was an enormous help. Over the five years of research, more digitised material has become available on the internet. For example, in the early stages, the cyberhymnal website⁹⁵ was much more limited in scope, and earlier versions of the hymn book were not digitised, whereas most of the 750-song version in a

⁹⁴ Tamke, *Make a Joyful Noise*, p. 12.

⁹⁵ <http://www.cyberhymnal.org/>

music edition is now available through Google Books. As songs were added, it became more and more possible to match titles and numbers. A personal knowledge of this genre of music was crucial. In fact, I consider that it would be almost impossible to undertake this sort of research without it.

It became obvious that other books which have not been located in Australian libraries were circulating at the time. It is entirely possible that they still exist in private collections, or in church or Bible college libraries that are not publicly searchable. These include a Brethren-based book, the 'Melbourne Hymn Book', which evidently contained quite a few 'Sankey's' hymns as well as many hymns by Brethren writers,⁹⁶ and a 'Gospel Services Book' which is also mentioned in Brethren reports. Also, during Mrs Baeyertz' meetings a book named *Flowers and Fruits* was used.⁹⁷ Another book mentioned is *Times of Blessing*, in the context of it providing a new tune for the popular 'Rock of Ages'.⁹⁸ During Dr Somerville's children's meetings there are a number of songs mentioned which have proved impossible to trace. One, 'Joy, joy, joy', was published in a contemporary Christian paper.⁹⁹ It is possible that the Somervilles had a book of songs suitable for children.

A number of problems were encountered during this research. One was that in some cases only a familiar line was given, or even merely a second or subsequent

⁹⁶ The *Melbourne Hymn Book* is referred to in reports in the 1870s. I have not been able to locate a copy. In the 28 January 1881 edition of *Willing Work* it was mentioned as being out of print (p. 30). In Appendix C, the database of songs identified in reports 1870s-1890s, songs which are referred to as being in that book are shaded grey. Others were probably in it too, such as those used at the conferences in the early 1870s, but are also in Sankey's. These have a dotted pattern. In the *Willing Work* article a new edition of *Hymns for Worship and Edification* was mentioned as not being a substitute for *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*. Neither of these books appear in Gome's list, nor in the Libraries Australia database. It seems unlikely that *Hymns for Worship and Edification* is the same as *Hymns for Christian Worship and Edification* (1844), held in the British Library. *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* may be the book of the same name edited by J Gall and published in London in 1875-6, held in the British Library. It could also, in the context, be *Hymns and spiritual songs for the little flock*, a (mostly Exclusive) Brethren hymnbook.

⁹⁷ West Melbourne: *Victorian Freeman*, May 1880, p. 111; Norwood, SA: *Truth and Progress*, 1 September 1881. A copy of what is probably this book is held in the National Library: *The Flowers and fruits of sacred song and evangelistic hymns*, edited by Vernon J. Charlesworth and J. Manton Smith; prefatory note by C.H. Spurgeon. Complete ed., revised. London: Passmore & Alabaster, [1886?].

⁹⁸ *Southern Cross*, 11 August 1877, supplement. This book is not listed by Gome. It is probably *Hymns for times of blessing, and Evangelistic hymnal*. (Glasgow [c.1880] and earlier editions), a copy of which is in the Bodleian Library catalogue. It is also mentioned as being used at Dr Somerville's meeting at the Melbourne Benevolent Asylum: *Tasmanian Presbyterian Magazine and Missionary Record*, September 1877, p. 70, citing the *Southern Cross*.

⁹⁹ *Words of Grace*, August 1878.

verse. This was one area where familiarity, and increasing internet availability, helped. In other cases, songs were not reported correctly, or words were printed wrongly. In most of these cases the song being referred to was obvious. Sometimes numbers were printed incorrectly, and these have been given as printed in the 'Number given' column of the database. Again, it was usually (eventually!) obvious what the correct number was. In the end only nine numbers have proved impossible to identify.

There are 388 individual songs listed in the database, with 1353 known instances of use.¹⁰⁰ The 85 songs with five or more occurrences were chosen for analysis, totalling 839 occurrences.¹⁰¹ A further 28 songs had four occurrences reported.¹⁰² Striking evidence for the impact of the 'new' songs is that 1035 of the 1325 occurrences entered in the database (78%) were published between 1875 and 1880 – the great majority in reports for Dr Somerville's and Henry Varley's meetings in 1877 and 1878. This also means that a high proportion of the songs listed were among the earlier songs written or published, as the songs were clearly mentioned in much more detail when they were a novelty. Later on, songs were usually mentioned only when they were new or in some other way remarkable.

¹⁰⁰ Many song occurrences were reported more than once – for example, some meetings might be described in detail by an inter-denominational paper such as the *Southern Cross*, the quasi-Brethren paper *Willing Work*, and two or three of the denominational papers. I have tried to represent each occasion of usage only once in the database.

¹⁰¹ See list overleaf.

¹⁰² 'All my doubts I give to Jesus'; 'Gethsemane'; 'God be with you till we meet again'; 'God loved the world of sinners lost'; 'I have entered the valley of blessing'; 'I hear Thy welcome voice'; 'I love to think of the heavenly land'; 'In some way or other the Lord will provide'; 'It passeth knowledge'; 'I've found the precious Christ of God'; 'Let the lower lights be burning'; 'Like a river, glorious'; 'Look away to Jesus'; 'Lord, I hear of showers of blessing'; 'Master, the tempest is raging'; 'Once I was dead in sin'; 'Praise Him, praise Him'; 'Repeat the story o'er and o'er'; 'Saviour, like a shepherd lead us'; 'The Holy Ghost is come'; 'The palace of the King'; 'There is life for a look'; 'Thou my everlasting portion'; 'Till He come'; 'We shall meet beyond the river'; 'Where is my wandering boy tonight?'; 'Who is on the Lord's side?'; 'Yet there is room'.

Table 1: Alphabetical list of the most popular songs¹⁰³

		Published in Words of Grace
All hail the power of Jesu's name	15	
All people that on earth do dwell	17	
Almost persuaded	5	
Am I a soldier of the Cross?	9	yes
Are your windows open toward Jerusalem?	7	
Call them in	5	
Come to the Saviour, make no delay	7	
Crown of rejoicing	8	
Dare to be a Daniel (Standing by a purpose true)	5	
Down life's dark vale we wander	9	
Doxology (Praise God from Whom all blessings flow)	34	
Eden above	6	
Free from the law, oh, happy condition	16	
Go work in my vineyard	9	
Hallelujah 'tis done ('Tis the promise of God)	20	
Hold the fort (Ho, my comrades, see the signal)	22	
How many sheep are straying	5	yes
How sweet the name of Jesus sounds	8	
I am coming to the cross	9	
I am so glad that our Father in Heaven	8	
I am Thine O Lord, I have heard Thy voice	11	
I have a Saviour	9	
I know not the hour when my Lord may come	5	
I left it all with Jesus	5	
I need Thee every hour	10	
In the silent midnight watches	5	
It is well (When peace, like a river)	7	
I've been redeemed-	12	
I've found a joy in sorrow	12	
I've found the pearl of greatest price	12	
Jesus, lover of my soul	10	
Joy joy joy	6	yes
Just as I am, without one plea	6	
Knocking, knocking, who is there?	6	
Life boat, The	5	
Lift up, lift up thy voice with singing	6	
Lo! The day of God is breaking	10	
Loved with everlasting love	5	
Mighty to save	18	
More holiness give me	8	

¹⁰³ Author colour code: Bliss, Fanny Crosby, Lowry, Bradbury, Sankey, Root. **Bold:** not in *Sacred Songs and Solos*, any edition.

More to follow	9	
My all is on the altar	7	yes
Now just a word for Jesus	11	
O happy day, that fixed my choice	6	
Oh the clanging bells of time (Eternity)	5	yes
Oh think of the home over there	7	yes
Oh, to be nothing	14	
One more day's work for Jesus	5	
One there is above all others	7	
Open the door for the children	6	
Our lamps are trimmed and burning	6	
Precious promise God has given	10	
Rescue the perishing, care for the dying	8	
Ring the bells of heaven, there is joy today	5	
Rock of Ages, cleft for me	18	yes
Safe in the arms of Jesus	11	
Saviour, Thy dying love	8	
Shall we gather at the river	32	
Sowing the seed	13	
Stand up, stand up for Jesus	7	
Steal away	10	yes
Sweeping through the gates (Who, who are these?)	7	
Sweet by-and-by (There's a land that is fairer than day)	13	
Sweet hour of prayer	6	
Take my life (Consecration hymn)	5	yes
Take the name of Jesus with you	5	
Tell me the old, old story of Jesus and His love	5	
The gate ajar	5	
The Great Physician	5	
The Lord's my Shepherd	8	
There is a fountain filled with blood	41	
There's a cry from Macedonia	11	
To the work	8	
Waiting and watching for me	18	
We're marching to Canaan	7	
What a friend we have in Jesus	17	
What means this eager anxious throng?	9	
When He cometh (Jewels)	7	
Wholly Thine	5	
Whosoever will (Whosoever heareth)	5	
Will you meet me at the fountain	12	
With harps and with vials	20	
Work for the night is coming	7	
Yield not to temptation	5	

It can easily be seen that Sankey himself only wrote the music for a minority of these hymns; Philip P Bliss was by far the most prolific writer of both lyrics and music, followed by blind writer Fanny Crosby for lyrics and a number of others (Lowry, Bradbury, and Root) for music. Bliss wrote the music, and mostly the words, for 23 of the 85 songs chosen for analysis. In comparison, Crosby wrote the words for five, and Sankey the music for three. To put this another way, out of 839 occurrences of these popular songs, Bliss wrote the music in 246 cases – a total of 29%. Three of Bliss' songs ('Hallelujah, 'tis done', 'Hold the fort', and 'With harps and with vials') had occurrences of twenty or more – only surpassed by the Doxology, which stands in a class of its own, and 'There is a fountain filled with blood'. It is interesting to speculate as to what Bliss' subsequent output and reputation would have been had he not been killed at a relatively early age in a train crash.¹⁰⁴

The great majority of the 85 most popular songs were written by American authors, key exceptions being classical hymns such as the Old Hundredth ('All people that on earth do dwell'), 'Rock of Ages', 'Jesus, lover of my soul', 'The Lord's my Shepherd', 'How sweet the name' and 'O happy day', and some newer ones such as 'Take my life' (the consecration hymn by Frances Ridley Havergal) and 'Just as I am'. At least 252 out of the total 1325 occurrences (19%) had lyrics (never music) written by women.¹⁰⁵

There are no Australian composers or poets represented – it was not until Torrey and Alexander unearthed gifted Bendigo musician Robert Harkness early in the twentieth century that a significant number of songs written by an Australian were included in a gospel song book.¹⁰⁶ This is indicative of the religious song situation as a whole – even books which were published here tended to be collections of

¹⁰⁴ He and his wife died together in 1876. More evidence of his popularity and public exposure comes from the wide coverage of this event in shocked reports in Australian newspapers.

¹⁰⁵ In some cases only the surname or initials with surname are given, making it impossible to identify the author if they are not well enough known to appear in biographical sources.

¹⁰⁶ See Keith Cole, 'Robert Harkness', *ADEB*, p. 155; Mansfield, 'Music of Revivalism', p. 137. Mansfield calculated that 70 of the 439 songs (16%) in 'Alexander's' are by Harkness. Cole says that he wrote the tunes for 61 and the lyrics for 14, and that there were 9 songs by Australian tenor Fred Morris, also from Bendigo. My count is that Harkness wrote the music for 65 songs, including several short choruses, arranged the music for 6, and wrote lyrics for 16, and that Fred Morris wrote the words for 13, including one or two which he co-authored or arranged.

songs written in the United Kingdom or the USA. There was of course some church music written in Australia, but in the gospel song genre all the popular music came from overseas. This both underlined and extended the sense that evangelical circles were part of a global movement. Even though many of the songs were by Americans, the fact that they were mediated through British meetings and editions of the songbooks meant that there was still a feeling of being part of an Empire-wide movement, rather than an American one.

There is an interesting contemporary comparison with a ‘hymn plebiscite’ ‘elaborately collated’ by an English clergyman in the 1880s.¹⁰⁷ This was based on an analysis of fifty-two hymnbooks, mostly ‘belonging to churches in the Anglican communion’, in which points were awarded according to how many times a hymn occurred in hymnals. Only four hymns appear in both the plebiscite and the list above: ‘Rock of Ages’, which was one of four top-scoring hymns in the plebiscite; ‘How sweet the name of Jesus sounds’, ‘Jesus, lover of my soul’, and the Old Hundredth. *Sacred Songs and Solos* would not have been a hymn book included for analysis, and in fact would not have been considered a true hymn book *per se*, being a collection for mission and gospel meetings, so it is not surprising that there is little overlap.

Mansfield has also analysed the theology and themes of the songs, based on songs apparently selected to illustrate her points. I do not argue with her general point, that the ‘theology is clear, straightforward, unambiguous and conservative ... the dire need of all people for salvation ... through the blood of Christ ... a substitutionary atonement appropriated by grace through faith’.¹⁰⁸ However, it is interesting that only two of the songs she quoted at any length are among those on the most popular list above (‘Almost Persuaded’ and ‘Hold the Fort’), and indeed, most are not in the complete database at all.¹⁰⁹ To some extent this must call into question her analysis of what theology was actually being absorbed by those who sang the songs.

¹⁰⁷ *Southern Cross*, 2 April 1886, p. 8.

¹⁰⁸ Mansfield, ‘The Music of Revivalism’, p. 127.

¹⁰⁹ Mansfield, ‘The Music of Revivalism’, pp. 127-135.

The following graph gives a visual representation of the songs most often sung, in order of popularity. All the drawbacks of this sort of selection have to be kept in mind – that reporters of meetings wrote down the songs which impressed them, or which they already knew; that some were missed because they were too busy writing something else; that we have to assume that their reports were reasonably accurate. Some meetings may have had a written program; for others they would have had to rely on their shorthand notes, which accounts for the times that they named several songs and then put ‘another hymn was sung’ for several more. A major point is that most of the meetings reported were evangelistic, and therefore the songs would already be a subset of Christian music in general. Nevertheless, this graph is still a better indication than anything else so far published of what was considered by organisers of the meetings, and choir and song leaders, to be singable or well-known pieces.

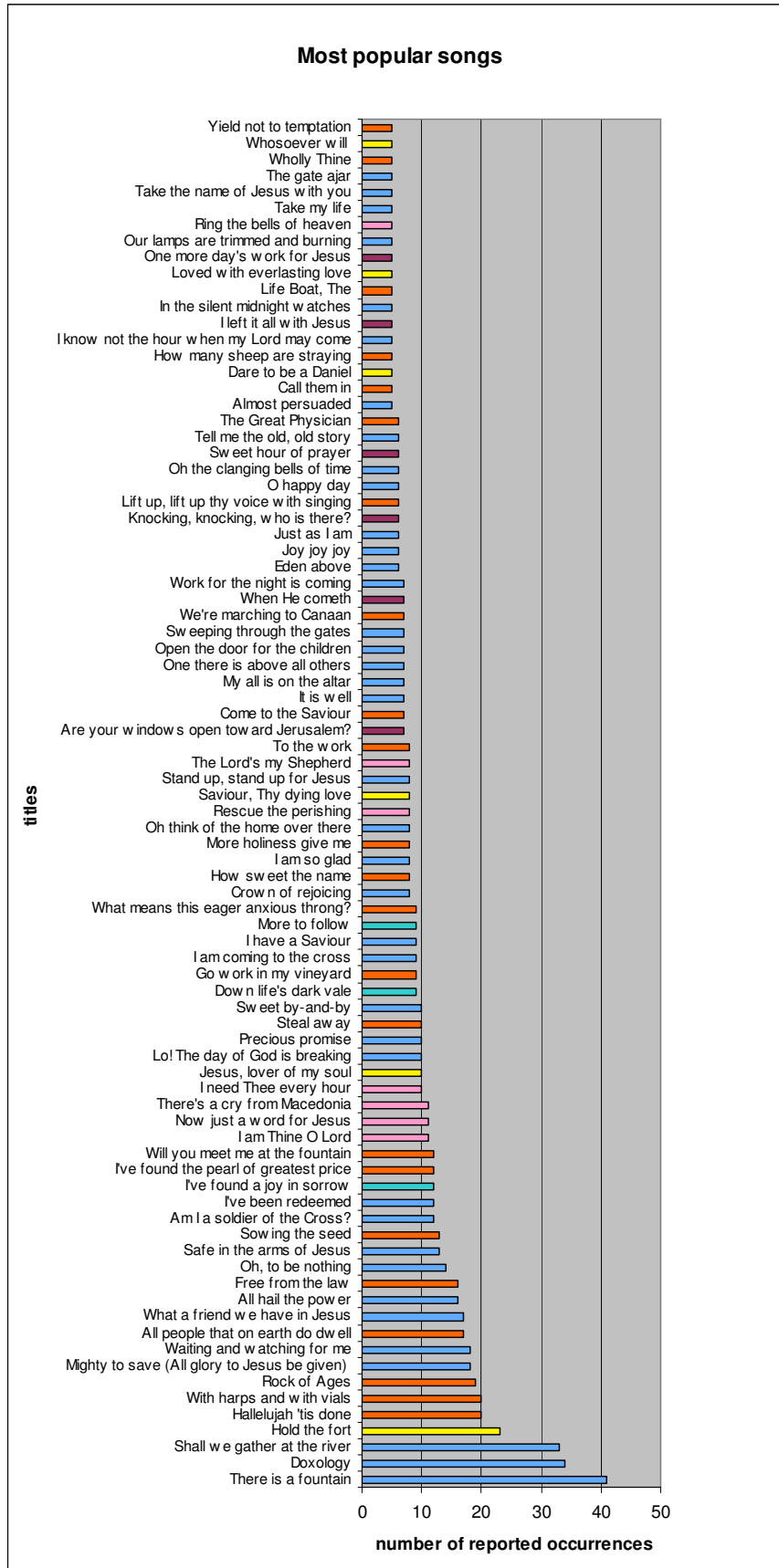
We can also speculate that there was a multiplier effect from the usage of certain songs. In those days before recorded music, a song which was sung often would be remembered, perhaps passed on at home, and picked up by denominational or local mission worship or song leaders. The same effect is observable today in respect of large inter-denominational conferences, for example the Hillsong conferences in Australia. Sometimes periodicals published words and music of current favourites, the most notable example being *Words of Grace*, a short-lived non-denominational paper of the late 1870s, which for some time published a song every month or so. Those on the ‘most popular’ list are marked above. A few are not mentioned in any other context,¹¹⁰ and some have not been able to be otherwise identified.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ ‘The Saviour Jesus has gone to prepare (a beautiful home in the sky)’, ‘A little while with Jesus’, ‘Beside the well at noontime’ (by Bliss, but not in *Sacred Songs and Solos*), ‘Grace, ‘tis a charming sound’ (SSS No. 81, later No. 9), ‘Hallelujah, He is risen’ (SSS No. 173, later No. 157), ‘I leave it all with Jesus’, ‘In the hour when guilt assails me’ (*New Hymns* No. 95, later edition of SSS No. 92), ‘Jesus saves me all the time’, ‘Lord Jesus, come’ (Hand and foot are weary) (by Bliss, but not in SSS), ‘Nothing unclean can enter in’, ‘The Father is keeping the helm in His hand’, The mercy seat (‘Great God, to us Thy help afford’), The midnight cry (‘Trim your lamps and be ready’), ‘There’s a home for little children’ (later edition of SSS No. 1130), ‘Thy Saviour stands waiting’, ‘Too late’ (a Crosby/Doane production but not in SSS), ‘Who will take care of me?’.

¹¹¹ ‘The Saviour Jesus has gone to prepare (a beautiful home in the sky)’, ‘A little while with Jesus’, ‘I leave it all with Jesus’, ‘Jesus saves me all the time’, ‘Lord Jesus, come’, ‘Nothing unclean can enter in’, ‘The

Table 2 overleaf: most popular songs, with five or more occurrences each

Christian soldier', 'The Father is keeping the helm in His hand', The mercy seat ('Great God, to us Thy help afford'), The midnight cry ('Trim your lamps and be ready'), 'Thy Saviour stands waiting', 'Too late', 'Who will take care of me?'.



The 41 reported occurrences of the eighteenth century hymn ‘There is a fountain’ by William Cowper perhaps distort the picture, as it was almost a theme song for Dr Somerville’s meetings, often used with a chorus of ‘I’ve been redeemed’.¹¹² It was a hymn that would have been familiar to many in the audience, combined with a lilting and singable new tune and chorus. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the sentiment, repugnant to many twenty-first century minds,¹¹³ was obviously considered both emotionally and theologically acceptable.

**50 Overleaf: ‘There is a fountain’ with chorus ‘I’ve been redeemed’,
as published in *Words of Grace*, October 1877.**

¹¹² The words and music of this version were printed in *Words of Grace*, October 1877, p. 24. I have not been able to find the author of the words of the chorus nor the composer for the music. There is what is obviously a version of the chorus, with verses beginning ‘Jesus, Thy precious blood’ to much the same tune as given for the verse in *Words of Grace*, on a cassette tape, *Springs of Living Water*, made by the Melbourne Male Voice Choir in the 1980s (author’s collection). No authors or composers are given on the cover. Given that much Christian male voice choir music comes from Scotland, it is probable that the Somervilles brought this version with them.

¹¹³ This is not necessarily my personal view, but I have lost count of the number of times that people have grimaced or commented when I have mentioned the most popular song.

I'VE BEEN REDEEMED.

[illegible][illegible]

I've been re - deemed, I've been re - deemed

I've been re - deemed, Been washed in the blood of the Lamb.

I've been re - deemed,

There is a fountain filled with blood, Drawn from Im-man-nel's veins;

And sin - ners plunged be - neath that flood, Lose all their guilt - y stains.

Another interesting comparison can be made with Vandyke's analysis, in which she examined the indexing of the hymns in four hymnals. In the process of establishing what she calls Moody's 'minimalist' approach to preaching and song selection, she identifies eight songs which are most frequently cited in Goodspeed's biography of Moody as being sung at services in the US and Great Britain in the 1870s.¹¹⁴ The following table lists them and it can be seen that most were also popular in Australia:

Table 3: comparison between Goodspeed's list and Australian occurrences

Title	Goodspeed occurrences 1870s	Australia 1870s	Australia 1870s-1890s
Hold the Fort	9	15	22
There were Ninety and Nine	9	0	2
Rock of Ages	5	17	18
Jesus of Nazareth Passeth By	5	0	0
Nothing but leaves	4	2	2
Safe in the Arms of Jesus	4	10	12
Jesus, Lover of my soul	4	8	10
I need Thee every hour	4	9	10

Sizer has done an extensive analysis of gospel hymns in the context of social religion and it is not my intention to follow this path, nor to engage in a literary examination of the lyrics. However, I have used her table of the relative frequency of hymn themes¹¹⁵ (based on her selection of hymns from five books including Sankey's *Gospel Hymns*) to group the most popular hymns in my database, and compare the figures.

¹¹⁴ Mary Louise VanDyke, 'Indices: More Than Meets the I', in Mark Noll and Edith Blumhofer (eds.), *Sing Them Over Again to Me: Hymns and Hymnbooks in America*, Tuscaloosa, 2006, p. 148

¹¹⁵ Sizer, *Gospel Hymns*, p. 172. For her methodology see pp. 161-171.

Table 4: Comparison between Sizer's analysis and Australian occurrences

Theme	Sizer – Gospel Hymns %	Database %
God: creator, holy, powerful	0.5	6.2
God/Jesus: conqueror, king	1.0	1.8
Repentance, atonement, damnation; Jesus a mediator	3.8	6.9
Grace, salvation	15.8	13.3
Jesus: refuge, guide, helper	14.8	13.6
Jesus: healer	1.1	2.1
Jesus: loving and beloved	17.4	5.0
Heaven	15.6	11.8
Christian pilgrimage	4.2	3.9
Mission, service	6.7	9.3
Christian fellowship and joy	0.2	-
Battle, storm	5.7	7.0
Jesus: suffering	2.0	-
Jesus: light and beauty	0.3	-
Holy Spirit, revival	1.5	-
Vanity of the world	0.0	-
Purity	2.1	0.6
Miscellaneous: Sabbath, morality, Bible, home, patriotism	2.1	-
Second coming*		3.4
Consecration/holiness*		7.1
Warning/invitation*		6.2
Unclassified	5.5	-
* = categories not on Sizer's list		

There are obvious limitations to this analysis: Sizer was examining the songs as they occurred in *Gospel Hymns*, whereas my calculations are based on numbers of reported occurrences of songs from any source,¹¹⁶ and limited to those songs which were reported five or more times. The figures would probably be slightly

¹¹⁶ However, by far the majority (83.5% of the entire database) can be found in *Sacred Songs and Solos*, whether or not they were sourced there by the users, and this underlines the use of these songs in the Christian community.

different if I had included all the songs mentioned, or the considerable number of songs with four occurrences noted earlier. Also, one would expect a bias in my list towards what might be called missional songs, as the great majority of songs were recorded at revival or gospel meetings. Of course the whole intention of *Gospel Hymns* or *Sacred Songs and Solos* was to provide a resource for meetings of this kind, so this should not be a major consideration.

Another problem is the placement of songs in the various categories. I have tried to follow the same basis for classification as Sizer, namely of regarding ‘the chorus as more important than the verses because of its repetitive use, and the first and last verses as more significant than the intervening ones’.¹¹⁷ However, given all the variable themes, there are doubtless songs whose classification could be questioned and whose placement is in the end one of personal choice.

Nevertheless, some general points can be made. It is not surprising that the proportion of songs in the categories of Grace/salvation and Jesus as a refuge, guide and helper is about the same, and that the database shows nearly double the use of songs on Repentance than are represented in the book, given the nature of the meetings. These are clearly the songs which organisers of such meetings would have hoped to impress on the minds of the audiences.

One category not on Sizer’s list is the Second Coming. She deliberately omitted some themes which appeared only in *Gospel Hymns* (she was analysing five hymnbooks in all), and premillennial songs were in that category. However, premillennialism was clearly part of the revivalist *mores* and so it is not surprising to find 3.4% of database songs in this category. Some of the songs on Heaven might possibly fall into that category too.

Another category not included was the one I have labelled Consecration/holiness. It is possible that Sizer would have placed some of these songs in categories such as Holy Spirit/revival, or Purity, but even so these do not add up to the 7.1%

¹¹⁷ Sizer, *Gospel Hymns*, p. 170.

found in the database. Many of these were sung at the various Christian conferences, which were often also reported in detail. There was an explosion of examples of these sorts of songs in the 1890s, with the Grubb missions. Many were not reported enough times to be included in the formal analysis, but if the full database¹¹⁸ is manipulated to sort the columns by date/place and then song, it will be obvious that there was an influx of such songs as ‘Spirit of burning, come’, ‘My idols I cast at Thy feet’, ‘Jesus, Thine all-victorious love’, and ‘Jesus, I am resting, resting’. These arose out of the holiness movement of the late nineteenth century, in particular the Keswick conferences in England which triggered the production of a hymnbook, *Hymns of Consecration and Faith*.¹¹⁹ When the database is manipulated as just suggested, it is striking how many of the 1890-2 songs are found in this book. Grubb had his own song books for his missions,¹²⁰ many of which songs were taken from this Keswick hymnal.¹²¹ However, 77% of the 52 songs were in one of the editions of *Sacred Songs and Solos*, again showing its pervasive influence in this religious milieu.

It is arguable that this increasing use of songs which emphasised Christian commitment and an inward spiritual yearning were symptomatic of a change in direction of revival meetings which was perhaps imperceptible at the time. The great campaigns of 1877-8 and 1883 were at least ostensibly and no doubt genuinely aimed at the unchurched masses, as well as lapsed and/or nominal churchgoers. By the late 1880s, it is noticeable with Clarke, Grubb and McNeill that there was almost an assumption that listeners had some church connection. The use of church buildings with Clarke and Grubb, the type of songs and the

¹¹⁸ Appendix C, on CD-ROM attached.

¹¹⁹ The earliest mention of this book (first edition) in Australia that I have seen is its use for a conference on holiness in Melbourne in 1879: *Southern Cross*, 19 April 1879, p. 2. This is another example of the speed with which British developments reached Australia. At a ‘Christian convention for the promotion of the spiritual life’ in Warrnambool, Victoria, in 1894, ‘it was generally agreed that had the convention done nothing more than make this book known to the Christians of the town, it would have been well justified.’ *Southern Cross*, 18 May 1894, p. 395.

¹²⁰ For example, *Hymn Book: Rev. G C Grubb’s Mission*, Melbourne: Mason, Firth & McCutcheon, 1891.

¹²¹ I have not been able to find a copy of the first edition, which is what would have been in use at the time, to see if any of the numbers given correlate with it. It was edited by the Rev. J Mountain (see title page of second edition), the Congregationalist minister who toured Australia with his wife in 1886. Copies of the second edition, edited by Mrs Evan Hopkins, are in libraries in Australia, but I was fortunate to be given one from my late step-mother Jean Gordon’s library. Webster, writing in about 1907, said that the book had undergone two revisions in ‘the last few years’: Charles F Harford (ed.), *The Keswick Convention: Its Method, Its Message and Its Men*, London, 1907, p. 213.

themes of their sermons, the attendance by well-dressed young people, and in McNeill's case, the lunch-hour meetings for businessmen, almost ensured that most attendees would have a knowledge of basic Christian doctrine. This is borne out by the increasing use of songs which, rather than appeal to sinners to repent, appealed to luke-warm or 'almost' Christians to be completely committed to Christ.

Another way of looking at the songs used is by their form. Again, I have used Sizer's divisions¹²² as a basis for comparison.

Table 5: Comparison of percentages of forms of songs: Gospel Songs and database

Form	Gospel Hymns %	Database %
1a. Description – statements, affirmations	38.2	36.4
1b. Description – stories	13.3	0.7
2a. Exhortations – to sinners	14.5	14.0
2b. Exhortations – to Christians	11.2	29.1
3a. Invocations – praise and thanksgiving	8.5	8.9
3b. Invocations – supplication, request	14.3	10.9

While the percentages are very similar for four of the categories, there are two major differences. Only one of the most popular songs, 'Joy, joy, joy',¹²³ seemed to fit the 'stories' category – it is based on the story of the prodigal son. 'The ninety and nine', perhaps the most famous 'story' gospel song, made famous by Sankey and his impromptu composition of the tune,¹²⁴ only appears twice in the full database, despite its simple but moving retelling of the story of the lost sheep. Perhaps it is significant that the two occurrences found were occasions when it was sung as a solo by J H Burke at two of McNeill's meetings. Possibly it was so identified with Sankey that it was only used by a soloist.

¹²² Sizer, *Gospel Hymns*, p. 173.

¹²³ This song was only noted at Somerville's meetings in 1877. It was published (words and music) in *Words of Grace* July 1878, p. 352, but is not in any edition of *Sacred Songs and Solos*.

¹²⁴ This story has been told many times. It is repeated, for example, in Allen, *Hymns and the Christian Faith*, p. 106.

The other notable contrast is that exhortations to Christians are almost triple in occurrence compared to their proportion in the book. This supports my previous contention that the later meetings, though overtly evangelistic, were not reaching a totally untaught audience, but were tacitly or even overtly directed towards Christians or church fringe dwellers.

The impact of the songs

The statistical analysis of songs used can only go so far. These were songs designed to stay in people's minds and hearts, and it is striking to note the widespread knowledge of these gospel hymns. A sacred concert of Philip Bliss's hymns, complete with full chorus and orchestral accompaniment, was advertised for St John's (Presbyterian) schoolroom in Macquarie Street, Hobart, in June 1878, and the ensuing review in the *Mercury* noted that Bliss was 'well-known as the author of "Hold the Fort"'.¹²⁵ This song, number 1 in the original edition of Sankey's, and based on an incident in the American Civil War, almost became the catch cry of the revivalist movement, and it is interesting that it caught on so well in Australia where the incident would not have had the same resonance. The *Spectator* commented that it was 'evidently ... familiar to the great majority' of 800 butchers and journeymen who gathered at Fitzroy Town Hall to hear Henry Varley in October 1877,¹²⁶ and when some opponents wanted to disturb Dr Somerville's meeting at Maryborough, one of their number played 'Hold the Fort' on the cornet, while others threw rocks on the grandstand roof.¹²⁷

A wide and surprising range of people were reported as being familiar with the songs. One could expect that Christian families on the Cup Day excursion to Brighton organised by Henry Varley would amuse themselves by singing Sankey's hymns on the crowded trains back to town.¹²⁸ It also seems fitting that

¹²⁵ *Mercury*, 3 June 1878, p. 3; 4 June 1878, p. 2.

¹²⁶ *Spectator*, 13 October 1877, p. 283.

¹²⁷ *Southern Cross*, 25 August 1877, p. 3.

¹²⁸ *Spectator*, 10 November 1877, p. 333.

the Rev. Anderson of Warrnambool died singing Sankey's hymns.¹²⁹ But it is somewhat unexpected to find that the ninety 'fallen women' to whom Dr Somerville spoke one night in July 1877 joined in the singing 'with evident heartiness' and (apparently) were glad to receive a copy of the later edition of Sankey's along with their bunch of violets.¹³⁰ Similarly, at a regular midnight supper for prostitutes at the People's Hall in Sydney in 1888, the women and girls apparently joined in with the Temperance brass band.¹³¹ One can only presume that they learnt the songs at mission hall services.

Other evidence that the hymns had reached further than the church-going middle classes is that sailors were well-acquainted with them. At a mission in Port Melbourne in 1878 sailors were reported as 'joining in heartily' with 'Hold the Fort';¹³² even if this had an element of satire for some, it still indicates some knowledge of the songs. Another time, when 200 men were present, they were said to be 'very fond' of Sankey's hymns,¹³³ and in Hobart, 'the whole body of men' (250) at a special outreach for sailors joined in the singing.¹³⁴ In Collingwood, the working classes gathered in the Gospel Tent joined in singing the songs heartily as a worker led them on the harmonium.¹³⁵ Indeed, there was a perception at the Gospel Hall of Bourke Street (in one of the rougher areas of central Melbourne) that 'the careless, indifferent, and depraved are gathered in ... by the sweet singing of hymns'.¹³⁶

Unexpected echelons of society were penetrated by the songs. At Pentridge Prison in Melbourne, or the Coburg Stockade as it was known at the time, prisoners appreciated the singing at Varley's meetings there.¹³⁷ Across Melbourne at the Yarra Bend Lunatic Asylum, some inmates joined in the songs when a Brethren

¹²⁹ Obituary, *Words of Grace*, July 1878, p. 330. The songs were 'Knocking, knocking, who is there?' (No. 19, later edition No. 422) and 'I have a Saviour ... I'm praying for you' (No. 106, later edition No. 350).

¹³⁰ *Southern Cross*, 21 July 1877, supplement.

¹³¹ *Australian Christian World*, 21 June 1888, p. 187.

¹³² *Willing Work*, 11 October 1878, p. 334.

¹³³ *Willing Work*, 15 November 1878, p. 381.

¹³⁴ *Willing Work*, 20 February 1880, p. 335.

¹³⁵ *Southern Cross*, 11 May 1878, p. 1.

¹³⁶ *Willing Work*, 29 April 1881, p. 135.

¹³⁷ *Age*, 3 December 1877, p. 2.

group visited there.¹³⁸ Going to the other end of the scale, there was a minor controversy in Melbourne in 1878 when ‘Observer’ asked in the *Age* whether it was consistent for children in the secular state school system at Footscray to sing Moody and Sankey hymns in school hours?¹³⁹ Two days later, ‘One Interested’ defended the practice of one or two hymns being included in the ‘infant repertoire’, and said that the words were not sectarian. This was (surprisingly) supported by the *Age*, which commented that ‘The words of the songs enclosed by our correspondent are harmless enough’.¹⁴⁰

The emotional effect on hearers and singers was also mentioned in reports. 1600 people present in the Geelong Mechanics Institute on a Sunday afternoon responded with ‘mingled surprise and pleasure ... on their faces’ to a ‘simple telling chorus’ newly added to the extremely popular eighteenth century hymn ‘There is a fountain filled with blood’.¹⁴¹ At the Melbourne Benevolent Asylum – a last refuge for the aged poor – the choir was very much appreciated, and the reporter noticed the ‘rapt, eager look of the aged wrinkled faces’ upon which ‘tears trickled down many wrinkled cheeks.’¹⁴² The huge amount of effort that went into training the choirs and organising the music was seen as worthwhile if it softened hardened hearts to listen to the gospel message.

This chapter has shown something of the impact of Sankey’s hymns in the first few years of their introduction in Australia and demonstrated how widespread was their appeal and use, notably in interdenominational evangelistic services. From these they filtered into regular use, particularly in the evening services of evangelical denominations, and in homes and other informal settings. For example, in Brisbane in 1888, the eleventh anniversary of the weekly evangelistic service which dated back to Dr Somerville’s visit was to be a praise service ‘consisting chiefly of singing the Gospel from a new book of songs just issued by Mr Ira D. Sankey’, and no doubt led as usual by the United Evangelistic Choir,

¹³⁸ *Willing Work*, 6 February 1880, p. 310.

¹³⁹ *Age*, 20 June 1878, p. 6.

¹⁴⁰ *Age*, 22 June 1878, p. 8. Unfortunately the songs are not listed.

¹⁴¹ *Southern Cross*, 11 August 1877, supplement.

¹⁴² *Southern Cross*, 4 August 1877, p. 2.

also a product of the 1877 mission.¹⁴³ This could be multiplied from many reports; Mansfield notes several Methodist examples in the 1880s.¹⁴⁴ As Benson wrote, this almost ubiquitous use was more the ‘culmination of a great popular success’ of a movement which had been growing for some decades than the inauguration of something new,¹⁴⁵ but clearly the songs took hold with both regular churchgoers and others less committed who were attracted to the meetings.

Two widely separated incidents (in time, place and occasion) are examples of how the songs saturated people’s thinking. In 1890, an ‘In Memoriam’ notice in Sydney had a clever version of a lesser-known song:

I have heard of a Saviour’s love,
And a wonderful love it must be,
But if He came down again from above
Will he bring my husband to me?¹⁴⁶

Twenty-five years later, the evangelical ship’s captain Robert Neville¹⁴⁷ took a saloon service for the troops on the HMNZ *Willochra* near Suez. 300 men were crammed into the space, and he had 100 Sankey’s hymn books for them to share. He reported that

A great many seem to know the hymns, and I told them it was a sign they had been to Sunday School and gospel meetings, so they knew what I was talking about...¹⁴⁸

In the first twelve years of the twentieth century, three major city wide missions were held in most of the state capitals by American evangelists Torrey and/or Chapman and song leader Alexander. A by-product of these meetings was a song book, produced in a number of editions, the most enduring of which was

¹⁴³ *Brisbane Courier*, 8 October 1888, p. 4.

¹⁴⁴ Joan Mansfield, ‘The Music of Revivalism, 1870-1910’, in Mark Hutchinson, Edmund Campion and Stuart Piggin (eds.), *Reviving Australia: essays on the history and experience of revival and revivalism in Australian Christianity*, Sydney, 1994, p. 126.

¹⁴⁵ Benson, *English Hymn*, p. 488.

¹⁴⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 March 1890, p. 1. THROWDEN.-In loving memory of my husband, Johnnie, who was accidentally killed by train at Harris Park, March 23, 1888. The third and fourth lines should read: ‘But did He come down from above, Out of love and compassion for me?’ (No. 258 in the 750-song version; 1182 in the 1200-word version).

¹⁴⁷ Neville was Brethren, a captain with the Union Steamship Company on the New Zealand-Australia run for many years, and a regular Bible teacher at conferences. See his obituary in *Australian Missionary Tidings*, November 1926, pp. 216-17.

¹⁴⁸ *Australian Missionary Tidings*, April 1915, p. 202.

Alexander's Hymns No. 3.¹⁴⁹ Mansfield has estimated that 'Not quite a third of its four hundred and thirty-nine items are songs also in *Sacred Songs and Solos*, and composers well-known from there are prominent in the remaining two-thirds'.¹⁵⁰ Twenty eight of these approximately 130 songs are on the most popular list above, and between thirty five and forty more are in the general database, which is some indication that these particular songs, whose use I have demonstrated, were deemed well known in Australia and had become part of the evangelistic repertoire here.

When Sankey died in 1908, his death was widely reported in Australia – at least a paragraph in most major newspapers, and often more. The Melbourne *Argus* called him the 'celebrated evangelist ... whose solos have such an enormous popularity that mention of any of them is unnecessary'.¹⁵¹ Such a statement in a secular, albeit conservative, paper is quite striking. Billington goes so far as to say that 'perhaps late Victorian revivalism made its most lasting impact not on the churches but on popular culture', because of the way gospel songs, mediated to the populace by copies of Sankey's books, found acceptance 'far beyond the churches'.¹⁵² My analysis and these incidents, coupled with the sales of the books, show that this was indeed the case.

¹⁴⁹ It was still commonly used in Baptist and Brethren, and possibly some Methodist, youth groups and evening services into the 1960s.

¹⁵⁰ Mansfield, 'Music of Revivalism', p. 137.

¹⁵¹ *Argus*, 17 August 1908, p. 5.

¹⁵² Louis Billington, 'Revivalism and popular religion', in Eric M Sigsworth (ed.), *In search of Victorian values: aspects of nineteenth-century thought and society*, Manchester, c1988, p. 158.

Chapter 7

‘An outrage upon propriety’:¹ attacking social evils

... such men as ... will tramp the world to no serviceable end as regards the reformation of the world - morally and spiritually.

Argus, 10 December 1877, p. 4.

Introduction

This chapter discusses the approaches taken by three of the leading evangelists in lectures on the ‘social evil’, and demonstrates that the acceptability of their views was in direct proportion to the discretion with which they addressed the subject. The first two speakers toured Australia in 1877-8, the third in 1886, and it is evident that, in the years between these dates, the rising tide of agitation on social purity issues made their public discussion more acceptable even in a little less than a decade. By Varley’s subsequent visits in 1888-91 he had become known and even to some extent accepted for his outspokenness on this topic, and he added gambling and financial speculation to his repertoire.

One of the social problems which came to more overt public attention during the last third of the nineteenth century was prostitution – referred to as ‘*the* social evil’ (italics mine). While it was by no means unacknowledged before this time, a growing concern for social purity (marching side-by-side with the growing temperance, i.e. total abstinence, movement) was evinced both in legislation and public meetings. Such meetings had to walk a tightrope between revealing facts that would shock people into action, and offending Victorian sensibilities about the public discussion, or even mention, of sexual matters. For example, the report

¹ *Argus*, 10 December 1877, p. 4.

of an international Anglican committee of bishops appointed to consider the subject of purity, and what the church might do about it, said that

We are not blind to the danger of dealing publicly with the subject of impurity. We dread the effect, especially upon the young, of any increased familiarity with the details of sin. Notwithstanding we hold that the time has come when the Church must speak with no uncertain voice.²

Three of the international speakers under discussion attempted this difficult task, with more or less success as will be seen: in fact the more certain the voice, the more certain the criticism. One of them, Henry Varley, as well as having the loudest voice on this issue, also had a wider view of endemic social evils, and attacked gambling and profiteering almost as ardently.

Concern at the consequences of prostitution had motivated the British government, and as a corollary colonial governments, to pass Contagious Diseases (CD) Acts from the late 1850s onwards. In Australasia, Queensland passed a CD Act in 1868, followed by New Zealand in 1869, and ordinances were passed in Victoria in 1878 and Tasmania in 1879. They arose out of concern at the rising rate of venereal diseases (a particular problem in India and other places where there was a large concentration of military men deprived of normal domestic relationships), both on account of the loss of efficiency in the army and because it was feared VD would spread to the general community.³ The CD Acts aimed to control the spread of VD by 'compulsory medical inspection of common prostitutes and forcible detention in hospitals for the diseased.'⁴ As there were so many variables in their execution, they were not always successful in containing the spread of disease.

They were, however, coincidental with other measures of sexual control, such as the raising of the age of consent for females, a growing campaign against masturbation, and suppression of homosexuality, pornography, incest, and

² *Australian Record*, 13 October 1888, p. 4.

³ Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*, London, New York, 2003, pp. 40-1; Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality*, Manchester, 1992, p. 66.

⁴ F M L Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society*, London, 1988, p. 257.

soliciting.⁵ This may be seen as a rise in the standard of social and moral purity expected (if not always practised) by the growing middle classes and the ‘respectable’ poor, and is reflected in legislation and in societies such as Social Purity Leagues which were formed to combat the perceived and imperfectly concealed evils which were corrupting society. Typical of their action was the deputation from the Social Purity Society, consisting of several ministers of religion, eminent lawyers, and prominent citizens, which waited on the NSW Premier in 1886, presenting him with a draft bill for raising the age of consent to 18, and for punishing men who used threats, drugs, or liquor to ‘overcom[e] ... virtuous scruples’.⁶

However, as reformers such as Josephine Butler pointed out, the legislative approach of the CD Acts addressed only one side of the problem; it did not attempt to reform the males in the equation. Her long-drawn-out but ultimately successful campaign, comprising nearly twenty years of agitation and lobbying, resulted in the Acts being progressively repealed in the 1880s.⁷ Philippa Levine argues that ‘The moral illegitimacy of the occupation [of prostitution], its status as non-work, helped to justify the coercive and one-way nature of legislation that at no point in its history seriously sought to question or to control male behaviour.’⁸ Evangelicals added their voices to the campaign, believing that the CD Acts in no way addressed the heart of the problem: personal sin and a disregard for God’s laws, with the inevitable awful consequences. They also objected to the inequity in the legislation, and to the degrading tests to which prostitutes were subjected.

Somerville

The Rev. A N Somerville was generally well-accepted wherever he went in his tour of Australasia in 1877-8, apparently because of his ‘venerable appearance’

⁵ Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality*, Manchester, 1992, pp. 66-71.

⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 July 1886, p. 6.

⁷ Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality*, pp. 64-6.

⁸ P Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*, New York and London, 2003, p. 48.

(constantly commented on),⁹ silvery hair, and Scottish accent and demeanour. His preaching, although based on the Bible, was replete with allusions and anecdotes, and obviously appealed to the Romantic sensibilities of his audience. Many of his points were made by inference and even euphemism. Thus his famous sermon entitled 'The Fiery Furnace', used a 'very vivid and highly imaginative picture' of the Biblical story of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego in Nebuchadnezzar's burning fiery furnace,¹⁰ to appeal to young men to stand up to the modern day tests of their faith in the same spirit, and to 'sacrifice themselves in the cause of Christ'.¹¹

This one and three quarter hour peroration was 'frequently interrupted by loud bursts of applause' in Melbourne, where the meeting was chaired by the chief justice, Sir William Stawell, and attended by over 4,000 people of both sexes, with an admission charge in aid of the YMCA building fund.¹² Somerville's address was to a mixed audience, although aimed at young men, whereas later, Henry Varley spoke on occasion to male-only audiences more directly about 'purity', a topic which tended to engender outrage if not carefully handled.

Somerville's 'Fiery Furnace' address was given on a Monday evening in Geelong to 1500 people,¹³ and in Sydney 'fully five thousand people' crowded into the Exhibition Building.¹⁴ He gave the talk in Launceston, and was invited back from there for one night in Hobart, where again the entrance money went to raise funds for a YMCA building. In Hobart, seats were reserved at the front of the crowded Town Hall for young men, and the *Mercury* reported an unprecedented demand for tickets, with provision for about 1000 to attend.¹⁵

In going through the story, Somerville did not just exhort young men to live pure lives, but showed that Christianity was a religion that 'convey[ed] an exalted idea

⁹ e.g. *Southern Cross*, 30 June 1877, p. 1; *Argus*, 7 December 1877 p. 7.

¹⁰ Daniel chapter 3

¹¹ *Argus*, 17 July 1877, p. 5.

¹² *Argus*, 17 July 1877, p. 5.

¹³ *Southern Cross*, 18 July 1877, p. 2.

¹⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 September 1877, p. 5.

¹⁵ *Mercury*, 26 June 1878, p. 2.

of the moral character of God ... [gave] a true exhibition of man ... [met] his deep necessities, and deliver[ed] him from sin ...' Citing these as the 'internal evidences' for Christianity, he also stated the 'external evidences ...: the life, the death, and the resurrection of Christ ...' Based on these foundations, 'the temptations to which young men were specially exposed were ... dwelt upon, and the lecturer urged his audience to copy the example of those referred to in his text, to resist the allurements of appetites, to make the association of good companions, and to exercise themselves in secret and social prayer.'¹⁶

This is a public newspaper summary of his talk, and is likely to have glossed over any perceived indelicacies. However, it seems unlikely that there were any, given that Somerville's sermon was received with acclaim in every centre. The theme was encapsulated in the rousing hymn which nearly always seems to have been sung at the end:

Dare to be a Daniel!
Dare to stand alone!
Dare to have a purpose firm and
Dare to make it known!¹⁷

The emphasis was on the behaviour of the young men and Somerville's exhortation to them was to live pure lives for Christ and through His power. There was little recognition of the societal pressures, infrastructure, and double standards which underlay the putative immoral behaviour, despite the fact that in the Biblical story, Daniel and his friends had withstood considerable (life-threatening) pressure from the despotic government of their exile to conform to non-Jewish habits and worship. Somerville's emphasis was more on the purity of their lifestyle (they had refused rich Babylonian food and kept to a plain Jewish diet) and their steadfastness under temptation.¹⁸ In a more specific address to men only, six thousand of whom crammed into the Exhibition Building in Sydney on a Friday night, Somerville warned against sexual licence.

¹⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 September 1877, p. 5.

¹⁷ *Sacred Songs and Solos* No. 707, early edition No. 7; song by P P Bliss.

¹⁸ Daniel chapters 1-4.

Somerville's concern for social purity also led, in Melbourne, to a midnight meeting where he spoke to about ninety prostitutes, in an effort to reach the 'fallen and outcast'. Within the Polytechnic Hall, on what we may suppose to be a cold July night, 'the tables were nicely laid out, and the walls ... decorated with beautiful illuminated texts, giving the place a look of freshness and welcome.' The *Southern Cross* reporter thought it a 'sad sight to see the many young and middle-aged, who bore on their faces the marks of their sinful lives.' It is not clear who 'gathered in' the audience, nor what the women's reactions were, except that they joined in singing Sankey's hymns with 'evident heartiness', and several went off afterwards to Dr Singleton's retreat. No doubt the warm hall and the supper were at least partly an attraction. One wonders what they made of, and did with, the booklet of Sankey's hymns, illustrated book, and bunch of violets with which they were each presented.¹⁹ In contrast to other meetings, there seems to have been no appeal for conversions, even though the audience must have comprised a much larger percentage than usual of those who were seen as sinners. There was a similar meeting in Sydney, where the 'city missionaries and others gathered together a considerable company of fallen women' and Dr Somerville 'kindly urg[ed] them to forsake their evil course of conduct.'²⁰

It is notable that in Somerville's addresses on this subject, young men were seen as being subject to temptation (presumably from ladies of ill-repute), and thus to some extent helpless victims, whereas the women were seen as the temptresses, living lives of sinful conduct. Both activities were labelled sinful, but there is a (perhaps unconscious) sense that the young men had less agency in the matter.

Somerville also spoke to meetings of women only, a practice castigated by the *Argus*. This paper thought it an 'outrage upon propriety this assembling of men and women separately to receive religious instruction and admonition ... these one sex revival meetings [are] improper and insidious,' because the

¹⁹ *Southern Cross*, 21 July 1877, Supplement.

²⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 October 1877, p. 4.

‘exclusiveness observed holds up to prurient minds a vague expectancy which is irresistible, and excites a morbid curiosity...’²¹. Nevertheless, Somerville’s meetings for women mostly seem to have been reasonably innocuous; 2,400 attended one in Wesley Church, when ‘streams went away unable to get in’, and Somerville spoke on John 20:1-18,²² indicating the ‘important and honoured places women occupied in the New Testament.’ It seems likely from the tenor of this report that the majority of the audience were already church attendees, although ‘a large number held up their hands ... as a token that they had that night decided for the Lord.’²³ The sermon was not addressing them as fallen women in any sense, nor implying a need for purity.

A similar meeting was held in Geelong. Although of the approximately 1800 who attended, many working class women came from the ‘lanes and byways of the town ... and the woollen factories’ after they had been visited and invited, there is no implication that this was a particularly sinful audience. Somerville preached from Proverbs 31, the chapter on the virtuous woman whose price is far above rubies, and about half the audience remained to an after-meeting, where of fifty one ‘anxious’ women twenty six eventually professed Christ.²⁴ An ‘Evangelistic Address for Women Only’ was held in the Exhibition Building in Sydney as well. One of the reasons for holding such meetings may have been to enable women to come while their husbands minded the children. There may also have been families who would not want their womenfolk to be out at night in a large mixed audience without a partner.

Somerville did get into trouble in Brisbane, where one of these meetings solely for women turned into something of a farce and brought a tinge of notoriety to the otherwise respected evangelist. An evening meeting attended by about 1800 women, where again Proverbs 31 was the topic, was fairly unexceptionable, with the usual ‘power and awful responsibility of the mother over her children ...

²¹ *Argus*, 10 December 1877, p. 4.

²² The story of Jesus’ resurrection and recognition by Mary Magdalene.

²³ *Southern Cross*, 21 July 1877, Supplement.

²⁴ *Southern Cross* 18 August 1877, Supplement p. 1.

graphically described.’ Somerville recommended, as he had in other places, the ‘formation of a ladies’ association’, which could, among other things, welcome immigrant girls to the colony and hold mothers’ meetings.²⁵ Four or five hundred women remained for an after meeting, and Somerville seems to have addressed a dozen or so young women who stood to acknowledge their sinfulness as though they were fallen women. ‘Bohemian’, in his column in *The Week*, satirised the occasion, picturing the truly ‘naughty ladies’ giggling their way home over the discomfiture of their basically innocent sisters.²⁶

The editor of the *Queensland Evangelical Standard* objected to ‘Bohemian’s’ sarcastic comments and tried to lighten the mood by saying that he had to find something to write about every week, and religious topics were tempting fare. However, he objected to his ‘turn[ing] into ridicule the proceedings at a special service for women’ – avoiding the question of whether Dr Somerville had over-reacted in the situation by saying that the women’s ‘consciences were their truest accusers.’²⁷ A letter from ‘Observer’ also complained of ‘Bohemian’s’ treatment of the meeting. Neither defended Somerville so much as attacked ‘Bohemian’, and they may well have been trying to divert attention away from what seems to have been a misunderstanding on Somerville’s part.

This is articulated by the Brisbane correspondent of the *Argus*, who called it a ‘terrific blunder’ and asserted that the young women who stood up as being ‘sensible of having led a life of sin’ did so based on their understanding that all men are sinners. The correspondent claimed to know three of the young women, ‘exemplars of all that is innocent and pure in girlhood’, and, in a passage of purple prose, complained that Somerville, completely misreading the situation, ‘harangued these innocents as lost sheep’, and took them out to a back room in front of the others present, where he ‘solemnly deprecated their immoral courses, and prayed for them as a group of Magdalenes.’ The young women are portrayed

²⁵ *Brisbane Courier*, 19 October 1877, p. 2.

²⁶ *The Week (Telegraph)*, 27 October 1877, p. 530. “Bohemian” refers to an afternoon meeting, but this was held later for the purpose of establishing the ladies’ association. It seems unlikely that it would be the occasion for the sort of appeal described.

²⁷ *Queensland Evangelical Standard*, 3 November 1877, p. 209.

as ‘hysterically weeping with shame, confusion, and anguish’, unable to find the words to make the necessary delicate explanation of his mistake to Somerville.²⁸

Despite the overblown description of the incident, it does seem that something of the sort occurred, and Somerville’s concern for social purity led him to over-enthusiasm in pursuing sinners. The *Argus* commented that he was either ‘so unworldly, or so obtuse, that he could not grasp the situation’, and that it was ‘one of the most ghastly serio-comedies that was ever enacted inside a conventicle.’ The *Argus* took the opportunity to link this incident with Henry Varley’s meetings for men only, and made its criticism of single-sex meetings which has been noted earlier.²⁹

A meeting in each major centre was also aimed at the intemperate. At the one in Brisbane, Somerville avoided listing the dangers of drunkenness, already well known to (and probably experienced by) his audience; he rather sought to make them feel ‘a new hope of the possibility of being delivered from the thralldom of this awful curse ... through the Gospel of love...’³⁰ This seems to have been Somerville’s manner, in general: he sought to appeal to people’s consciences or sensibilities by an emphasis on the love of God and the possibility of change inherent in acceptance of the Gospel. This is consonant with his friendship with Moody, who emphasised the love of God³¹ and whose sermons were sometimes criticised for their lack of emphasis on repentance.

Varley

In contrast with Somerville, Henry Varley was always happy to engage in public controversy, and expressed himself forthrightly on social issues throughout his career. According to a letter to the editor from well-known Hobart doctor and philanthropist Henry Benjafield, he was approached to stand for the seat of

²⁸ *Argus*, 7 December 1877, p. 7.

²⁹ *Argus*, 10 December 1877, p. 4.

³⁰ *Brisbane Courier*, 29 October 1877, p. 2.

³¹ John Pollock, *Moody without Sankey*, London, 1963, pp. 72-3.

Chelsea in the House of Commons at one point.³² The following letter from him to *The Times* attests his interest, involvement and influence in local politics:

Sir, -- In *The Times* of this day it is stated that my interest has been secured on behalf of Mr Odgers for Chelsea; such is not the case. While I believe Mr Odgers eminently qualified to represent the great constituency of labour in the House of Commons, I feel that my first duty is to take such a course as will strengthen Mr. Gladstone's hands.

The statement makes out that I command far more influence among voters than I do. Nevertheless I have some measure, and shall seek to exercise it in view of the responsibility such position entails.³³

It is evident from this letter that Varley, though only in his early thirties, was something of a household name in London, and considered to have some influence – evidently on the Liberal side of politics, a cause frequently supported by Dissenters. This awareness of influence may have contributed to his somewhat magisterial tone when addressing social problems in Australia, where although he was known among evangelicals, his name did not have the same cachet.

After his prolonged visit to Australia in 1877-9 he was also active in the campaign against Charles Bradlaugh, the notorious freethinker and radical atheist who promulgated both republicanism and birth control. He fought to have him excluded from the House of Commons during the five years (1880-85) in which Bradlaugh even more tenaciously fought through the courts to have the right to take up his seat by making an affirmation rather than the oath.³⁴ Material in Bradlaugh's papers includes addresses and manifestos by Varley to the electors of Northampton, anti-Bradlaugh leaflets and circulars, and addresses to the House of Commons. One leaflet, 'An Appeal to the Men of England', stated that 'Mr Bradlaugh [had been] shown to be utterly unfit to represent any English constituency'.³⁵ There is also a copy of a file in which Derby wrote to Bradlaugh,

³² Letter from Dr H Benjafield, *Launceston Examiner*, 22 March 1878, p. 3.

³³ *The Times*, 27 October 1868, p. 3 col F.

³⁴ Edward Royle, 'Charles Bradlaugh', in *ODNB*.

³⁵ Bradlaugh papers, Bishopsgate Institute, London, catalogue reference Bradlaugh/946, 27 Feb 1882. Another edition of this pamphlet is at Bradlaugh/1050, dated June 1883, and annotated "120th thousand" – an indication of the intense interest this furore aroused. From A2A database at <http://www.a2a.org.uk>.

‘enquiring whether comments made by Henry Varley about Bradlaugh’s support of extreme views on birth control, are true or not.’³⁶

It is clear that Varley was prepared over a long period to engage in public controversy, or what he would have designated as fighting for the truth and Christian morality. A few years later the *Australian Christian World* welcomed his return to Australia by writing, ‘He was the only man whose moral and Christ-like courage dared to beard the blaspheming Northampton M.P. in his electioneering den, and expose his obscenities.’³⁷ Later they wrote, ‘He is much more than an ordinary evangelist. He is a champion of social purity, and a mighty man of valour in all crusades against injustice, immorality, and all kinds of wickedness.’³⁸ This was certainly the image Varley wished to convey.



51: Henry Varley in Melbourne, 1877³⁹

³⁶ Bradlaugh papers, Bishopsgate Institute, London, catalogue reference Bradlaugh/1104, 9 April 1884.

³⁷ *Australian Christian World*, 23 August 1888, p. 766.

³⁸ *Australian Christian World*, 5 December 1888, p. 654.

³⁹ *Words of Grace*, October 1877, p. 6.

In his first visit to Melbourne in 1877 Varley eventually aroused some indignation. His preaching was well received at first, though with a more outspoken and direct style than Somerville's: 'His addresses are ... highly useful in arresting sinners, and ... stimulating sluggish Christians ... He is a ruthless spiritual iconclast and very thorough in his method of preaching saving truth...' ⁴⁰ However, as time went on and he spoke out on social purity, his frank terminology and aggressive, even offensive, style was bound to affront people.



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nla.pic-vn3082431-v

52: Melbourne Town Hall, 1880s⁴¹

Varley's address on 'The Social Evil' in Melbourne Town Hall was indeed hard-hitting. While both Varley and Somerville were concerned about young men becoming embroiled in sexual sin, Varley also spoke about married men, which struck at the veneer of respectability which marriage gave to many middle-class men. In his 'Introduction to the Second Edition', he says that he has been

⁴⁰ *Australian Witness*, 7 December 1878, p. 5.

⁴¹ Photograph in *Album of views of Tasmania, Victoria and South Australia*, from the private library of Harry Grattan-Guinness, National Library collection, digitised at <http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-vn3077491>.

deeply pained to hear of the low tone of morality among many of the married men of this city. ... As an Englishman I feel degraded by what I have been compelled to hear of a recent Royal visit⁴² to this city; also concerning the elegantly-furnished brothels, where fine houses, music, and education, are prostituted in order to make this terrible social crime 'respectable'...

In bringing these accusations into the public arena, Varley went beyond the bounds of acceptability. The Melbourne City Council's Public Works Committee banned him from holding meetings in the Town Hall as a result of this talk, claiming that he had used 'the most objectionable language'.⁴⁴ Judging by a letter to the *Argus*, discussion was rife in the community: a W H Bird, having been present at the talk, wrote that he

certainly heard not the slightest thing that could be called either 'awful' or 'indecent'. He was speaking to an audience of men, upon an evil which is a crying disgrace to our city. It is a theme seldom spoken of by ministers – ... they all acknowledge it is an evil of the first magnitude, yet from a false sense of delicacy ... abstain from warning young men to flee from it. Yet, the first man who is bold enough to speak of it is directly hooted.⁴⁵

A copy of his address was published by C Scown in Melbourne on his own responsibility.⁴⁶ This pamphlet itself attained some notoriety: a columnist in the *Tasmanian Mail* wrote that, 'Although the booksellers have refused ... to sell his pamphlet, the 'nasty thing' finds its way surreptitiously from hand to hand, and is by no means calculated to serve any good purpose. It is prurient and nauseous.'⁴⁷

The issue of delicacy alludes to the manner in which Varley spoke. Davison says that he was 'a master of sensationalism and innuendo',⁴⁸ and clearly the frankness, and, as some regarded it, the coarseness of his statements was shocking to many

⁴² It seems Varley is referring to the visit of Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, in 1868, although nine years before hardly seems recent. However, see Raelene Frances, *Selling Sex: A Hidden History of Prostitution*, Sydney, 2007, p. 128, in which she says that Prince Alfred was introduced to 'Melbourne's demi-monde' by none other than the Chief Commissioner of Police, Frederick Standish, who was 'intimately acquainted' with it 'in both a personal and professional capacity.'

⁴³ Henry Varley, *Full address on the Social Evil*, 2nd ed., rev. and enl., Melbourne: C T Scown, 1878, p. 6.

⁴⁴ *Argus*, 11 December 1877, p. 9.

⁴⁵ *Argus*, 11 December 1877, p. 10.

⁴⁶ A Mr G H Scown, presumably a relative and a 'competent shorthand writer' had taken the address down verbatim.

⁴⁷ *Tasmanian Mail*, 30 March 1878, p. 3 col. 1.

⁴⁸ Graeme Davison et al (eds.), *The Outcasts of Melbourne*, Sydney, 1985, p. 49.

who would not have heard such overt discussion of sexual matters before. Thus the language of Varley's address was clearly disturbing, quite apart from the content. The following list shows the occurrences of words likely to offend Victorian (in both senses of the word) sensibilities: passion(s) (12 times), lust (9), harlots (6), sexual intercourse (2), fornication (2), adultress/adultery (2), lascivious, licentiousness, self-abuse, prostitutes, whorish (1 each).

The fact that Varley spoke in specifics, rather than in euphemisms like Somerville, meant that his address was in another league as regards shock factors. Varley had an hypothesis that sexual intercourse, or 'spending seed', sapped a man's energy and left him debilitated: 'It is high time we men remembered that the life is in the seed, and that our health, our true happiness, our life, with a vigorous mental and physical manhood and a ripe old age, are placed to a large extent in our hands.'⁴⁹ He expatiated on this theory in more detail in his book.⁵⁰ This theory meant that he went beyond warning young unmarried men to resist temptation, although he did this powerfully, appealing to them to put themselves under the power of Christ to enable such resistance.⁵¹ He also gave specific instructions, such as the avoidance of stimulants (i.e. strong drink), 'obscene books', 'lascivious conversation ... [and] representations at the theatre which tend to inflame these unholy passions.'⁵²

However, Varley also referred to a 'distinguished medical man in England' to back up his case, averring that he had been told that the 'impoverishment produced by sexual intercourse' was a loss 'equivalent to five ounces of blood', and speculating that many men in the lunatic asylum at Yarra Bend or currently hanging around Little Bourke Street had come to such a pass because of over-indulgence in sex.⁵³ Thus he advocated that, whereas Martin Luther set a limit of once a week for sexual intercourse, 'I would say once a month, and thus gradually

⁴⁹ Varley, *Full Address*, p. 9.

⁵⁰ Henry Varley, *The curse of manhood: and lecture to men*, 8th ed. carefully rev., London: n.p., [1887], and several other editions.

⁵¹ Varley, *Full Address*, pp. 17-20.

⁵² Varley, *Full Address*, p. 11.

⁵³ Varley, *Full Address*, p. 12.

let the passion die out as God intends.’ This, he contended, would be far better for the health of both husband and wife (and although he does not mention the fact, such a practice would have the effect of reducing the number of pregnancies). As he put it, ‘You cannot spend your sovereign and have it in your pocket.’⁵⁴

Such blatant discussion of personal sexual practice between husband and wife was basically unheard of, and must have been the major reason that there was such shock and disgust among city councillors and their ilk. Another reason may well have been Varley’s criticism of Melbourne as a site of vice. Men who were used to thinking of their city as prosperous and successful, with the magnificent new Town Hall and the stately Public Library, must have been chagrined to read Varley’s description of a Sunday morning visit to Little Bourke Street,⁵⁵ and to hear or read that he knew of ‘no other city, the size of Melbourne, that has so many prostitutes in it. I know no city the size of this on the face of God’s earth with five or six such debasing places of amusement in it as Melbourne has.’ Typically he said at this point, ‘I care nothing for your opinions; I speak the truth against all comers.’⁵⁶ Such an attitude was not going to endear him, a visitor to boot, to the local powerbrokers. It was such an attitude that caused a major furore in Launceston a few months later.

Curiously, Varley did not adduce all the Scriptural support he might have for his crusade against immorality. There are many passages in both Old and New Testaments which inveigh against this, and Varley’s other sermons show a close familiarity with many parts of the Bible, but in this address he used only two or three passages: 1 Corinthians 7, where Paul says it is better for a man not to touch a woman, the story of Samson and Delilah, and Proverbs 7 and 8. The Old Testament passages both deal with situations of temptation and adultery, which suited Varley’s theme; surprisingly, he does not refer to passages such as 1 Corinthians 6:18-20 about the body being the temple of Holy Spirit, and to the

⁵⁴ Varley, *Full Address*, p. 13.

⁵⁵ Varley, *Full Address*, p. 6.

⁵⁶ Varley, *Full Address*, p. 16.

basic texts such as the Ten Commandments⁵⁷ and the Sermon on the Mount⁵⁸ which both have strictures against sexual immorality.

Although the Melbourne City Council rescinded the ban on the use of the Town Hall after the representations made by Varley and his supporters, they required him to ‘undertake that like matters should not be mentioned again’, and expressed their ‘strong disapproval’ of both the nature and substance of his talk.⁵⁹ Varley himself may have realised he had overstepped the mark; although his letter to the Council claimed that ‘exaggerated statements’ of what he had said had reached their ears, he also said that if, on examination of the facts, they still thought he had ‘exceeded the bounds of propriety’ he would withdraw the offending expressions.⁶⁰ He was reported as saying that ‘the subject he had to handle was one of great delicacy. He spoke out plainly, but with no wish to offend anyone’s sense of delicacy.’⁶¹

He was supported at the Public Works Committee meeting by the Hon. James Balfour MLC and the Rev. H B Macartney (jnr), but even Macartney – generally well-received and respected – received ‘strong disapproval’ for what he said, presumably in an introduction to the address, and Balfour, the classic example of a Scottish pillar of society,⁶² told the Committee that if he had been consulted beforehand he would have advised Varley to withhold one or two things from his speech.⁶³ Interestingly, it appears that Varley did not give the same talk again in any other cities, although the pamphlet circulated, and he published a number of other booklets and books on sexual morality and mores.⁶⁴

⁵⁷ Exodus 20.

⁵⁸ Matthew 5.

⁵⁹ *Argus*, 13 December 1877, p. 5. The vote was a close 4-3 in Varley’s favour.

⁶⁰ *Argus*, 11 December 1877, p. 9.

⁶¹ *Argus*, 13 December 1877, p. 5.

⁶² See Andrew Lemon, *The Young Man from Home: James Balfour, 1830-1913*, Carlton, 1982.

⁶³ *Argus*, 13 December 1877, p. 5.

⁶⁴ *The combined Lecture to men and Curse of manhood*, 20th ed. carefully rev., London, Glasgow, 1901; *The curse of manhood: and lecture to men*, 8th ed. carefully rev., London, [1887]; *Lecture to men only: on a vitally important subject, containing invaluable information*, Melbourne, [192-?]; *Private address to boys and youths on an important subject: containing invaluable information for boys, youths, and parents*, Melbourne, 1893.

His reputation went before him, and people expressed disgust that such things should be mentioned before respectable people. For example, in the ‘rather warm discussion’ that ensued when Varley’s supporters Charles Crosby and Robert Mather applied to the Hobart City Council for permission to use the Town Hall for his meetings, Alderman Daly said ‘it would be a disgrace to let it for the delivery of such lectures as the pamphlet in question’.⁶⁵ The Council did agree to let it, but the impression is that this may have been because of Crosby’s and Mather’s standing in the community.

Varley’s address changed the way in which he was viewed by the press. In general the religious press had welcomed him as a well-known colleague of Moody and Sankey. The Methodist paper, the *Spectator*, pointed out in August 1877 that as he was self-supporting he must be seen as having disinterested motives, and considered that there was no fanaticism – ‘not a trace of undue excitement in his delivery of the great doctrines that he enforces.’ In fact, they paid him the compliment that ‘his addresses are such as a sensible and earnest Anglo-Saxon ... would deliver to practical men.’⁶⁶ This ‘entire absence of excitement’ was ‘contrary to what many probably expected’, but they felt there was also a ‘deep current of subdued emotion.’⁶⁷ The *Southern Cross*’ view that ‘he has the orator’s presence, the orator’s self-poise and command, and above all the orator’s voice’⁶⁸ was the other side of this coin. However, they also noted that ‘he never softens a hard hit, but speaks it out with uncompromising force.’⁶⁹

This was all to the good when presenting the truths of the Gospel, but they also noted a little later during Varley’s altercation with Bishop Moorhouse about attendance at the theatre, that he thought that church establishments ‘foster pride, self-importance, notions of supremacy, and exclusive privilege – that they injure the kingdom in proportion as they secure material and exceptional advantages for

⁶⁵ *Launceston Examiner*, 14 March 1878, p. 2.

⁶⁶ *Spectator*, 11 August 1877, p. 174.

⁶⁷ *Spectator*, 11 August 1877, p.171.

⁶⁸ *Southern Cross*, 25 August 1877, p. 1.

⁶⁹ *Southern Cross*, 11 August 1877, Supplement.

the church.’⁷⁰ This sort of language was not calculated to keep friends among an ecclesiastical establishment already wary of his meetings.

The *Argus* had been critical of revival meetings well before Somerville and Varley set foot on Australian shores in 1877. An editorial in 1874 tepidly acquiesced in the idea that at least a revival would do not harm, and might do some good.⁷¹ However, a later article was scathing about Moody and Sankey – ‘the [possible] infliction of a visit’, ‘ridiculous emotional outbursts’, ‘impertinent threatenings and ignorant denunciations of mercenary scoundrels’, ‘two Yankee buffoons’.⁷² It backed this up with articles describing the Moody and Sankey campaigns negatively.⁷³ That Varley knew about these articles is evident from the Introduction to the *Social Evil* booklet, where he accuses the *Argus* of having a ‘covert’ plan to ‘bring into contempt the preaching of the Gospel’, and says this is obvious from the fact that they ‘assailed us [Moody, Sankey and himself] in the most unscrupulous manner’ in articles in and after March 1875.⁷⁴ Varley’s combative nature rose to the challenge, and he took any criticism of his frank talk on sexual ethics as a direct attack on the declaration of the gospel.

The *Argus* also disapproved of Varley’s status as a layman, believing that ‘he was never called to the ministry except by his own vanity, was never educated or trained for it, and never showed any aptitude for the performance of the duties of the pulpit except the confidence that comes of arrogance and presumption.’⁷⁵ A similar view was later expressed in the Hobart *Mercury*: comparing Somerville and Varley, the columnist noted that he ‘retained the title of Reverend ... and is not ashamed of the distinctive dress’, and he praised Somerville’s ‘unsectarian’ mission, which was nevertheless supported by ‘officiating ministers of the Protestant congregations of this city’. To Varley’s detriment, he pointed out that

⁷⁰ *Southern Cross*, 15 September 1877, p. 1.

⁷¹ *Argus*, 18 June 1874, p. 4.

⁷² *Argus*, 27 March 1875, p. 5.

⁷³ *Argus*, 10 April 1875, p. 5; 13 August 1875, p. 5; 25 October 1875, p. 4; 10 June 1876, p. 7.

⁷⁴ Varley, *Full Address*, Introduction to the Second Edition, [p. 5].

⁷⁵ *Argus*, 10 December 1877, p. 5.

he ‘occupied the platform alone, and was unaided, purposely so ... by our local ministers’, and that he

enhanced [this position] by his decidedly antagonistic utterances on more than one occasion. He denounced in the most stringent phrases the setting apart of a peculiar class for the ministry ... [and] ridiculed the distinctive titles ... and he scoffed at the peculiarities of dress.⁷⁶

None of this sat well with observers when he attacked aspects of their society, as it indicated a lack of credentials and a separation from the common norms of religious society.

Perhaps as a result of the previous adverse publicity, Varley’s initial welcome in Launceston in March 1878 was cautious rather than warm. It was a year of revivalist speakers – at the same time, Thomas Spurgeon, the young son of C H Spurgeon ‘the Prince of Preachers’, and Emilia Baeyertz, the converted Jewess from Melbourne, were taking meetings in Tasmania. Generally, Tasmanians were fairly sycophantic about visitors from the mainland, and even more so about those from overseas. However, the *Examiner’s* report was matter-of-fact: ‘Mr Varley has a pleasing and natural style of delivery, and a very distinct enunciation. His eloquence derives its force mainly from his earnestness, but a vein of egotism is manifest in his addresses.’⁷⁷

Varley’s initial addresses were on innocuous-sounding revivalist subjects.⁷⁸ However, on Wednesday 13 March, when preaching on the Prodigal Son, he publicly named a Mr John Fawns as the owner of public houses, some of which were used as brothels or places where prostitutes met clients. An indignant Launceston citizen, signing himself ‘A Presbyterian’, sent the following letter to the *Examiner* in March 1878:

⁷⁶ *Mercury*, 8 June 1878, p. 2.

⁷⁷ *Launceston Examiner*, 5 March 1878, p. 3.

⁷⁸ The glory of the Gospel, justification, repentance, ‘all about thoughts’, the second coming of Christ, Romans 5 verse 1, ‘a scene of blessing’, abiding in Christ.

A most cowardly public attack was made on Mr John Fawns, a well known respectable citizen of this town, by Mr H Varley on Wednesday evening. ...

Does Mr Varley call it preaching the Gospel, attacking people when they have no opportunity of reply? What reference has the Prodigal Son to Mr Fawns? If Mr Fawns was the vilest man in the town (which everyone knows he is not – no-one can question Mr Fawns's character), what right has Mr Varley to mention anyone's name?

If Mr Fawns is a member of the Presbyterian Church that is no matter to Mr Varley; it is for the minister of that church to find fault, and not a stranger.⁷⁹

John Fawns arrived in Van Diemen's Land in 1824 as a young free settler,⁸⁰ and had started the Cornwall Brewery, later owned by James Boag, Fawns' nephew and one of his employees.⁸¹ His enterprises had prospered, and the Valuation Rolls of 1878 show him as owning a public house, an hotel, a malt house, a brewery, a tannery, some offices, and at least fourteen houses.⁸² He was a former mayor, a Justice of the Peace, a banker, and evidently a member and elder of St Andrew's Presbyterian church.⁸³ Some idea of his social standing may be gleaned from the names of the pall-bearers at his funeral in 1880: among them were Adye Douglas (then mayor of Launceston, later premier of Tasmania), William Hart (member of the House of Assembly), James Aikenhead MLC, and a Major Harrap.⁸⁴

Varley had thus targeted a well-known, wealthy, elderly and respected local figure, and Launcestonians closed ranks in outrage. The *Examiner* said that the attack had 'provoked considerable animadversion' and that the committee of the Mechanics Institute had met and resolved to withdraw the use of the Institute building from Mr Varley, as an expression of their 'strong disapprobation of such

⁷⁹ *Launceston Examiner*, 14 March 1878, p. 3.

⁸⁰ He does not appear in the inwards shipping indexes, but the relevant TAHO correspondence (research) file gives this information. The Wayn Index says that he arrived per the *Triton* from Leith on 20 January 1824: AE807/1/10, digitised at <http://search.archives.tas.gov.au/default.aspx?detail=1&type=I&id=AE807/1/10>.

⁸¹ TAHO correspondence (research) file on John Fawns. Boags Brewery is still the major northern Tasmanian brewing company.

⁸² 1878 Valuation Rolls, Launceston, pp. 78 ff. Jai Paterson, *A Fortunate may be made ... Launceston's 19th Century Breweries*, Launceston, 2007, says that brewing had made Fawns 'extremely rich'. He exported malt to other colonies, and was said to be worth more than £50,000. He also had connections through marriage or blood with several prominent Launceston families. His will (AD960/1/12, p. 163, No. 2297) has been digitised (see link at <http://portal.archives.tas.gov.au/menu.aspx?search=9>), but it is well-nigh impossible to read online. It is available on microfilm.

⁸³ See TAHO records, NG 2145, St Andrew's Church, Launceston (although Fawns' name does not appear to be in the pew rent book and similar documents from this era). The Wayn Index, AE807/1/10, lists him as a manager of St Andrew's church at 2 December 1854, and an elder at 3 July 1858, with no references given.

⁸⁴ *Launceston Examiner*, 9 January 1880, p. 2.

conduct'. They referred to Mr Fawns as 'one of the oldest residents of this town – one as highly esteemed as he is unobtrusive in character'.⁸⁵

The committee's resolution was not successful. Varley and his team, seeking to hold the committee to their agreement with him for the use of the hall, assembled a little earlier than usual at the hall. In a farcical scene, 'by a ruse access was obtained to the hall, but the gas was turned off by an officer of the Institute and the key of the supply pipe taken away. However, one of Mr Varley's adherents obtained a screw wrench ... and the hall was lighted once more.'⁸⁶ While this was going on, 'Mr Varley ... filled up the interval ... by praying for his oppressors, and struck up the hymn 'Safe in the arms of Jesus', 'Hold the Fort' having been sung on first gaining possession of the hall.'⁸⁷ Once the light was on and the meeting could commence, Henry Dowling, a prominent Baptist, 'magistrate, respected resident, and member of the Institute' kept guard over the gas meter, and 'prevented the librarian from a second time turning off the gas.'⁸⁸

Undaunted by the commotion and the reaction to his attack, Varley repeated it, saying that Fawns, as

chief elder of the Presbyterian Church no doubt felt himself considerably aggrieved, but the law was open to him.⁸⁹ He was a wealthy man, drawing a large portion of his revenue from these public houses, which were the sources of immorality. This was contrary to righteousness, and ought not to be tolerated. He had no personal feeling against Mr Fawns, but if he had spoken in general terms without mentioning names, no notice whatever would have been taken of his strictures.⁹⁰

The committee met again and decided, regretfully, that they could not really withdraw the use of the hall after all.

⁸⁵ *Launceston Examiner*, 15 March 1878, p. 2

⁸⁶ *Launceston Examiner*, 15 March 1878, p. 2.

⁸⁷ *Mercury*, 16 March 1878, p. 3.

⁸⁸ *Mercury*, 16 March 1878, p. 3.

⁸⁹ i.e., he could sue Varley for slander.

⁹⁰ *Launceston Examiner*, 15 March 1878 p. 2.

Varley was no stranger to controversy, and indeed seemed to court it. He made no apology at all for singling out Mr Fawns, nor for mentioning a Henry Reading for similar sins in his eyes.⁹¹ He held strong views on what constituted righteousness, and public righteousness for him included no hint of sexual sin or vice. The week before, he had sent a letter to the mayor (published in the *Examiner* on 15 March), ‘calling attention to the state of Wellington Street’, saying he had ‘never seen anything worse than the brawlings and drunkenness of that locality.’ In this letter, he said that he had ‘been informed that one or two wealthy men in your town are the owners of these low public houses and brothels.’ He appealed to the mayor to ‘put a stop to these terrible outrages upon the social life of the pleasant and prosperous town of Launceston.’⁹²

Varley did not attack the perpetrators of vice (such as the publicans and prostitutes) so much as those behind the scenes. In a letter to the editor of the *Examiner*, he argued that he ‘did not call attention to the locality named in order to condemn the poor people there, but to bring the hidden offenders to the light, men who make money out of the moral degradation of their fellow-men.’⁹³ He clearly saw the provision of premises and the rents gained thereby as just as sinful as the acts which took place in the buildings. He stated that, in being publicly named, Fawns and Reading were only reaping what they had sown, and that he (Varley) had made ‘careful enquiry and spoken only the facts’.⁹⁴ In defending his action he wrote: ‘Most of our commercial and social iniquities have gone on with impunity because men have hidden themselves in an impersonality which sheltered them from the shame and public censure due to their conduct.’⁹⁵ In a society that often blamed the lower classes for their actions, this was a different angle to take, and attacked the economic and *laissez-faire* attitudes which lay behind much of this activity.

⁹¹ The Valuation Rolls show that Reading owned one public house and a large number of houses in Launceston.

⁹² *Launceston Examiner*, 15 March 1878, p. 3. It is hard to see what the mayor could have done if the owners were operating within the law and in line with their licences.

⁹³ *Launceston Examiner*, 20 March 1878, p. 3.

⁹⁴ *Launceston Examiner*, 20 March 1878, p. 3.

⁹⁵ *Launceston Examiner*, 20 March 1878, p. 2

News of the brouhaha reached Hobart quickly. Harry Garrett, a leading member of the embryonic Brethren group there, wrote in his diary only two days later that he had heard a 'report of Mr Varley's having denounced Mr Fawns at Launceston' and that he talked it over with his friend and colleague Charles Crosby and 'decided to send him a telegram at once to ascertain if it is true'.⁹⁶ Presumably he was satisfied with the explanation he received, as he continued to be very involved with Varley's meetings in Hobart. The *Mercury's* Launceston correspondent was scathing on the Saturday, accusing Varley of deliberately stirring up trouble to draw attention to himself and his meetings: '... Mr Varley found that the halo of notoriety in which he had contrived to envelop himself hitherto was in danger of being shorn of its brightness in quiet sleepy Launceston', and so embarked on his attack. According to the correspondent, many had been 'offended by the growing broadness and coarseness of his remarks' in general – only tolerating them because he was preaching in an 'entertainment hall' and not from a pulpit.⁹⁷

A *Mercury* columnist launched quite a tirade on the following Monday. Varley was about to start meetings in Hobart, and the paper accused him of not having 'the spirit of the meek and lowly Jesus', of challenging Mr Fawns to sue when he [Varley] was a 'traveling pharisee, whose wealth is covered when he puts on his hat', and of 'bluntness of feelings, and ... deficiency in the habits and instincts of a gentleman'. The columnist ended with a veiled threat:

... if our Mayor and Aldermen would not be parties to the slandering [of] any citizen on whom cant and hypocrisy may draw down the vials of the peripatetic preacher's wrath – if they would not risk the chance of a disturbance, and probably injury to the hall, they will rescind their resolution and refuse to him the use of the hall.⁹⁸

Clearly, feelings were running high in some sections of the community.

⁹⁶ H L Garrett, unpublished diary, 15 March 1878, Garrett family collection.

⁹⁷ *Mercury*, 16 March 1878, p. 3.

⁹⁸ *Mercury*, 18 March 1878, p. 2.

These sentiments were echoed in a letter to the *Mercury* the next day, in which 'E.G.G.S.' castigated Varley for lack of brotherly love and said he ought to have 'talked kindly' (and privately) to the two men singled out in Launceston, and persuaded them to lead a 'better and holier life'. This correspondent also threatened that if he did not 'leave the names of respectable citizens out of his discourse ... not even the fear of spoiling the decorations of our Town Hall may prevent him being rather roughly handled.'⁹⁹

Varley did not name any more wealthy sinners from the platform of his meetings in Hobart. His meetings were very popular, attended by hundreds who packed out the Town Hall,¹⁰⁰ many of whom professed conversion. Garrett said that the first meeting was 'very crowded and rather inclined to the disorderly'.¹⁰¹ The *Mercury* reported that as well as his sermon he read his letter to the *Examiner* 'which was received with signs of disapproval,' but that at the end of the meeting there was applause, quickly hushed by the speaker.¹⁰² He did continue to defend his actions, saying 'he would not refrain from rebuking sin whenever he might see it',¹⁰³ and seeing himself as the recipient of 'organised opposition with a view to keep him out of the city.'¹⁰⁴ He saw himself as persecuted by the press for Christ's sake,¹⁰⁵ and even went so far as to attribute the low increase in Tasmania's population to 'a defect in moral and religious status, and to the pernicious influence of those who were making fortunes from the gains of destructive traffic.' One can imagine the defensive hackles raised by such a comment. Varley was unrepentant: 'He made no apology for speaking in that strain, feeling it incumbent on him to be outspoken on such matters.'¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ *Mercury*, 19 March 1878, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ The Town Hall now seats 300. However, an account of one of Varley's meetings says that 800 were present (*Mercury*, 25 March 1878, p. 2). At the same time the Benevolent Society found they did not have a quorum, and a public temperance meeting had a 'very limited' attendance: *Mercury*, 29 March 1878, p. 2. It would be reasonable to suppose that some of the normal attendees were at Varley's meetings.

¹⁰¹ H L Garrett, diary, 21 March 1878.

¹⁰² *Mercury*, 22 March 1878, p. 2.

¹⁰³ *Mercury*, 26 March 1878, p. 2.

¹⁰⁴ *Mercury*, 6 April 1878, p. 2.

¹⁰⁵ For example, *Mercury*, 6 April 1878, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶ *Mercury*, 8 April 1878, p. 2.

Nevertheless there were in fact some quite favourable reports of Varley's meetings. Some seem to have been sent in by supporters, so sympathetic and detailed are the accounts of the sermons. Another time a columnist wrote of an address on the power of the Holy Spirit that it was

calm and judicious, yet intense in its earnestness, and was throughout free from anything that might jar the treatment of the subject. We say, without prejudice, that, if Mr Varley continues to deliver such addresses as that of last evening, free from those exuberances with which his name is now associated, no portion of the religious world of Hobart Town will have cause to regret his visit to the city.¹⁰⁷

In the whole affair the central issue debated was not Fawns' actions or property interests but Varley's temerity in bringing them to light. Varley's statement from the platform of the Mechanics Institute was no revelation to the people of Launceston. However, his cardinal sin was publicly naming Fawns – akin to someone being named in parliament today. Editorial comment in the *Examiner* said that '... under any circumstances, we are decidedly of opinion that Mr Varley had no business to introduce the name of Mr Fawns, or of anyone else into his sermon.'¹⁰⁸

There was some debate on the facts: the *Examiner* tried to say that 'Mr Fawns is not the owner of any public-houses of a low class',¹⁰⁹ but this seems to have been patently untrue, or perhaps the definition of low class was kept fairly vague. No-one else denied that he owned public houses, and in this decade before the temperance movement really took off, his brewing and, by extension, selling of beer does not appear to have been the major issue – rather, it was the use of his premises for sexual impropriety. Confusion over the issue was brought out later by a comment in the *Mercury*, responding to an article on the affair in the temperance paper *The People's Friend*: 'Is being a brewer a sin? If so, perhaps we may be favoured with a distinction between all who brew and all who drink. If

¹⁰⁷ *Mercury*, 28 March 1878, p. 2.

¹⁰⁸ *Launceston Examiner*, 15 March 1878, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ *Launceston Examiner*, 15 March 1878, p. 3.

both are to be excluded from the Christian Church, it will be a very select body.’¹¹⁰

There was also the issue of whether Varley, as an outsider, should raise such questions. Several writers thought that if Fawns were at fault, his minister or church should have taken some action. For example, *The People’s Friend* asked

Is it at all likely that the person thus denounced by Mr Varley can imagine he is engaged in an unchristian or disreputable business when he is permitted, not only to be a member of a Christian church, but is actually elected to hold one of the highest offices in it? Are not the ministers and members of that church more to blame than he?¹¹¹

On the other hand, ‘An Old Citizen’ of Launceston, praised Varley for aiming to ‘arouse a healthful public sentiment’ on the ‘question of the inconsistency of Christian communities permitting the scandal of elders, or other members of churches, holding property in houses in which direct encouragement is given to the degradation of unfortunate men and women through excessive drinking and other criminal courses.’ Probably accurately, he speculated that ‘Mr Fawns may have never thought of this position of inconsistency – the churches may have failed to detect it, or been too cowardly to denounce it.’¹¹²

Janice Holmes has looked at several of these ‘working class evangelists’, as she calls them, who came to notice in the aftermath of the Revival of 1859 in the UK.¹¹³ Whereas previous freelance evangelists from the lower classes tended to be associated with groups like the Primitive Methodists, many of these later ones avoided direct denominational affiliation, or were only loosely attached to a denomination. Almost none was ordained. Varley insisted at all times that he was free of denominational ties, although he had been heavily influenced by, and baptised by, the London Baptist minister Baptist Noel.

¹¹⁰ *Mercury*, 2 April 1878, p. 2.

¹¹¹ Cited in the *Mercury*, 2 April 1878, p. 2.

¹¹² *Launceston Examiner*, 15 March 1878, p. 3.

¹¹³ Janicet Holmes, *Religious Revival in Britain and Ireland 1859-1905*, Dublin, 2000.

It was also widely believed that Varley was associated with the Plymouth Brethren, and certainly in Australia he worked closely with many of them and is mentioned among Brethren evangelists in some Brethren histories. This led on the one hand to accusations that he was a ‘Plymouthist’¹¹⁴, and on the other to admiration. For example, Stephen Owen wrote to the *Mercury* that ‘it is his [Varley’s] resolution to be free of the shackles of denominationalism of even name’, which would not endear him to those who ‘pin their faith to particular forms of church order and discipline.’¹¹⁵ A corollary of this position was that Varley was not directly accountable to anyone. Although he worked with local evangelicals, and in places the size of Hobart or Launceston it was well known who these were, he considered himself totally independent and thus was regarded as somewhat of a loose cannon by the mainline denominations.

Varley’s denunciation of Fawns also fits with Holmes’ observation that revivalists increasingly reacted against the privatising of respectable religion by attacking the growth of the drink trade and other social evils.¹¹⁶ They saw themselves as preserving the Christian nature of society, and of fostering the necessary changes in individual lives that would bring this about. This approach was often rejected, with religion being seen as something to be exercised with decorum and dignity. The gulf between the two viewpoints is illustrated by the *Tasmanian Mail* columnist who wrote ‘Trifles by the Way’, who admitted, reluctantly, that Varley had ‘conducted his ministrations with some regard to moderation and decency’, but was critical of Varley and Mrs Baeyertz for talking of

“saving souls”, as the result of their labours, as being as certain of success as a fisherman ... of obtaining a haul of fish of some kind ... The conceit of some of those self-called upon people, female and male, who fancy themselves possessed of a special mission and power to subjugate sin ... would be worth no more than a contemptuous sneer, but for the ineffable impudence of the whole thing.¹¹⁷

Varley was unrepentant, saying in his farewell speech at Hobart Town Hall that

¹¹⁴ For example, ‘Casus Belli’s’ letter, *Mercury*, 29 March 1878, p. 3, where he equates Varleyism, Plymouthism, and antinomianism.

¹¹⁵ *Mercury*, 28 March 1878, p. 3.

¹¹⁶ Holmes, *Religious Revival*, p. 176.

¹¹⁷ *Tasmanian Mail*, 30 March 1878, p. 13 col. 1.

he had no doubt at all as to the accuracy of the course he had pursued. He thought he had made no mistake at all, as the gentleman he had denounced had told a clergyman who remonstrated with him that the money of the people who bought drink at his houses was as good as that of any other people. The sin was against the city, and the denunciation of it was an act fitted for an evangelist who took as it were a middle position.¹¹⁸

This stance is typical of Varley – in general he was not just defensive of his moral position, but went on the offensive against attacks from newspaper writers, unsympathetic clergy, and those he saw as apathetic Christians.

In Sydney Varley advertised a temperance address, the synopsis of which showed that he was more than happy to rehearse his version of the ‘Social Evil’ lecture and the Fawns episode:

Early Experience – Victoria Twenty Years Ago – Return Home – Work in Melbourne – The Argus Newspaper – Town Hall Address on the Social Evil – Melbourne Theatres – Visit to Tasmania – Scenes in Launceston During a Recent Visit – A Storm Brewing – The Mechanics’ Hall Closed – The Religious Brewer – The Immoral Householder: His Sudden Death – The Leading Brewer’s Testimony – The Iniquity of the Drink Traffic, and its Hindrance to the Progress of the Colonies.¹¹⁹

This breathless summary exemplifies well Varley’s aggressive approach, the issues which concerned him, and his love of controversy. Nevertheless, it seems that he did not repeat the ‘Social Evil’ address; perhaps even his aggressive nature was somewhat taken aback by the furore it aroused. He also visited a Female Refuge in Pitt Street, giving a brief address on the woman of Samaria, emphasising Christ’s love and welcome for her and the ‘cleansing power’ available to live a changed life. Hearts were reported to be touched and Varley left them with a little book each.¹²⁰

Varley defended himself in Melbourne a year later at his Australian farewell. He considered that he had been ‘much maligned’ over the question of the social evil,

¹¹⁸ *Launceston Examiner*, 13 March 1878, p. 3.

¹¹⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 October 1878, p. 1.

¹²⁰ *Willing Work*, 24 November 1878, p. 389.

but ‘he did not regret one word he had uttered on that subject. He had hit out straight from the shoulder at that evil, and that was more than anyone had ever done before in Melbourne. The city needed to be spoken to on that subject.’¹²¹ This comment in his farewell speech exemplifies his belligerent, even defiant, stance and his tendency to over-statement. There was a contrast here with Adelaide, where Varley seems to have been more circumspect (perhaps the city was more moral!). At his farewell there, a number of ministers thanked him and said that, although they did not all agree with all his doctrines, despite their initial prejudice ‘two months labour had induced them to have implicit and perfect confidence in him as a man of God’ and ‘they respected Mr Varley the more because he had given expression to his convictions. (Hear, hear)’.¹²²

There is little evidence that Varley’s publicising of the problem of the ‘social evil’ had any concrete effect, except to arouse the disgust and indignation (hypocritical, he probably felt) of a large part of respectable society. At a quieter level, there were already attempts to help ‘fallen women’ (for example, Dr Singleton’s Home for Friendless and Fallen Women in Collingwood), and there were the various legislative controls, but at the level of public and private morality of which Varley spoke there is unlikely to have been much change.

When he made another prolonged stay in Victoria (1888-1891)¹²³ Varley did not seem to enjoy the whole-hearted support of the mainstays of the evangelical sub-culture.¹²⁴ Varley never minced words; his style was to attack what he saw as evils in society, and it is clear from his language that he envisaged his role as a campaigner or soldier engaged in spiritual warfare. The booklet he wrote about his meetings in 1890 in Melbourne was entitled *The War Between Heaven and Hell in Melbourne*, and the metaphor was sustained with the constant use of words like campaign, crusade, war, and raising the standard.¹²⁵ If anything, his language is more extreme and his tone more shrill, although once again, he did

¹²¹ *Argus*, 9 April 1879, p. 6.

¹²² *Willing Work*, 9 August 1878, p. 259.

¹²³ Not 1886-88 as the *ODNB* article states.

¹²⁴ Paproth, ‘Varley and Melbourne Evangelicals’, pp. 80-82.

¹²⁵ Henry Varley, *The War between Heaven and Hell in Melbourne*, Melbourne, 1891.

not so much attack those commonly seen as sinners (the prostitutes) as their rich clients and the businessmen who prospered on the profits from this trade. He lambasted the city, its officials, what he called ‘religious professors’ and ministers who looked the other way lest they offend their congregations.

With Colonel Barker of the Salvation Army, Varley was one of the leaders of attempts to prosecute the notorious brothel-keeper Madame Brussels (Caroline Hodgson).¹²⁶ She had escaped several charges over the years, possibly because of protection within the police force and her upper-class clients,¹²⁷ and in Varley’s eyes the unashamed existence of her business was an open scandal which besmirched and indeed endangered the city. He brought up her case during a deputation of about twenty leading evangelicals to the Attorney-General, which aimed to persuade him to reintroduce the amendments to the Criminal Law Act with regard to ‘disorderly houses’ and the age of consent. The Attorney-General, Wrixon, smoothly parried their arguments, explaining that there had not been time to formulate the legislation, and that the case of Madame Brussels lay with the Minister for Justice. Nevertheless, this deputation shows that Varley was by no means alone in his concern for the moral welfare of the community – merely one of the most outspoken crusaders. On this occasion the Church of England Bishop Field Flowers Goe was one of the party, as was James Balfour MLC, and several respected ministers.¹²⁸

In the wider sphere, Varley’s position – or his ‘maniacal obsession’,¹²⁹ depending on one’s perspective – sheds some light on the more extreme aspects of Victorian views of sex and morality. As Thompson points out, ‘evangelical doctrines of

¹²⁶ For a summary of this campaign, written in a somewhat populist style, see L M Robinson, *Madame Brussels: this moral pandemonium*, Carlton, 2009, pp. 49-67.

¹²⁷ See for example *Argus*, 2 June 1882 p. 3. See also an open letter from Varley to the chairman of a public meeting in 1896, stating that when a charge against Madame Brussels was dismissed, ‘the Bench that morning was packed in the interests of this high-class brothel keeper...’ Letter to Alfred Deakin, Papers of Alfred Deakin, National Library MS 1540, item 5/93a.

¹²⁸ *Argus*, 25 June 1889, p.9. Those listed were: Bishop Goe, Canon Langley, Revs. J Watsford, Bevan, Bath, Bracewell, Crisp, Webb, McEachran, and McKenzie, James Balfour MLC, Mr Anderson MLA, Messrs James Campbell, John Vale, W H Hunt, Henry Varley, and Commissioner Howard and Colonel Barker of the Salvation Army.

¹²⁹ Davison et al, *The Outcasts of Melbourne*, p. 51.

abstinence naturally embraced abstinence from sex',¹³⁰ although very few even among evangelicals would have agreed with Varley's minimalist approach to sexual intercourse within marriage. He was in the vanguard of social purity reformers.¹³¹ It is noteworthy that the literature identifies this precise period as the one when social purity alliances emerged¹³² and when reformers came to see that prostitution was as much a fault of 'masculine sexual "incontinence" [as] female impropriety',¹³³ as Varley indeed contended.

In print, and no doubt in sermons, Varley did not hold back from expressing his view that Melbourne was 'literally weighted and cursed with (1) Unbelief, (2) Intemperance, (3) Gambling, (4) Licentiousness, (5) Covetousness, (6) Dishonesty, (7) Blasphemy, (8) Idleness, (9), Inordinate Love of Pleasure, (10) Land Booming.'¹³⁴ Varley is notable for the fact that he spread his net wide and addressed all kinds of endemic social evils. Few, if any, other contemporary reformers attacked the greed of the land boomers and their profiteering. In a letter to the *Argus* in 1889, before the bust of the 1890s, he referred to the land boom as a 'mischievous experience', and wrote that 'when land is sold at abnormal prices it can only mean oppression to the people as a whole'. He was informed by a businessman that 'there was no principle of honesty, truth, honour or consideration of others' interest but had been ruthlessly and wantonly sacrificed' during the land craze, aspects which should have concerned any Christian. Varley was also critical of the fact that working men were being crippled by the inflated and fictitious prices of land, and that badly built houses were a disgrace – 'small, unhealthy and unfitted for family habitation'. He quite rightly predicted that the whole situation 'was handicapping the coming decades and generation'.¹³⁵

¹³⁰ F M L Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society*, London, 1988, p. 258.

¹³¹ Edward J Bristow, *Vice and Vigilance: Purity Movements in Britain since 1700*, Dublin, 1977, p. 131, describes him as the 'real pioneer' of the 'religio-medical purity lecture'. He says that Varley started these lectures in the mid-1870s, but gave them up for a few years as 'the time was not right'.

¹³² See D J Pinar, *Purity Crusade, Sexual Morality and Social Control, 1868-1900*, Wesport/London, 1973, p. 79; P Bartley, *Prostitution: Prevention and Reform in England, 1860-1914*, London and New York, 2000, p. 155.

¹³³ P Bartley, *Prostitution: Prevention and Reform in England*, p. 183.

¹³⁴ Varley, *War between Heaven and Hell*, pp. 12-13.

¹³⁵ *Argus*, 20 April 1889, p. 12.

Such radical assessments amid the final phases of the 1880s boom were rare indeed; although a few more cautious investors were becoming wary, this was usually from a viewpoint of financial prudence rather than morality or ethics. His views are the more impressive because some of his supporters, such as Balfour, were involved on the fringes of the financial crisis. Davison in fact wonders if ‘Varley, always the religious maverick, may have scandalised his evangelical allies by numbering “land booming” among the plagues that “cursed the city”’¹³⁶ He may have had a grim but sad satisfaction when the land boom burst a few months later, and Melbourne experienced the reaction of epidemic bank failure, thousands of bankruptcies, and the subsequent dire economic depression of the 1890s.

He also formed an Anti-Gambling League, campaigning ‘against gambling in church bazaars, raffles, lotteries, &c., on the principle that if the small devils are permitted in the Church, the big devils will surely have *carte blanche* in the streets, the racecourse, the world’.¹³⁷ He published a paper entitled *The Impeachment of Gambling*, based on a talk to men in the Theatre Royal, Melbourne.¹³⁸ Commenting on Flemington racecourse on Melbourne Cup Day, he described the ‘language [as] abominable, ... the excitement ... devilish, and the example ... hateful.’¹³⁹ He does not seem to have joined other Christians there with tracts and an open air meeting, a common outreach and protest activity of Brethren, at least, over many years.¹⁴⁰ His biography states that he held a meeting in the Town Hall on the eve of Cup Day, and that ‘religious services took place on the course’.¹⁴¹ His report to *The Christian* expands on this, saying that twenty leading evangelical ministers and laymen (among whom he does not mention

¹³⁶ Davison et al, *The Outcasts of Melbourne*, p. 51.

¹³⁷ Varley, *War between Heaven and Hell*, p. 4.

¹³⁸ Henry Varley, *The Impeachment of Gambling*, Melbourne, 1890.

¹³⁹ Varley, *Impeachment of Gambling*, p. 11. The Melbourne Cup is the main racing event of the year in Australia – ‘the race that stops the nation’. It is a focus for people of all walks of life and many would ‘have a flutter’, then and now, who would never normally bet. The Cup started in 1861 so was a well-established event by 1890, when the great horse Carbine won it. Cup Day is a public holiday in Victoria.

¹⁴⁰ See for example *The Gleaner* (Hopkins Brethren magazine), No. 41, Nov. 1917, p. 7: in the morning 25 brothers displayed banners and gave out 18,000 tracts at the Flemington race course, and in the afternoon and evening there was a conference.

¹⁴¹ Varley, *Life-Story*, p. 148.

himself) held services at Flemington and ‘stood a good deal of banter’.¹⁴² Nevertheless, it took a brave man to challenge such an iconic event as the Melbourne Cup. Again he went further than just condemning gamblers, but addressed the problem of what might be called the infrastructure of gambling. He recommended that known gamblers should be disqualified from parliamentary positions, and that the press should not be allowed to publish betting intelligence.¹⁴³

Varley’s impact may be assessed by the fact that a century or so later, he is the one evangelist whose social commentary and views, even if considered extreme, are discussed in contemporary histories.¹⁴⁴ However, in general he is gently derided for his over-statement and prudery. His genuine radicalism in attacking the infrastructure of immorality is overlooked.

Harry Grattan Guinness

The third speaker who addressed issues of social purity in any depth was H G Guinness. In the major centres he visited, he gave what was entitled a ‘Medical Talk to Young Men’. So popular was it that he was requested to return to Sydney to repeat it on his way back from Brisbane.¹⁴⁵ The report claims that 3000 people crowded into the Alfred Hall in Ballarat for this talk, and 1800 crammed into the Royal Princess Theatre in Bendigo, with the building ‘crowded to suffocation’ when he responded to a petition to give it again. He also repeated it in Brisbane.¹⁴⁶ Here the Exhibition was

crowded to overflowing with an audience consisting of members of both Houses of the Legislature, lawyers, doctors, tradesmen of almost every grade, and

¹⁴² *Christian*, 9 January 1891, p. 11.

¹⁴³ Varley, *Impeachment of Gambling*, p. 12.

¹⁴⁴ Davison, *The Outcasts of Melbourne*, p. 49-51; Keith Dunstan, *Wowers: being an account of the prudery exhibited by certain outstanding men and women in such matters as drinking, smoking, prostitution, censorship and gambling*, Melbourne, 1968, pp. 65-6; Robinson, *Madame Brussels*, pp. 49ff..

¹⁴⁵ Sydney Daily Telegraph, 17 July 1886, p. 2.

¹⁴⁶ *Brisbane Courier*, 22 July 1886, p. 5.

working men, and for nearly two hours and a half Dr. Guinness riveted and sustained the attention of the vast concourse.’¹⁴⁷

The fact that over 3000 had listened to his first presentation, some of whom had smashed open a door in their impatience to get in,¹⁴⁸ gives some idea of the public interest in the question – or the inevitable curiosity aroused by a topic for men only.

Unfortunately, verbatim or shorthand reports of this ‘medical talk’ are never given, probably because it was deemed unsuitable for a general readership. However, the first time he gave this lecture in Brisbane, Guinness is reported as referring to Sodom and Gomorrah and Pompeii, and the fact that despite what evolutionists might claim, the world did not seem to be getting much better than when these ancient cities were destroyed. He did acknowledge that much sexual sin might be the result of ignorance, particularly of the consequences of immorality. He apparently gave graphic examples from his experiences as a student doctor at Whitechapel Hospital, London, describing ‘the dreadful diseases, the effects, and horribly evil consequences resulting from sin, and [giving] many most distressing instances that had come under his particular observation.’¹⁴⁹ A Melbourne report said that his ‘sad stories ... were so emphatic that several men present fainted’.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ *Brisbane Courier*, 27 July 1886, p. 5.

¹⁴⁸ *Brisbane Courier*, 21 July 1886, p. 5.

¹⁴⁹ *Queensland Evangelical Standard*, 23 July 1886, p. 63.

¹⁵⁰ *Ballarat Courier*, 2 September 1886, p. 4, about a meeting in Hotham, report taken from the *Telegraph*.



53: Alfred Hall, Ballarat¹⁵¹

As well as the consequences of sin, he emphasised the reward of virtue, and also ‘that there is a rightness and a wrongness apart from reward and apart from punishment,’ and gave ‘excellent advice’ for good living, including taking up athletics, reading and studying only what was pure in literature, and cultivating pure thoughts.¹⁵² Another report mentioned ‘a daily cold water bath ... due exercise in moderation, and ... avoid[ing] drinking and smoking’.¹⁵³

More detail of the sort of advice offered may be gathered from an article Guinness wrote early in the twentieth century, based on his sixteen years’ experience to that date of lecturing to ‘vast audiences of men in many parts of the world’.¹⁵⁴ His advice included avoiding places of amusement where vice was prevalent,

¹⁵¹ View of the gathering in Ballarat at the Alfred Hall, in honour of the M’Culloch Administration. Wood engraving published in *The illustrated Australian news*, 5 September 1868. State Library of Victoria, Accession no IAN05/09/68/1

¹⁵² *Brisbane Courier*, 21 July 1886, p. 5.

¹⁵³ *Queensland Evangelical Standard*, 23 July 1886, p. 63.

¹⁵⁴ H G Guinness, ‘Men in Relation to the Problem of the Social Evil, in James Marchant (ed.), *Public Morals*, London: Morgan and Scott, [1908], p. 135.

avoiding strong drink, evil companions, evil conversation and evil literature (by which he presumably meant pornography – ‘French realism is responsible for numberless sins’¹⁵⁵), and ‘quacks and their productions’, and cultivating pure ideals, good daily hygiene (including plenty of exercise), and faith in Christ.¹⁵⁶ Defending his work in bringing this topic before the public, he wrote that ‘... to avoid the sad spectacle of human sin surely savours more of prudery than purity’.¹⁵⁷

Of the repeat performance of his medical talk, the *Brisbane Courier* said that

Almost every phase of the social evil was vigorously dealt with, and in conclusion, Dr Guinness entertained his hearers to some rather singular statements regarding secret vice [i.e. masturbation], and the means to be adopted by its victims to shake off their evil habits. The lecturer’s aim was the protection of women and children from degradation and misery, the equal application of the law to men and women, and to induce men to lead pure and moral lives.¹⁵⁸

Guinness had a horror of masturbation, which Hyam shows was shared by many from the 1860s onwards, ‘with ever-increasing publicity from the 1880s’.¹⁵⁹ In this respect Guinness was a man of his time, joining others in attributing physical effects such as infertility, impotence, blindness and even insanity to long-term masturbation. However, in contrast to Varley, his actual wording, at least as reported, was not as direct or confrontational.

One aspect of his talk was to rouse support for the abolition of the CD Acts, or if that were not possible, to extend them to men as well as women. Another was to ‘appeal to the audience to strain every nerve to obtain an extension of the protection of young girls until they reached the age of 16 years’.¹⁶⁰ The second Brisbane audience ‘rose *en masse*’ to show their support for the latter cause, but there was not quite so much overt enthusiasm for the former, although on the same night there was a meeting of 600 women in the Town Hall calling for the

¹⁵⁵ Guinness, ‘Men in Relation’, p. 143.

¹⁵⁶ Guinness, ‘Men in Relation’, pp. 142-144 *passim*.

¹⁵⁷ Guinness, ‘Men in Relation’, p. 136.

¹⁵⁸ *Brisbane Courier*, 27 July 1886, p. 5.

¹⁵⁹ Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality*, pp. 660-7.

¹⁶⁰ *Brisbane Courier*, 27 July 1886, p. 5.

repeal of the CD Act. However, at the end of his first talk, 1002 men signed a petition to this end.¹⁶¹ Thus Guinness was not wholly focussed on personal reformation, but widened his brief to aspects of society that impacted on social purity, including attempts to change legislation. This was part of a world-wide move to abolish the Acts, as recognition spread that they were ‘unjust, inasmuch as only one of the sufferers was dealt with’,¹⁶² and also that, for the same reason, they were ineffective.

While he was almost as straight-talking as Varley, he did not arouse indignation in the same way. One of the reasons may be that he was in fact a medical doctor, although he had never practised, having only just graduated when he came to Australia for family reasons. This seems to have given his words some extra authority. Secondly, Guinness seems to have had a charming, boyish demeanour and did not have the same stridency nor propensity to attack individuals as Varley had. His courage in taking up unpopular causes and his direct speaking was in line with Varley’s, but he did not seem to have the same (at times) vituperative manner.

Thirdly, in the half decade since Varley had brought such opprobrium upon himself, the social purity movement had grown in strength around the British Empire, and the cause itself was more acceptable. For example, a Social Purity Society was operating in Sydney by the mid-1880s,¹⁶³ and the Bishop of Melbourne suggested in 1884 that a White Cross Society should be formed, with the law made applicable to men as well as women: ‘Not until society is prepared to visit such an offender with the severest social penalties will there be any real change for the better.’¹⁶⁴ About the same time Mrs Harrison Lee was promulgating her ideas of celibacy, or at least restraint, within marriage, partly to restrict the number of unwanted children, and also because she thought that children born of

¹⁶¹ *Brisbane Courier*, 21 July 1886, p. 5.

¹⁶² *Queensland Evangelical Standard*, 23 July 1886, p. 63.

¹⁶³ For example, see a meeting of the committee reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 March 1885, p. 13.

¹⁶⁴ *Church of England Messenger*, 5 March 1884, pp. 2-3. He also pressed the need for better housing so that people do not ‘litter down like pigs every night’.

‘animal passion’ had the seeds of sin.¹⁶⁵ In Launceston in 1887 Pastor George Soltau gave an address on this topic, to men only, at the Reed Memorial Church, ‘a topic which needs wise handling’, commented the *Examiner*.¹⁶⁶ As this chapter has shown, this was indeed the case.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that Somerville, Varley, and Guinness were at the forefront of efforts to raise the level of social purity. While their motivation was primarily one of Christian morality, and their message one of personal reformation through Christ, their general point about the need for social purity was nevertheless one that began to resonate with the feeling of the times. For all sorts of reasons, this was a time when legislative and other efforts began to change the moral standards, or double standards, of Victorian society. The number of people, especially men, exposed to these evangelists’ lectures and to their views in writing, must have contributed to some of the changes in societal attitudes.

Varley had the widest vision of what this society should look like, with a peculiar view of even married intimate relationships, but also a Biblical understanding of the effects of greed and capitalism. He consistently took a stance on all kinds of social issues: writing from the USA in the 1880s, he was critical of segregation.¹⁶⁷ In the 1890s, it was reported in the UK that he had ‘set up as an authority on the Chinese coolie traffic [in Singapore], which he stigmatises as veneered slavery’.¹⁶⁸ Disparagement of him as a ‘wowser’¹⁶⁹ has tended to mask his quite radical stance on the infrastructure of gambling, prostitution, land booming, and financial speculation.

¹⁶⁵ Mrs Harrison Lee (Bessie Cowie), *Marriage and Heredity*, 3rd edition, Melbourne, 1893, pp. 4-9 and passim. Her views were based on her not very positive personal experience, and her work as a visitor in the slum areas. She believed that it was necessary to be ‘soundly converted’ to achieve these aims (p. 43). She wrote the book in 1888 and had been working in this field for sixteen years.

¹⁶⁶ *Examiner*, 24 March 1887, p. 2.

¹⁶⁷ *Christian*, 9 July 1885, p. 541: he felt led to work with coloured people because of injustices; 6 August 1885, p. 609: he could not find any church leaders with a conscience about segregation.

¹⁶⁸ *Western Mail* (Cardiff), 16 April 1892, p. 4, via 19th Century British Newspapers Online.

¹⁶⁹ For example, Dunstan’s approach in *Wowzers*.

Chapter 8

‘Sensational services which produce religious intoxication’? Expectations and outcomes of evangelistic campaigns

... all this profusion of sacred things, and this prevalence of religious sentiment, may exist without a corresponding prevalence of personal religion ... it is of this personal religion we must take cognisance. Nothing short of this, which is a thing of the heart, having its beginning in the renewal of the heart by the grace of God, and its continuation in the growing sanctity of the heart ... nothing short of this ... will count in the sight of God.

Southern Cross, editorial, 12 April 1879, p. 2.

Introduction

So far this thesis has looked at the enormous amounts of time, energy and activity which were periodically poured into evangelistic campaigns.² It has been argued that there was visible impact in terms of the personalities of the speakers, the actual meetings and sermons, the music, and their engagement with social issues. This chapter will first consider contemporary expectations, both religious and secular, of these meetings, and then look at the discernible outcomes. Did they achieve what was hoped for? Did they make any impression on the lives of individuals, of churches, of society at large?

Contemporary expectations

¹ *Australian Christian World*, 19 July 1888, p. 247.

² Dickson comments that ‘The amount of energy, time and money put into such venture would indicate a high degree of genuineness.’ J N Ian Dickson, *Beyond Religious Discourse: Sermons, Preaching and Evangelical Protestants in Nineteenth-Century Irish Society*, Milton Keynes, 2007, p. 218. I read this comment long after I had written the above.

As shown in chapter 1, there had been awareness of the movement of religious interest in Britain in the early 1870s, and Australian reliance on news from Britain bred familiarity with the better-known names. The religious world in the 1870s, and in particular the evangelical world, replicated the interest in revival and revivalism which was so in evidence in Britain. Religious newspapers, and even staid secular newspapers like the *Argus*, reported on the movements of D L Moody and Ira D Sankey, who took large evangelistic meetings in England and Scotland in 1873-5. London and Glasgow were centres of their work, as well as regional and Irish cities,³ and it has been estimated that somewhere between 1.5 and 2 million people went to meetings in London.⁴ Quite apart from news reports, there must have been many colonists who received news of the meetings and their effect from relatives and friends in correspondence.

One expectation arising out of these reports was that emulating these methods would replicate the perceived success. This was evident as early as 1874, when, for example, the Presbyterian Assembly in Victoria received a report and decided to form a committee to investigate the best ways of promoting such a revival in Melbourne: 'the all-important question now was, how might such a similar visitation of blessing be secured to ourselves?'⁵ In Sydney, an inter-denominational mid-day prayer meeting was begun, to pray for revival, presided over by the Bishop and Dean of Sydney, among others.⁶

For Melbourne purposes, the Glasgow meetings were most significant, as Presbyterianism had a strong influence in Victoria, and if Scots Presbyterians were enthused about revival this was believed to be of more consequence than if,

³ York, Sunderland, Newcastle, Darlington, Bishop Auckland (Durham), Carlisle, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Belfast, Dublin, Manchester, Liverpool, London, in that order, between June 1873 and July 1875. John Kent, *Holding the Fort*, London, 1978, pp. 134 ff.

⁴ Kent, *Holding the Fort*, pp. 154-5.

⁵ *Argus*, 7 May 1874, p. 5; 9 June 1874, p. 5.

⁶ Arthur Davidson Deane, 'The Contribution of the New Evangelical Movements of the Late Nineteenth Century to Evangelical Enterprise in Australia, 1870-1920', PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 1983, p. 32, citing a report in the *Christian*, 1 June 1876.

for instance, Wesleyans had the same reaction. This sort of feeling was expected of Methodists, who were constantly looking for revival in their churches.⁷

Thus it was probably not coincidental that the first major evangelist to come to Australia in this post-Moody phase came as a direct result of the initiative of the Glasgow United Evangelistic Association. A report of the proceedings of the Glasgow Presbytery indicated that a deputation from almost all the evangelical denominations of Glasgow asked Somerville to relinquish his ministerial charge and go and preach to English-speaking peoples in foreign lands. Their motivation was 'the desire that that wave of spiritual blessing which has recently bathed our own shores should sweep round the globe, so that our country men in far distant lands might come under its influence.'⁸ This worthy aim was backed up by a donation of £2000 so that Somerville's travel costs would be covered.⁹ This certainly underlines the sincerity of the Glasgow UEA, as it is possible to view this move to export Somerville as an admission of the dying down of revival interest in Glasgow.

So in 1877 many evangelicals had very positive expectations of revival. Readers of the *Southern Cross* were told those 'who know anything of this excellent minister of Christ will be glad to learn that he is about to visit Victoria, on an evangelistic mission.'¹⁰ H B Macartney told the subscribers of *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad* that 'we hear with unfeigned pleasure of the approaching visit of this noble old man.'¹¹ W Corrie Johnstone urged people to start praying that Dr Somerville's visit might

be the means of bringing multitudes to the Saviour, of recalling backsliders from their wanderings, of rousing slumbering congregations, of firing ministers with

⁷ Robert Evans, *Early Evangelical revivals in Australia: A Study of Surviving Published Materials about Evangelical Revivals in Australia up to 1880*, Adelaide, 2000, pp. 8-11.

⁸ *Southern Cross* No. 1356, 9 June 1877, p. 1.

⁹ This is my recollection from very early in my research, about which I do not have a note. However, it is most likely from the letter from John Miller, secretary of the Glasgow UEA, to Dr Cairns, sending the pamphlet about the proceedings which commissioned Dr Somerville. *Southern Cross*, 2 June 1877, p. 1.

¹⁰ *Southern Cross* No. 127, 7 April 1877.

¹¹ *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad*, No. 52, April 1877, p. 51.

fresh zeal, of opening hearts steeled by scepticism, encrusted with worldliness [or materialism].¹²

During Varley's meetings, just after Somerville had left Melbourne, the Rev. W H Lawrence wrote that 'the present movement ... may justly be called a glorious revival'.¹³ Around the same time, Brethren leader Probert wrote of the 'glorious work of God now going on in Melbourne and its suburbs.'¹⁴

As we shall see, these expectations were only partly met, and, while fears were also somewhat soothed by experience, hopes were never quite as high again. The same sentiments were often expressed, but in more muted tones. Admittedly when George Clarke's visit in 1888 was imminent, a Sydney writer wrote that 'The expectation of a great and glorious revival in and around our city this year is daily increasing'¹⁵ and it was said of McNeill in 1894 that he 'comes with a certain *éclat* that insures a spirit of expectancy'.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the idea of real revival sweeping the community seems to have been quietly set aside, and possibly seen as not quite befitting the scientific spirit of the age.

This was seen in the more pragmatic way in which expectations were expressed for or by later speakers. Thus by 1894, the effect of the Depression was seen as 'a spirit of hearing in the community. The troubles through which the colonies have passed have chilled the eager passion for money-making which burned like a fever in the veins of thousands ...'¹⁷ Reflecting on his visit the same year, Gipsy Smith wrote that

My impression of Australia was that there were untold possibilities for Christian work in the country ... [the people] are homesick. Their hearts become tender and receptive [at a voice from home. People making a new start have] fresh

¹² *Words of Grace*, 9 June 1877, p. 255.

¹³ *Willing Work*, 27 October 1877, p. 9. The full quotation reads: 'Whether we look at the present movement in relation to its quickening power over the churches, its attractive power over those who have neglected the means of grace, or its results as seen in the large numbers of young people brought to decide for Christ, it may justly be called a glorious revival.'

¹⁴ *Missionary Echo*, February 1878, p. 37.

¹⁵ *Australian Christian World*, 28 June 1888, p. 203. He saw it spreading to the other colonies, New Zealand, Asia, and the rest of the world.

¹⁶ *Australian Christian World*, 27 July 1894, p. 3.

¹⁷ *Southern Cross*, 13 July 1894, p. 554.

susceptibilities to moral and religious influences. They make the material among which good evangelistic work can be done.¹⁸

‘Good evangelistic work’ is a very muted echo of the idea of the lapsed and unchurched being swept into the Kingdom on a wave of blessing.

Negative expectations of revival

On the other hand, there was considerable apprehension among the wider Christian community, and certainly society in general, as to the nature and effectiveness of revival meetings. Early reports of Moody and Sankey’s meetings in the United Kingdom were greeted with great caution by some. The two major concerns were that over-emotionalism might lead to unwise behaviour and exacerbate existing mental fragility, and that conversions experienced at revival meetings did not last.

As regards the first concern, the expressed anxiety was that an ‘unhealthy phase of mental excitement’, and especially ‘the sort of effervescent nature susceptible to this kind of emotionalism’ might fall prey to hysteria.¹⁹ This was a popular viewpoint with secular observers. As the *Argus* wrote, any supposed good effects were often outweighed by the ‘positively injurious results following upon extraordinary religious excitement.’ Indeed, the writer reminded readers of the ‘cerebral disturbance, amounting in some cases to absolute aberration of intellect, produced among the participators’ at some of their recent meetings in New York.²⁰

This fear was not just a secular one; the *Southern Cross* wrote of Somerville that ‘the more wary and prudent, who have learned to dread revivals because of their occasional excesses and reactions, will be reassured and heartened under his safe

¹⁸ *Gipsy Smith: His Life and Work*, London, 1902, p. 291.

¹⁹ *Brisbane Courier*, 28 August 1874, p. 3. The writer emphasised that this was not an attack on religion, but a word of caution on the possible ‘hysterical excitement’.

²⁰ *Argus*, 6 July 1876, p. 5.

and attested leadership ...²¹ Some years later, the Anglican *Australian Record* in Sydney put up something of a straw man with which to compare favourably evangelist George Clarke: ‘deliberate efforts to arouse the physical excitement by extraordinary gesticulations of the body and boisterous singing of hymns – the theology of which is sometimes very doubtful, the measures oftentimes rough and uneven, and the tune adapted from the latest free-and-easy.’²²

A related worry was that ‘in periods of revival there is a very strong natural tendency to attach far higher value to intensity of feeling than to the sedulous cultivation of the moral nature which is an essential element of Christian character ...’²³ There was considerable concern that years of patient work could be set aside or under-valued: a Congregationalist wrote that

Many earnest Christians cannot rejoice over systematic instrumentalities that allure persons of emotional temperaments from the paths of duty, create a distaste for patient continuance in well doing, and persevering attention to allotted work – a hankering after the sensational, and a dissatisfaction with the ordinary means of grace.²⁴

A critic wrote in 1888 that exhausted ministers and disillusioned laymen had found by bitter experience that ‘such services generally excite the emotions than the conscience, cause neglect of family and private devotions, lead to the neglect ... of regular church work ... and create itching ears and an appetite for sensational services which produce religious intoxication.’²⁵ The *Brisbane Courier* published a copy of a long letter to the *Glasgow Daily Herald* by a Rev. George Gilfillan,²⁶ who bravely criticised the Moody meetings when interest was at its height. His disquiet was not so much at their emotionalism as with the lack of intelligence and thought: ‘I see nothing manly but everything that is childish, attractive to weak minds but repulsive to the strong, in this movement.’²⁷

²¹ *Southern Cross*, No. 139, 30 June 1877.

²² *Australian Record*, 27 October 1888, p. 7.

²³ *Victorian Freeman*, August 1878, p. 115.

²⁴ *NSW Independent*, 15 October 1878, p. 163.

²⁵ *Australian Christian World*, 19 July 1888, p. 247.

²⁶ ‘A critic and essayist, as well as a most eloquent preacher.’ *Brisbane Courier*, 28 August 1874, p. 3.

²⁷ *Brisbane Courier*, 28 August 1874, p. 3.

It is interesting that these anxieties were expressed in an age in which Romanticism, with its inherent emphasis on feeling, subjectivity, and sensibility, was the major cultural force.²⁸ Some of them were expressed by journalists who were looking, possibly cynically, for a story with some sensationalism, but others were put forward by evangelical observers who had a deep concern for genuine conversions which would not be merely short-term emotional whims.

The other major concern was whether conversions lasted, and whether such converts became solidly attached to churches. Indeed, James Moorhouse, the Bishop of Melbourne, went further when he stated, on the basis of 'large experience, that the hysterical excitement which men aim to produce at revival services may have nothing to do with true conversion.' He did not deny the need for a profound change in people's lives, but he quite rightly emphasised that the true proof of conversion is '*the life the man lives*'. The question was whether evangelistic campaigns produced true, lasting changes of heart. In fact, Moorhouse and others believed they might be actually deleterious, in that they could produce a rebound reaction among 'converts' who felt deluded and therefore fell away 'into deeper abysses of sin and blasphemy'.²⁹

Examples of such discussions could be multiplied, but the same points were made over and over again: that emotional decisions did not last, and that they might even be damaging. For many Christians, the question of the durability of conversions was paramount. A Baptist source felt that, on balance, such conversions 'in the fervid atmosphere of an evangelistic revival', properly followed up by a supportive church, 'will bear favourable comparison as to intelligent perceptions and as to durability, with those which are effected in the more ordinary methods of church work.'³⁰ Many people felt that the best way of ensuring durability was by involving converts in regular church work – a point of view particularly applicable to nominal Christians who had been 'awakened'.³¹

²⁸ David Bebbington has persuasively illustrated this in relation to evangelicalism in *The Dominance of Evangelicalism*, Downers Grove, 2005, chapter 6: 'The Permeation of Romanticism'.

²⁹ *Church of England Messenger*, 13 December 1877, p. 13. Emphasis in the original.

³⁰ *Truth and Progress*, 1 April 1883, p. 37.

³¹ *Church of England Messenger*, 9 August 1877, p. 3.

A detailed Baptist discussion of Mrs Hampson's meetings in 1883 suggested that a major factor in keeping converts was whether the churches concerned were fully behind the gospel campaign: 'Our own impression ... is that the Churches which give ungrudging aid and that enter with full sympathy into the work do reap fruit by way of additions to the Church.'³² Full sympathy was the key: Baptist minister Charles Cherbury was critical of the fact that some of Varley's converts were 'coolly frowned adrift by many churches and their pastors', and thus fell away.³³

The Rev. H A Langley, an experienced parochial missionary and supporter of this sort of evangelism, wrote a long analysis of missions in which he basically advanced the same argument. Although he emphasised the need for a suitably gifted preacher, he also said that 'the results ... depend in a great measure upon the care with which the work is fostered'.³⁴ This was shown in prayerful preparation, the depth of involvement of existing parish members, careful follow up of converts and their active attachment to the church. These criteria could be expanded to apply to large inter-denominational missions also, and Langley was an active member of the networks which supported them. Later, during McNeill's mission in 1894, another Anglican writer argued that it was important to see the roles of evangelist and pastor as complementary in building up the church, rather than compare the gifts of both to the detriment of the latter.³⁵

Thus it can be seen that evangelistic meetings aroused ambivalent reactions. A NSW Baptist comment on Mateer and Parker's meetings summed up the element of disquiet by saying,

To a rational reasonable being, at first sight, it seems strange that in a community so well supplied with Church agencies, there should be scope for the itinerating efforts of these wandering gospel minstrels ... [But] men and women neglect ... the teachings of the ordinary ministers ... until some new agent attracts their

³² 'But where on the other hand the disposition is manifested to criticise, thwart, and oppose the Evangelist and the work, it is contrary to reason to expect much addition to the Church ... Our own conviction ... is that membership has been greatly increased through her. ...' *Truth and Progress*, 1 April 1883, p. 37.

³³ *Southern Cross*, 7 June 1879, p. 3

³⁴ *Church of England Messenger*, 7 July 1879, p. 12.

³⁵ *Church of England Messenger*, 10 August 1894, p. 134.

attention ... All along the ages something out of the common routine of ecclesiastical life seems to have been powerful for good on the masses.³⁶

Langley, in the paper previously referred to, had also defended the element of 'excitement'; he felt that if 'well used, wisely guided, tenderly sobered, carefully husbanded', it may well arouse people from their torpor in matters of faith.³⁷ To some extent, visiting evangelists could be seen as the shock troops of the church.

Outcomes

It can be seen from this brief examination that expectations of evangelistic missions varied widely, from disapproval of their ephemeral nature and the possible shallowness of conversions, to approval and support of their aims and hopes for church growth and revival. The rest of this chapter examines the success of otherwise of the meetings, looking at their short-, medium-, and long-term outcomes.

Short-term outcomes

Publicity

One short-term criterion that can be applied is the publicity attained by these campaigns – in modern evaluation parlance, 'community awareness' of them. While this would now be tested by focus groups and spot interviews of what people remembered three, six or twelve months down the track, at this remove we can only look at the level of interest in the print media.

This varied considerably, depending on the speaker and the city. It would be fair to say, however, without logging column inches devoted to each speaker, that an extended survey of the major Australian newspapers shows that in general these meetings were well and (generally) fairly reported, with Dr Somerville, Varley,

³⁶ *NSW Baptist*, 4 November 1886, pp. 2-3, commenting on Mateer and Parker's meetings.

³⁷ *Church of England Messenger*, 7 July 1879, p. 13.

Mrs Hampson, and McNeill being what would now be headline material – in other words, well reported in secular papers and given pages of coverage in the religious periodicals. Somerville had the advantage of being the first major evangelist and therefore a novelty. Varley tended to provoke publicity, either by his manner or his topics and the pugnacity with which he pursued opponents. With regard to Mrs Hampson, the *Southern Cross* observed that the daily press ‘at first contemptuously ignored the whole affair ... [but] the scale of the meetings ... made some recognition necessary.’ They thought that editors had not quite known how to handle ‘this phenomenon’.³⁸

Much the same comment was made about McNeill: such was his popularity that the big newspapers, atypically, had been forced to find space for lengthy accounts, said the Tasmanian Baptist paper *Day Star*.³⁹ McNeill achieved a penetration unlike any other others. ‘Church member’, in a letter to the *Argus*, said that ‘the Christian community should be very grateful ... to *The Argus* for the full reports in its columns of the mission meetings, which no doubt have done much to ensure such enormous attendances as are reported.’⁴⁰ The *Southern Cross* said that ‘the daily papers ... have reported Mr McNeill on a scale and with a degree of sympathy not usually extended to such a visitor.’⁴¹

McNeill achieved the distinction of being pilloried by the *Bulletin*, a sure sign that there was wide community familiarity with him and his meetings. In fact, the *Southern Cross* said that ‘some journals write about Mr M’Neill ... with a sort of malignant hate.’⁴² The *Bulletin* said that

intelligent Christians are ... being suddenly converted to a religion that weeps for M’NEILL and abhors the howling impudence of revivalist hymns. Thinkers find the truth concerning M’Neillism in an instant, even as the dupes of that misguided collection-taker “find CHRIST”.

³⁸ *Southern Cross*, 30 June 1883, pp. 9-10.

³⁹ *Day Star*, October 1894, p. 73.

⁴⁰ *Argus*, 27 July 1894, p. 6

⁴¹ *Southern Cross*, 27 July 1894, p. 583.

⁴² *Southern Cross*, 17 September 1894, p. 654.

Taking a comprehensive view, it also referred to the ‘cheap, nasty, and fundamentally immoral religion of the Wesleys, Moodys, Booths and M’Neills.’⁴³ The criticism obviously had no effect on the crowds, unless to increase curiosity.

The fact that the *Bulletin* published eight separate pieces over a number of weeks about McNeill,⁴⁴ all of course critical and sardonic in tone, shows the extent to which he had penetrated popular awareness. It is clear his meetings became something of a fad. When an event or person is taken up by satirists, it shows that it is well-known enough to be easily recognisable by most people, and a clever piece of satire by the columnist ‘Oriel’⁴⁵ in Melbourne used the metaphor of the stock exchange and mining to emphasise McNeill’s popularity and effect:

Salvation stock is at a premium this week, and large transactions are reported. The discovery of a rich vein by M’Neill and party has given a new stimulus to the market in this stock, and several thousands of people are already flocking to the field eager to try their luck. Adjoining claims have failed to attract much attention, and several of them have been almost neglected since the new find. Holders of scrip in other companies are going in largely for conversion, in the belief that the work done by M’Neill and party has already produced payable results. The patent M’Neill stampers are kept going afternoon and evening, and are proving very effective.⁴⁶

Other evangelists were also reported in varying degrees. Appendix B gives the list and range of newspapers consulted. These include all the major secular papers and some minor ones, as well as the major denominational and non-denominational ones. There was some bias in reporting: the *Sydney Morning Herald* owned by

⁴³ *Bulletin*, 4 August 1894, p. 8.

⁴⁴ *Bulletin*, 4 August 1894, p. 7-8; 11 August 1894, pp. 11, 14; 18 August 1894, p. 10; 26 August 1894, pp. 14-15; and 13 October 1894, p. 9.

⁴⁵ ‘Oriel’s’ column ‘The Passing Show’ was written by a number of writers over the years. At this point there were three writers: ‘With E. T. Fricker and D. Symmons he [John Sandes] inaugurated, in August 1891, ‘The Passing Show’ by ‘Oriel’, a popular and durable Saturday feature which brought together topical gossip and whimsy, conservative social and political comment, solemn ethical speculation, and light and serious verse.’ Ken Stewart, ‘Sandes, John (1863 - 1938)’, *ADB*.

⁴⁶ From ‘The Passing Show’, *Argus*, 28 July 1894, p. 11. The piece continued: ‘These stampers are warranted to crush the hardest stone, but the demand is so great that many prospectors are unable to get near the battery. The diggers now on the Salvation field have determined to put down bores in every direction as a preliminary, and one or two claims have already been abandoned by their occupants, who suspect them of being duffers. Steady business, however, has been done in United Anglicans, and the manager of this company is now making preparations for an extensive display of specimens to take place in September. In Romans there is not much change to report, but the splendid buildings on the mine are being proceeded with at a satisfactory rate, and the money is coming in well. The machinery on this mine is somewhat old fashioned, on account of the great length of time since it was first put up, but the work which it gets through is enormous.’

Congregationalist John Fairfax, the *Launceston Examiner* with similar sympathies, and the Melbourne *Daily Telegraph* owned by evangelical Presbyterian James Balfour were likely to be dignifiedly sympathetic, whereas on the other hand the more radical Melbourne *Age* was likely to ignore or downplay, with only brief reports even of the major speakers.

As well as actual reports, nearly all meetings were advertised in the classified advertisements, which in that period were on the front page and therefore easily accessible even to those who glanced at the paper but did not buy. Another way in which speakers were publicised was by interviews or long biographical pieces; these seem to have been a growing trend in the late 1880s and early 1890s. Müller,⁴⁷ Clarke,⁴⁸ and McNeill,⁴⁹ at least, were presented to the public in this way, and Drummond would have been interviewed in many places if he had allowed it, instead of merely one quick chat in Brisbane.⁵⁰ Suffice it to say that on the level of public exposure, these visitors and their meetings were successful. As one commentator wrote of Clarke, 'In Melbourne it is no longer unfashionable – just now – to be a Christian.'⁵¹

Numbers

The crudest criterion for the success of major evangelistic meetings is the number of people attending them. As Dickson has noted, 'the role of crowd size and dynamics at such large religious gatherings where celebrity preachers and their sermons were the main attraction awaits further research'.⁵² We can infer that being part of a gathering of thousands of people gives a feeling of being involved in something far bigger than oneself, which in itself can be inspiring, quite apart

⁴⁷ Brisbane *Telegraph*, 22 July 1886, page not noted.

⁴⁸ Brisbane *Courier*, 8 May 1888, p. 3, taken from the Melbourne *Daily Telegraph*.

⁴⁹ Australian *Christian World*, 12 October 1894, p. 1. This article included a photograph.

⁵⁰ Brisbane *Courier*, 28 July 1890, p. 6.

⁵¹ Australian *Christian World*, 25 October 1888, p. 475, quoting Apemantus in the Melbourne *Daily Telegraph*.

⁵² Dickson, *Beyond Religious Discourse*, p. 205. He cites some studies on crowd dynamics at nineteenth-century political gatherings.

from the content of the meeting. Fitchett wrote of the later Torrey/Alexander mission in 1902 that ‘meetings ... on such a scale have a sort of momentum which makes them almost independent of the speaker and his speech.’⁵³

On the other hand, no doubt there was an element of diversion also: a Baptist commentator on McNeill’s meetings felt that ‘many other have gone ... as ... to the theatre or concert-room, merely for entertainment or self-gratification.’⁵⁴ The *Southern Cross* put some of the interest in Somerville’s meetings down to the ‘uncommon love of novelty in our comparatively shifting and restless population’, but nevertheless thought that ‘thousands have received abundant spiritual blessing’.⁵⁵ Dickson makes the interesting point that some evangelicals might have felt that it added to their public credibility to be seen attending such meetings, and that some might have found in such meetings a ‘psychological reinforcement for self-understanding as part of a superior minority surrounded by the unregenerate’.⁵⁶

Goodman, who has looked at large political meetings in Australia at this time, says that ‘meetings at this period often attracted very large crowds. Certainly the sheer number of those turning out was a crucial part of the intended effect.’⁵⁷ Then, as now, the press and populace saw the size of the audience as a reflection of interest and success. On this basis, almost all the meetings considered would have to be described as outstanding successes. It has been difficult to find out sizes of crowds of political meetings, such as those convened to discuss Federation,⁵⁸ with which to compare, but clearly these religious meetings attracted

⁵³ *Southern Cross*, 25 April 1902, p. 455.

⁵⁴ *Day Star* (Hobart), October 1894, p. 73.

⁵⁵ *Southern Cross*, 14 July 1877, p. 1.

⁵⁶ Dickson, *Beyond Religious Discourse*, p. 218.

⁵⁷ David Goodman, ‘Public Meetings and Public Speaking in Colonial Australia’, *Australian Cultural History*, No. 16, 1997-8, p. 114.

⁵⁸ No numbers for crowds or attendance are given in standard references such as C M H Clark, *A History of Australia V: The People Make Laws, 1888-1915*, Carlton, 1981, especially ch. 5; John Hirst, *The Sentimental Nation: The Making of the Australian Commonwealth*, South Melbourne, 2000; or in Helen Irving (ed.), *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation*, Cambridge, 1999, which has an article on ‘Entertainment and Federation meetings’ which does not mention numbers.

as many or often more than political meetings.⁵⁹ They also occurred more often and over sustained periods such as a week or fortnight.

Space forbids recounting every instance of this, so examples must suffice. Major evangelists Somerville, Varley, Mrs Hampson, George Clarke, Grubb, and McNeill all had packed audiences in the largest buildings available. Varley's meeting at Richmond Park was possibly the largest, but both Mrs Hampson and McNeill, and General William Booth, saw people turned away from their meetings in the Exhibition Buildings of Melbourne and Sydney.⁶⁰ These held between 5,000 and 7000 people, possibly more if people were standing. McNeill's campaign was marked by enormous crowds in every venue. Probably only William Booth, the founder and leader of the Salvation Army, attracted the same sort of numbers. McNeill drew up to 10,000 in the Exhibition buildings in Melbourne and Sydney, with some of those meetings turning away hundreds if not thousands.

A graphic account by a WCTU and YWCA worker gives some idea of the enormous popularity of Mrs Hampson:

In Sydney special trains had to be run to convey the vast congregations to her meetings; in Melbourne the largest buildings were crowded to excess long before the service began, and patient thousands waited in the streets in hopes of the second meeting ... Her name was on every lip, her fame was spread far and wide, ministers of every denomination gathered to her aid, and in trains and buses her magnificent discourses formed the one theme of conversation.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Goodman, 'Public Meetings', gives examples of 6,000-10,000 for a meeting just after the Eureka Stockade in 1854, when feelings were running very high (p. 113), and a meeting against the Land Bill in 1857 in Bendigo with 4,000 (p. 114). 10,000-plus were reported as attending an anti-transportation meeting in Melbourne in 1854: *Argus*, 24 October 1854, p. 4. My thanks to Dr Stefan Petrow for alerting me to this reference.

⁶⁰ The Sydney correspondent of *The Nonconformist and Independent* reported to England that Mrs Hampson's meetings averaged 5-6000: 'The congregation steadily increased during the time, and on the last evening as many thousands were shut out as obtained admittance.' Reported in the *Christian*, 29 November 1883, p. 10.

⁶¹ Mrs Harrison Lee (Bessie Cowie), *One of Australia's Daughters*, London, 1926, p. 63.



54: Royal Princess Theatre, Bendigo (then known as Sandhurst), 1874.⁶²

Melbourne's Town Hall and all sorts of other buildings capable of holding 2,000-3,000 were often described as 'crammed to suffocation'.⁶³ Brethren leader W R Probert wrote to a friend in England that for Varley's meetings 'between five and six thousand are each night at the Town Hall'.⁶⁴ 8,000 tickets were rumoured to have been issued for Dr Somerville's lecture on the Bible there; this caused 'great dissatisfaction and confusion', as 4,000 to 5,000 were reported to have turned up,

⁶² The new Sandhurst Theatre. Vahland & Getzschmann. Date of creation: July 11, 1874. State Library of Victoria, Accession No: A/S11/07/74/53, Image No: b49901. <http://www.slv.vic.gov.au/pictoria/gid/slv-pic-aaa11981/1/b49901>

⁶³ A somewhat blasé report of one of Dr Somerville's meetings in the Princess Theatre in Bendigo, which attracted about 2,500 people, said that the crowd was so great that injury was feared. However, 'beyond a few bruises and a number of ladies fainting, we have not heard of anything serious happening'. *Southern Cross*, 1 September 1877, Supplement p. 2.

⁶⁴ *Missionary Echo*, February 1878, p. 37.

with 1,000 turned away.⁶⁵ There were 15,000 applications for Harry Guinness' last lecture to men in Melbourne⁶⁶ – an impossible number to satisfy. In Adelaide it was announced that 'Arrangements have been made for seating between 4,000 and 5,000 people' for McNeill's meetings.⁶⁷ Grubb's meetings in the Church of England cathedrals of Sydney, and more particularly of Melbourne, were attended by thousands. In Melbourne the cathedral

held about 2,000 people when well packed, and well packed it was, because people were so anxious to hear that they used to come two and a half hours before the time to get seats. One night the traffic manager had complained that the traffic could not get along on account of the great number of people standing outside ... After the cathedral was filled ... a large, surging mass of people would be standing outside.

The answer was for two members of the team 'to conduct an open-air meeting ... in the cathedral courts.'⁶⁸

'Lesser' evangelists also enjoyed large audiences. Consistently large crowds attended Mrs Baeyertz' meetings: in Bendigo in 1879 the Princess Theatre was densely packed night after night and 'hundreds were refused entry'.⁶⁹ In Ballarat in 1880, the meetings moved to a large theatre and 'on the Sunday afternoon many brought their evening meal and consented to be locked in the building 'til the time of the evening meeting rather than lose their certainty of seats ... the municipal authorities prohibited vehicular traffic down the street as the crowds were so dense.'⁷⁰ In Launceston in 1881 the Mission Hall 'was so crowded numbers couldn't get in'.⁷¹ In Auckland 'there were often 1000 to 1500 at the

⁶⁵ *Spectator*, 14 July 1877, p. 125. It is unclear what the actual capacity of the Melbourne Town Hall would have been. It is now 2,000: see http://www.melbournetownhall.com.au/brochures/EPICURE_TOWN_HALL_BROCH.pdf. However, with different seating and some standing room it could be many more. Even allowing for some exaggeration and inaccuracy, it is clear that a large number of people wanted to attend the lecture.

⁶⁶ C W Mackintosh, *Dr Harry Guinness: The Life Story of Dr Harry Grattan Guinness, MD FRGS*, London, 1916, p. 24.

⁶⁷ *Adelaide Advertiser*, 8 September 1894, p. 6.

⁶⁸ [E H Hopkins] (ed.), *The Story of Keswick: The Eighteenth Convention*, London, 1892, p. 47.

⁶⁹ *Willing Work*, 23 July 1879, p. 87: 'The Royal Princess Theatre was crowded to suffocation.' It seated 2,000: see http://www.bendigohistory.com/heritage_of_the_past.shtml.

⁷⁰ [Sydney Watson], *From Darkness to Light*, Melbourne, [1910], p. 49.

⁷¹ *Willing Work*, February 1881. This was probably the Mission Hall in Wellington Street, purchased by Henry Reed as a part of a hotel complex and transformed from a skittle alley. It is still in existence, much changed, as Reed's widow built the much larger Memorial Church next door. However, it would have held several hundred people at least.

afternoon Bible readings; and so great were the crowds at night that the newspapers warned parents to keep children away from the precincts of the meeting place for fear of accidents.⁷²



55: Mission Hall, Wellington Street, Launceston.⁷³

The actual numbers given would not be totally accurate⁷⁴ – it is notoriously difficult to estimate crowd numbers – but there is a consistent pattern of over-full venues that indicates that these international, or even well-known colonial, speakers were drawcards in a society for which services of this sort were, at the very least, a form of recreation and interest. Christian commentators tried to draw the inference that the crowds indicated a spiritual hunger or an inherent awareness of the importance of the spiritual aspect of life. For example, Fitchett wrote of Mrs Hampson, ‘Is there any orator in the colonies ... who on any theme but religion could draw and hold such crowds for a fortnight? The spell lies not in the

⁷² Watson, *From Darkness to Light*, p. 61.

⁷³ Photograph taken by Elisabeth Wilson, 2005.

⁷⁴ Although the capacity of the buildings would have been known.

speaker or the speech, but the *theme*.⁷⁵ However true this may have been for many,⁷⁶ the fact remains that on the basis of attendance, these meetings must be accounted outstandingly successful.

Emotion

Although the emphasis of this kind of gospel preaching was on the depth of experience, a suitable emotional reaction was an indication that people had been deeply touched. The fact that people were moved to tears seems to have often been a marker for the success of a meeting.⁷⁷ Tears on cheeks were acceptable, but crying out, groaning, and falling down were looked at askance. Women were especially suspected of succumbing to over-emotionalism. The *Launceston Examiner* reported that a Miss Watts had fainted when being baptised in the River Inglis near Wynyard in Tasmania with 200 people watching. She was reported as not yet recovered from her hysterics.⁷⁸ Some years later, a young woman who supposedly committed suicide on the railway line at Preston had been attending McNeill's evangelistic meetings, but the *Argus* said that 'no undue religious excitement [had been] noted'.⁷⁹ The link between religious excitement, female susceptibility, and over-reaction was firmly established in the public mind.

The incident of spontaneous giving at the Geelong convention in 1891 was perhaps the most suspect. Some observers saw it as a scene of wild enthusiasm and secular papers sensationalised it. The *Australian Christian World* carefully admitted that, while some enthusiasm was appropriate, 'in the case of some people zeal *did* outrun discretion at Geelong ... it is not well to encourage noise

⁷⁵ *Southern Cross*, 23 June 1883, p. 8. Italics in the original.

⁷⁶ During these years, Bishop Moorhouse was attracting large crowds to his thoughtful annual lecture series, so it might well be argued that in Melbourne, at least, there was a strong vein of religious interest. 'Moorhouse's major contribution to the Melbourne public was a series of annual lectures, beginning with 'Messianic Prophecies' in 1877 and ending with 'The Galatian Lapse' in 1885. Large numbers attended and the last lectures filled the Town Hall.' C. R. Badger, 'Moorhouse, James (1826 – 1915)', *ADB*.

⁷⁷ Reporting one of McNeill's meetings in Melbourne, the *Argus* said that many of those who prayed in the after meeting with McNeill were 'strongly moved and weeping and sobbing deeply.' Quoted in *Southern Cross*, 27 July 1894, p. 583.

⁷⁸ *Launceston Examiner*, 7 February 1881, p. 3. The group concerned was said to be a new sect known as the 'Believers', which was very likely the Brethren or an offshoot.

⁷⁹ *Argus*, 27 July 1894, p. 5. Emphasis in the original.

and demonstration at religious meetings ... it is not advisable that worshippers ... should lose control.’⁸⁰ Interestingly, the local newspaper at the time merely reported that there were ‘scenes of religious enthusiasm’ and ‘extraordinary munificence’, and described the meeting quite objectively.⁸¹ In fact, the part of the meeting where people streamed forward to offer gifts of all kinds seems to have been quite orderly and thoughtful. Watsford, who was present, wrote that after several talks on missionary work, Grubb as President invited anyone who was so moved, to bring forward their gift:

At once, without another word, one after another came bringing silver, gold, notes, cheques, watches, chains, rings, bracelets, and other pieces of jewellery, [and promissory notes] and laid them on the table. Of this remarkable meeting the *Christian Colonist* said: “There was no excitement, no hysterics, no rushing from seats and clapping of hands...”⁸²

Possibly, to the general public, such a level of Christian giving was not only unprecedented but almost incomprehensible if not done on a wave of near-hysteria.

Demographic reach

One of the aims of most evangelism was to reach the unchurched and the ‘lapsed masses’. These campaigns had variable success in even attracting them to the meetings, let alone bringing them to faith and church membership. The *Southern Cross*, which warmly supported Dr Somerville with profuse and detailed reporting, nevertheless concluded that ‘his visit is called *evangelistic*; but it is obvious that his preaching does not reach the prodigal classes, and that the crowds who flock to hear him are mainly composed of nominal or real Christians ...’⁸³ Perhaps to offset this, there was Somerville’s midnight meeting for prostitutes,⁸⁴ and in Geelong, for the women’s only meeting, a deliberate effort was made to

⁸⁰ *Australian Christian World*, 21 January 1892, p. 5.

⁸¹ *Geelong Advertiser*, 19 September 1891, p. 2.

⁸² Watsford, *Glorious Gospel Triumphs*, p. 273.

⁸³ *Southern Cross*, 14 July 1877, p. 2.

⁸⁴ *Southern Cross*, 21 July 1877, Supplement.

visit and invite working women, many of whom came from the woollen factories after work.⁸⁵

Varley, with a lower middle class background, may have been more attractive to workers. Hotham City Missioner Thomas Murray recorded in his official journal that he gave out many invitations for Varley's meetings and encouraged people to go, and had some resultant conversations.⁸⁶ Varley also preached at the Benevolent Asylum and the prison,⁸⁷ and hosted one of his dinners for butchers in an effort to reach a different group.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, by the early 1890s when his preaching seems to have become more confined to churches, a comment in Launceston was that 'the class who need conversion are conspicuous by their absence.'⁸⁹ During these years, it was mostly the Salvation Army who made serious inroads into the religious life of the working classes.⁹⁰

The *Southern Cross* commented that all sorts of people went to McNeill's Melbourne midday meetings:

All classes are found in the audience: workmen in rough clothes from the streets, brokers from the Exchange, lawyers from the courts, doctors from the top of Collins-street, clergymen from suburban churches, students, note book in hand, from the University, merchants from Queen-street, and junior clerks from a thousand offices.⁹¹

This was written about the midday meetings, so it is likely that the evening meetings had an even wider demographic spread and possibly more from the working class. This was not a universal opinion: a letter by 'Observer' in Sydney said that the meetings crowded with churchgoers, who crowd out the 'thousands of people who have somehow got out of the way of going to church, and ... thousands more who are innocent of the suspicion of ever having gone there ... In

⁸⁵ *Southern Cross*, 18 August 1877, Supplement p. 1.

⁸⁶ Thomas Murray, Missionary, Hotham, Journal, Melbourne and Suburban City Mission, University of Melbourne Archives 89/90, item 15/13, entries on pp. 46-7, 48-9, 55.

⁸⁷ *Southern Cross*, 8 December 1877, p. 1.

⁸⁸ *Spectator*, 13 October 1877, p. 283. Varley had made his money as a butcher.

⁸⁹ *Launceston Examiner*, 18 February 1891, Supplement p. 1.

⁹⁰ Blair Ussher, 'The Salvation War', in Graeme Davison et al (eds.), *The Outcasts of Melbourne*, Sydney, 1985, p. 126.

⁹¹ *Southern Cross*, 10 August 1894, p. 627.

addition ... there are the lapsed masses, who are steeped in crime, poverty, and misery...'⁹² He or she suggested getting them together 'on a principle of elective affinity or natural selection', but recognised the difficulty.⁹³ On the other hand, it was noted that Grubb talked to working men in Sydney, with fifty testifying to being saved, and 'advised to go and report the fact to the ministers of their respective churches.'⁹⁴

At the other end of the scale, a Tasmanian comment was that Mrs Hampson 'reached the more respectable classes, even some who count themselves among the "Upper Ten"...'⁹⁵ In Melbourne, 'many of the professedly infidel class [were] attracted ...'⁹⁶ A Melbourne observer of George Clarke thought that 'his influence [was] exerted principally upon people of the middle and upper classes ... in particular ... the better-class of young men.'⁹⁷ Clearly, as one might expect, different speakers appealed to different audiences. The fact remained that the majority of attendees were from the middle classes, and in that respect these meetings did not fulfil the hopes of organisers. As a Dunedin minister said of John MacNeil's meetings there, they had the very good effect of strengthening Christians and bringing numbers to confess faith openly, but 'I cannot say that much impression has been made upon persons outside of the church.'⁹⁸

Another way of analysing the demographic reach of these meetings is to consider how many of them were held in country areas. At first glance it seems that the impact was greater in the major cities, and indeed, in general, attention was focussed on the colonial capitals and the big regional cities. Also, distance, time and probably money prevented most international visitors from going far inland. However, looking at the various itineraries,⁹⁹ we can see that there was a conscious effort to include at least the bigger regional centres in the relevant

⁹² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 October 1894, p. 3:

⁹³ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 October 1894.

⁹⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 January 1892, p. 13.

⁹⁵ *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad*, July 1884, p. 98. For a contemporary use of the phrase 'Upper Ten', see a letter in the *Mercury*, 13 February 1882, p. 2, where the writer complained that it was useless for anyone to apply for public office 'unless he has extensive personal friendship among the mushroom upper ten.'

⁹⁶ *Southern Cross*, 2 June 1883, p. 5.

⁹⁷ *Australian Christian World*, 18 October 1888, p. 457.

⁹⁸ *Presbyterian Monthly*, 1 October 1891, p. 271.

⁹⁹ See Appendix A.

colonies in Somerville's tour. Mrs Baeyertz, Matthew Burnett, and John MacNeil, being local itinerants so to speak, had a far deeper reach into the hinterland, as did George Müller during his long stay. Thomas Spurgeon and Varley also visited smaller centres, particularly in Tasmania. By and large most overseas visitors kept to the east coast colonies, sometimes including South Australia, with only Cook venturing as far inland as Broken Hill – probably because of the miner/Methodist connection. Western Australia was usually not on anyone's schedule unless they arrived or left from there: this applied to Cook, and later to Mrs Baeyertz on her return trip in 1904. It seems that only McNeil (1884 and 1894) and Burnett (1883) made deliberate prolonged visits there.

The religious papers tried to surmount this imbalance in exposure by the depth of reporting of the meetings, including the detailed reports and almost verbatim transcripts of the sermons. This was particularly the case with the *Southern Cross* and its large supplements produced for Somerville, Varley and McNeill's meetings.

Conversions

As the major aim of evangelistic meetings was to achieve conversions, this must be a criterion to be considered. However, it is one of the hardest to assess with any accuracy. Both contemporaries and later historians have sometimes made simplistic assessments on the basis of what might be called the raw data. Some evangelists or their supporters kept records of a sort; others did not believe in this. Some figures given are very precise, some are estimates.

The whole procedure begs the question of what conversions actually were: the majority seem to have been profound spiritual experiences of people who already to some extent believed or belonged to a church, with a minority being of actual

unbelievers.¹⁰⁰ A modern definition is that conversion involves ‘internalisation of the new belief system, a new reference point for self-identity. It is when our soul’s inbuilt urge to instinctively find God meets with the spirit and recognises the truth.’¹⁰¹ It is hard to define what it might be called theologically when experienced by those who had a solid basis of belief and church attendance. Certainly there was usually a sense of release, forgiveness and freedom not felt before, or a personal application of long-held truths that resulted in a closer sense of connection with God.

‘A Preacher of the Gospel’ suggested in 1879 that ‘... after the revival excitements we have had lately, the churches have settled down into a quieter state, and are in a fit condition to look calmly at things about them,’ and suggested a stocktake. He thought that someone should make a list of professions, and a list of those continuing, proposing a committee with Dr Cairns as chairman and Edwin Good as secretary.¹⁰² Perhaps this suggestion was made with tongue firmly in cheek. A reply was received saying that such a stocktake would be impossible because no records had been kept, and pastors did not follow up converts.¹⁰³

It seems that for later meetings there was more organised follow-up. Fitchett, the editor of *Southern Cross*, wrote apropos of Mrs Hampson that ‘numbers are always a rude and inadequate test to apply to the result of such services; nor do we think it wise or seemly to proclaim great numerical returns,’¹⁰⁴ but nevertheless, proceeded to do exactly that. The breakdown of churches that her ‘converts’ desired to attend shows that they covered pretty well every Protestant denomination in Melbourne, and also that most converts were well-acquainted with or attached to a denomination.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ David Hilliard, *Popular Revivalism in South Australia*, SA, 1982, p. 29, makes the same observation and gives some figures for South Australia. He says that ‘almost all enquiries and converts had a religious background as churchgoers or Sunday School scholars. They already accepted the truth of the fundamental Christian concepts and were either church members or favourably disposed towards membership.’

¹⁰¹ Bryan Patterson, ‘Soul’ column, *Sunday Tasmanian*, 22 May 2011, SUNDAY section p. 5.

¹⁰² *Southern Cross*, 22 February 1879, p. 3.

¹⁰³ *Southern Cross*, 1 March 1879, p. 2, from ‘AW’.

¹⁰⁴ *Southern Cross*, 30 June 1883, p. 5.

¹⁰⁵ At the meeting for converts, the following indications were given: Church of England 84, Wesleyan 62, Baptist 53, Presbyterian 32, Congregational 29, Church of Christ 12, Brethren 10, Primitive Methodist 8, Bible Christian 8, Bethel, 8, Gospel Hall York Street 6, German [Lutheran] 2, Salvation Army 2, Free Church

Notwithstanding the impossibility of making any accurate enumeration of converts, various examples give some idea of responses to this sort of preaching. The easiest numbers to find are from temperance preachers who could count how many took the white or blue ribbon or made pledges of abstinence. For example, Booth and Noble reported that in Melbourne there were 13,444 new pledges and 26,773 blue ribbons in three weeks.¹⁰⁶ Matthew Burnett reported pledges meticulously; a cynic might have questioned why there was not a drastic drop in alcohol consumption as a result. Sometimes the numbers were greater than the population of the relevant town or locality.

Obvious decisions to follow Christ were seen as a sign of the effect of general evangelistic meetings. Reports generally mentioned that people had responded to the appeal, if any, and in some cases quite careful counting was done. In an example taken at random, 900 people stayed for the after-meeting for one of Dr Somerville's Geelong meetings for women. Fifty-one said they were 'anxious', and twenty-six eventually professed Christ.¹⁰⁷ It would be possible, though tedious, to total the numbers from every report which mentions them. However, it would be statistically invalid as not every report gives such precise numbers, and not every evangelist even wanted them mentioned, let alone kept.

Those who did so were keen to emphasise that the numbers were not exaggerated. Varley said that 'after careful computation he was able to say that several thousands had professed faith' in Melbourne.¹⁰⁸ Baptist minister Charles Cherbury¹⁰⁹ said of Varley that he knew of at least thirty persons admitted to fellowship in the previous two years 'who either owed their spiritual awakening, conversion, or restoration to his labours in Melbourne.' He counted his 'best and heartiest helpers' among them. 'I personally know scores of persons besides in

of England 2, United Methodist 2, Miscellaneous and undefined 31 – a total of 346. Over the whole mission more than 700 names had been handed in. *Southern Cross*, 30 June 1883, p. 5.

¹⁰⁶ *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad*, April 1884, p. 49.

¹⁰⁷ *Southern Cross*, 18 August 1877, Supplement p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ *Christian*, 19 June 1879, p. 444.

¹⁰⁹ On Cherbury, see Milton Warn, 'Sin in the camp: an account of the conflict in the Collingwood Baptist Tabernacle from May 1882 to February 1883', *Our Yesterdays*, No. 7, 1999, pp. 61-80.

these two cities¹¹⁰ ... who owe their happy change to him under God.’¹¹¹ A writer in 1894 agreed with this sort of assessment: ‘My conception of a successful mission is that when the evangelist has gone increased attendances at our churches are the result, also a greater appreciation of the work of the regular ministers of the Gospel.’¹¹²

Towards the end of Thomas Cook’s tour, he estimated that ‘from 7000 to 8000 persons have entered the enquiry-room’,¹¹³ and he also said that he had preached between 550 and 560 times in his fifteen months in Australia¹¹⁴ - presumably having kept a diary or equivalent record.¹¹⁵ A few years later, Yatman thought he had witnessed about 2000 conversions by the time he reached Melbourne: ‘I find the listening qualities of Australian audiences as good as any in the world, and the response, while perhaps not so quick as in some other parts, yet when made is hearty and life-deep.’¹¹⁶

Individual churches were able to see more clearly how many had been added to their number. This was easier when the meetings were local; for example, during Mrs Baeyertz’ prolonged stay in South Australia, individual Baptist and Methodist churches reported to their respective papers the numbers of those who had professed conversion, those who had been baptised or joined classes, and those who actually joined the churches.¹¹⁷ In fact, in some areas so many potential converts were brought in that there was not a lot of scope left for evangelism in the next few years.¹¹⁸ Figures for South Australian Baptist membership show a sharp rise in the years 1881-85.¹¹⁹ Manley notes that in 1877-78, Baptists in

¹¹⁰ It is unclear what he means. His ministry was in Collingwood, which was a separate city at that time, so perhaps he means the actual city of Melbourne (around the CBD) and the city of Collingwood.

¹¹¹ *Southern Cross*, 7 June 1879, p. 3.

¹¹² ‘Church member’, Letter to the Editor, *Argus*, 27 July 1894, p. 6.

¹¹³ *Brisbane Courier*, 1 June 1895, p. 6.

¹¹⁴ 550: farewell meeting in Melbourne, *Argus*, 15 August 1895, p. 7; 560: Thomas Cook, *Days of God’s Right Hand*, London, 1896, p. 303.

¹¹⁵ His book shows detailed numbers for many locations.

¹¹⁶ *Southern Cross*, 11 August 1899, p. 767.

¹¹⁷ See reports collated in Robert Evans, *Emilia Baeyertz – Evangelist*, Hazelbrook, 2007, pp. 129-174.

¹¹⁸ Hilliard, *Popular Revivalism in South Australia*, p. 14.

¹¹⁹ John S Walker, ‘The Baptists in South Australia, 1863-1914’, Honours thesis, Flinders University, South Australia, 1990, p. 40.

Melbourne experienced a growth of almost 15% in church membership, 'due at least in part' to Somerville and Varley's meetings.¹²⁰

It is clear, therefore, from many reports, that at most evangelistic meetings there was at least some response, and that an appreciable number of people professed conversion. However, one element of disquiet about revivalist preaching was that such conversions, which might be called immediate or short-term outcomes of such preaching, did not last. In fact, quite soon after the time most often referred to as a time of revival, the overlapping meetings of Somerville and Varley in Melbourne in 1877, observers were saying that 'its effects seemed dying out',¹²¹ and that the 'glowing expectations' had not been fulfilled.¹²² So in the next section I will consider how far the apparent conversions translated into altered lifestyles in the long-term.

Church growth

It is tempting to list the statistics for the decades 1870-1900, which do indeed show a growth in many church memberships and attendances, and draw the facile inference that the large crowds and thousands of professed conversions of the various campaigns resulted in church growth. However, 'coincidence is not a cause',¹²³ and the growth in church membership can be partly explained by the growth in population, and the normal activities of churches in teaching their children and young people, and local missions. However, the following tables and graphs give some crude statistics of church growth percentages 1871-1901:¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Ken R Manley, *From Woolloomooloo to 'Eternity': A History of Australian Baptists*, Vol. 1, Milton Keynes, 2006, p. 78.

¹²¹ *Victorian Freeman*, May 1878, p. 92, from a day at the half-yearly meetings of the Baptist Association which was largely given to discussion of 'The Recent Revivals in Victoria, their value, and the best means of turning them to good account.'

¹²² *Methodist Spectator*, 15 December 1877, p. 393.

¹²³ Associate Professor Ian Gordon, Director, Statistical Consulting Centre, University of Melbourne, personal communication.

¹²⁴ Based on figures in the tables for religious affiliation in Wray Vamplew (ed.), *Australians: Historical Statistics*, Broadway, 1987, pp. 421-422.

NSW	1871-81	1881-91	1891-1901
Population growth %	49	49.9	20
Church of England	49	47	23.9
Baptist	80	85	18
Brethren	n/a	n/a	106
Methodist	64	75	22
Presbyterian	46	37	21

Table 6: Population and church growth percentages, NSW 1871-1901: figures

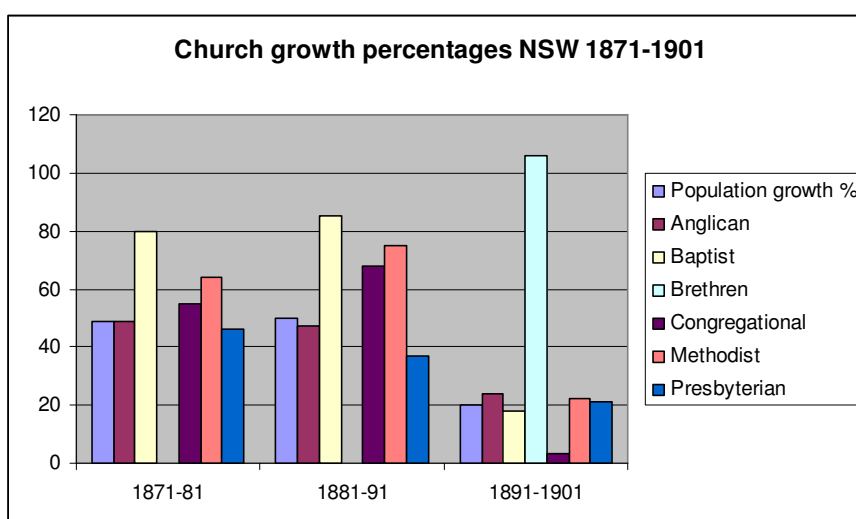


Table 7: Population and church growth percentages, NSW 1871-1901: graphs

VIC	1871-81	1881-91	1891-1901
Population growth %	17	32	5
Church of England	19	34	5
Baptist	25	37	18
Brethren	23.6	64.9	46.9
Methodist	22	37	12
Presbyterian	17.9	34	12.6

Table 8: Population and church growth percentages, Victoria 1871-1901: figures

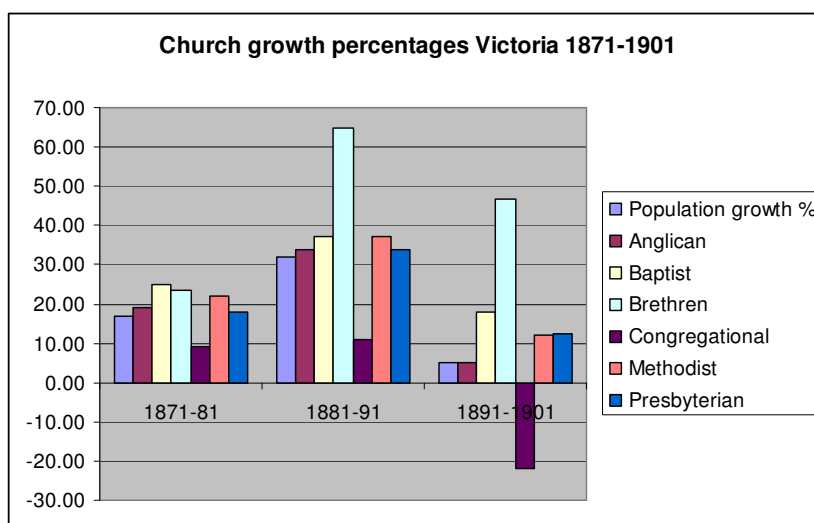


Table 9: Population and church growth percentages, Victoria 1871-1901: graph

A Baptist commentator asked rhetorically of the 1894 influx of evangelists, ‘Where are the converts? Is there an abnormal increase in membership of the churches?’¹²⁵ While the tenor of his article was that the answer would be in the negative, these graphs show that in the broadest sense, the main churches involved in active cooperative evangelism¹²⁶ not only kept pace with population growth but increased what might be called their market share.¹²⁷ Some of this would have been because of inward migration; the 1870s and 1880s were decades of steady growth in this regard.¹²⁸ However, it does not seem unreasonable to

¹²⁵ *Day Star*, October 1874, p. 73.

¹²⁶ The Churches of Christ grew by 69% in NSW 1891-1901 (the first decade with figures), and in Victoria by 37% 1871-81, 92% 1881-91, and 14% 1891-1901. The Salvation Army shrank by 7% in NSW 1891-1901 (the first decade with figures), from a starting base of 10,315 which they did not come back to until after WWII, and in Victoria they shrank by 34% 1891-1901, from a base of 13,521. It is possible that many of their adherents were of the class which were badly affected by the Depression, and were tramping the roads in search of work, or that the early flush of enthusiasm had faded for some. Neither the Churches of Christ nor the Salvation Army were prominently involved in interdenominational evangelism, though both were keenly engaged in their own outreach activities.

¹²⁷ The opposite was true of the Congregational church, which was cool towards this sort of evangelism – see for example, the appraisal of Somerville and Varley in the *New South Wales Independent*, 15 September 1877, pp. 141-2, and the editorial in the same newspaper on ‘Revivals and Revivalists’, 15 October 1878, pp. 162-3. While this would not be the only reason, it is still the case that Congregational membership declined from the 1890s to the 1930s. Hugh Jackson, ‘Religious Ideas and Practice in Australian Congregationalism 1870-1930: Part I’, *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 12, No. 3, June 1983, p. 272.

¹²⁸ Wramplew, *Australians: Historical Statistics*, p. 6. As one tiny part of this picture, the author’s Brethren great-grandparents emigrated from Scotland to Victoria in the late 1880s. James and Elizabeth Gordon, née Young, associated themselves with the Hopkins group of assemblies (it is possible they had some link with Rice Hopkins from their NE Scotland background), and James became a respected Bible teacher and evangelist in addition to his work as a railway workshops foreman.

suppose that some of this growth, and indeed some of the ‘in-house’ conversions, were the fruit of evangelistic campaigns.

The lasting nature of conversions

Another medium-term outcome, hopefully even a long-term one, was the lasting nature of conversions. As proponents of evangelistic meetings were keen to defend them on this ground, it was often mentioned as proof that the meetings had been successful. Again, Mrs Baeyertz’ meetings seemed to produce depth in this regard: ‘One of the best tests of successful labour is the evidence of the permanent nature of the results when the special excitement has passed away...’ wrote a minister in Stawell in 1881, saying that their members’ roll had increased by 31, and that ‘very many are now anxious about their souls, who did not exhibit any concern previous to your visit.’¹²⁹ During her return visit to Australia in 1905-6, an admittedly partial reporter¹³⁰ wrote that people were continually coming up to her and telling her that they were saved during her meetings twenty to thirty years earlier: ‘Here is the answer to the constant enquiry, “Do the converts stand?”’ Many in this land, who are now ministers, missionaries, and faithful church members, are among the thousands led to Christ through her.’¹³¹

It is also notable how often George Grubb’s influence is mentioned in later biographies and accounts. For example, Sydney barrister E P Field was converted under Grubb, and went on to undertake long-term open air preaching.¹³² Tasmanian romantic novelist Marie Bjelke Petersen was also converted: ‘I thought, I haven’t ever had the real thing and now I know.’¹³³ Although she became a regular church-goer, her biographer describes her religion as ‘intensely

¹²⁹ *Truth and Progress*, 1 August 1881, p. 89.

¹³⁰ Frank Varley, Henry Varley’s son.

¹³¹ Report to the *Christian*, 13 July 1905, p. 17, reproduced in Evans, *Emilia Baeyertz*, p. 339.

¹³² Bill Lawton, *The Better Time to Be: Utopian Attitudes to Society among Sydney Anglicans, 1887-1914*, Kensington, 1990, pp. 105-6.

¹³³ Alison Alexander, *A Mortal Flame: Marie Bjelke Petersen, Australian Romantic Writer 1874-1969*, Sandy Bay, 1994, p. 13.

personal', with a 'close and direct personal relationship with God'.¹³⁴ Alexander gives many instances of Bjelke Petersen seeking direct confirmation for decisions from the Bible, and well into old age she continued to hold meetings for girls in her home, influencing some to a more committed Christianity and even missionary service.¹³⁵

Sydney Anglican historians Judd and Cable attribute four main effects to Grubb's mission: the conversion of a number of future leaders in the diocese; the enlivening of faith of many already committed believers; the awakening of a need to evangelise; and increasing involvement in foreign missions.¹³⁶ This fits with Lawton's claims that the impact of the Grubb Sydney missions on the unconverted was 'negligible' – possibly this was the case in other states also – but that he 'stirred the committed'.¹³⁷ When one of Grubb's colleagues, Jackson, returned in 1898, the previous visit was referred to as a time 'during which a marvellous work was accomplished both in Australia and NZ, hundreds being converted'.¹³⁸ An Adelaide mention of Grubb's approaching 1911 visit said that 'many of the present pillars of churches in the eastern states were converts of Mr Grubb's missions'.¹³⁹ One of those 'pillars' was the later Sydney churchman R B S Hammond, whose vigorous evangelism, hand in hand with advocacy for reform and an extensive network of social services, made him a leader in NSW Anglicanism in the first half of the twentieth century.¹⁴⁰ There must be many other unknown examples of conversions under one or other of these evangelists which had an ongoing influence on other people for decades.

It is clear that the mission made an impact on Anglicans in particular. In fact, Grubb's nephew asserted that 'It was the great number brought to Christ in the Church of England in New South Wales, that gave Sydney Diocese and its

¹³⁴ Alexander, *A Mortal Flame*, p. 156.

¹³⁵ Alexander, *A Mortal Flame*, p. 229.

¹³⁶ Stephen Judd and Kenneth Cable, *Sydney Anglicans: a history of the Diocese*, Sydney, 1987, pp. 150-1.

¹³⁷ Lawton, *The Better Time to Be*, p. 102.

¹³⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 January 1898, p. 4.

¹³⁹ *Adelaide Advertiser*, 30 June 1911, p. 5.

¹⁴⁰ 'RBS ... was greatly helped by the mission conducted by the Rev. George Grubb...' Judd, *He That Doeth*, p. 19. See also Lawton, *The Better Time to Be*, p. 107, and Stephen Judd, 'R B S Hammond', *ADEB*.

Archbishopric its evangelical foundations, which have lasted to this day.’¹⁴¹ While this is patently an exaggeration, as the evangelical nature of the Sydney diocese had been evident from at least the long bishopric of Frederic Barker (1854-1882), Grubb’s mission clearly helped many within the Sydney diocese to have a more satisfying and dedicated Christian commitment. Many of the ‘conversions’, if not most, were from ‘fringe dwellers’ of the church, children and teenagers coming to a final decision of faith, or spouses or relatives of church members. He also achieved reconciliation in a long-standing dispute in the diocese of Goulburn.¹⁴²

On the other hand, there was often disappointment. Adelaide Christian leader and supporter of Varley, Henry Hussey, wrote that ‘hundreds professed to have been converted; but from my experience of evangelistic services of this kind, a large percentage has to be allowed for those who fall away after the excitement is over.’¹⁴³ The *Southern Cross* observed of Mrs Hampson’s meetings that ‘There is a serious disproportion between the number of tickets issued and the number of persons who presented their tickets at the converts’ meetings.’¹⁴⁴ Going further back to one of the ‘forerunners’, Macartney said that Walter Douglas was ‘a strange preacher to whom thousands flocked – to whom hundreds confessed, from whom hundreds went back, but through whom no inconsiderable number received an abiding blessing.’¹⁴⁵ Perrin was also privately critical of Douglas on account of the number of converts who had fallen away.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ Norman P Grubb, *Once Caught: No Escape*, London, c. 1969, p. 33.

¹⁴² *Australian Christian World*, 4 February 1892, p. 1; Edward Millard, *The Same Lord: An Account of the Mission Tour of the Rev. George Grubb in Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand from April 3rd 1891 to July 7th, 1892*, London, 1893, pp. 262-3.

¹⁴³ Henry Hussey, *More than Half a Century of Colonial Life and Christian Experience*, Adelaide, 1978 (facsimile edition – original Adelaide, 1897), p. 399.

¹⁴⁴ *Southern Cross*, 30 August 1884, p. 9.

¹⁴⁵ *The Missionary, at Home and Abroad*, April 1874, reprinted in *Christian Witness*, 16 May 1874, p. 299.

¹⁴⁶ ‘I may say to you here, that nearly every one of Douglas’s converts are gone back – It is notorious, go where you will – I can find scores of them here, gone back – indeed they never did anything but “go up” – I put every one through a cross examination that would frighten you sometimes, to see if they have it clearly – if I was satisfied with double what W.D. is I could have lots more converts but what’s the good of them, even with all my care, I can’t expect but that some will go back.’ Letter from C F Perrin to his wife Sarah, 7 February 1873, from Duck River [Smithton], Tasmania. Hope Christian Centre archives. Part of the letter is quoted in Sarah Perrin’s biographical memoir, “*One Thing I Do*”; or, *Memorials of C F Perrin*, Melbourne, 1878, pp. 86-8. Presumably because he emphasised that this comment was to her alone, and Douglas was still alive, she did not print this section of the letter.

Even those who were in favour of evangelism and believed in conversion wondered at times ‘what place these peculiar evangelistic efforts have in relation to the ordinary Church work.’ The editorial which posed this question balanced the ‘new life and energy’ of church workers, and the unreached who might be gathered in, against the fact that ordinary church work suffered during such meetings: Sunday School teachers and choir members were swept up in the meetings to the detriment of their usual work. The writer struggled to reconcile the evident blessings of such meetings with the dangers, especially in a year like 1886 which had seen at least seven international visitors in quick succession.¹⁴⁷ He thought that such meetings might be better held in existing churches, and questioned whether ‘the gain ... cover[s] the loss ... by the diversion of time, toil, and money?’ On balance he thought that the church was ‘depending too much on these peculiar agencies,’ and the church should be intrinsically ‘evangelistic and missionary’.¹⁴⁸

Deeper spiritual life

Another longer term outcome of many of these meetings was that Christians experienced a deeper spiritual life: Müller’s wife’s typically restrained comment on their South Australian stay was that they had the ‘fullest reason to believe that ... believers were edified, and that unconverted persons were brought ... to a knowledge of the Lord.’¹⁴⁹ W L Morton¹⁵⁰ was an example of someone already deeply committed who was influenced by Müller: his visit ‘brought to our minds

¹⁴⁷ Richard Booth, Mrs Leavitt, the Mountains, Müller, Guinness, and William Noble. He might have added Mateer and Parker.

¹⁴⁸ *Australian Christian World*, 6 August 1886, p. 296.

¹⁴⁹ Mrs Müller, *The Preaching Tours*, p. 287. A précis of one of his addresses a few years later is given in his biography, and gives us some idea of the gist of his addresses: ‘He first urged that believers should never ... be discouraged, and gave ... sound scriptural reasons. Then he pointed out ... that the chief business of every day is ... to be truly at rest and happy in God. Then he showed how, from the word of God, all saved believers may know their true standing in Christ, and ... urged disciples ... to become acquainted with God Himself as revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and carefully to form and maintain godly habits of systematic Bible study and prayer, holy living and consecrated giving. He taught that God alone is the one all-satisfying portion of the soul ... the one, single, all-absorbing, daily aim [is to] glorify God.’ A T Pierson, *George Müller of Bristol*, London, 1899, p. 257.

¹⁵⁰ Morton was a Presbyterian minister who moved into rescue work with alcoholic men, and then into training home and foreign missionaries. See David Parker, ‘William Lockhart Morton’, *ADEB*. Morton was a member of the Praying Band.

untold benefit. It charged us with untold optimism.’ As a result he established his rescue work as a work of faith, trusting God to supply needs, and, despite some close calls, this faith was vindicated. In yet another example of the intricacies of the evangelical network, when George Clarke heard of Morton’s work he asked him to speak about it at one of his meetings and then urged people to donate to it – in interesting contrast to the fact that he would normally allow no collections to be taken at his meetings.¹⁵¹

Grubb’s influence on his hearers has already been noted. It is difficult to distinguish at times between what he and his colleagues called conversions and what others might call a second blessing or a moment of consecration which altered their whole lives. Other speakers also brought what might be called a ‘Keswick message’, notably Cook, whose comment on his Bathurst meetings may stand for many others: ‘There is a great deepening of spiritual life. This is not the result of morbid excitement or hysterical feeling. It is the outcome of deep conviction and settled principle.’¹⁵²

One of the continuing outcomes of these international visits was the establishment of conferences for the deepening of spiritual life. As shown in chapter 1, these had arisen in Melbourne from the proto-Brethren conferences held in Tasmania from 1873. In Melbourne there were conferences for the promotion of spiritual holiness,¹⁵³ and YMCA conferences, every year from the late 1870s to at least the 1890s.¹⁵⁴ In Sydney, a little later the Petersham conference for the promotion of holiness was established. The personnel involved were almost all of those who also promoted and participated in the evangelistic meetings.

Particularly during the 1870s and 1880s the programs, reports, and often transcripts of these conferences, were published in the interdenominational

¹⁵¹ Even this was not a collection – he asked people to put their money on a table at the front of the hall. W L Morton, *Drifting Wreckage*, London, [1913], pp.140-1. A similar outcome was the result of his meeting Henry Drummond, who set in train fundraising efforts on his behalf. Morton, *Drifting Wreckage*, pp. 144-6.

¹⁵² Cook, *Days of God’s Right Hand*, p. 166.

¹⁵³ Paproth, ‘Deeper Life Movement’, pp. 58-9.

¹⁵⁴ Conferences in Melbourne and Sydney were reported in detail in the religious papers. See also J T Massey, *The Y.M.C.A. in Australia: a history*, Melbourne, 1950, pp. 70-77.

papers. In general they used a spread of speakers, although from year to year many names were repeated. It is impossible to judge how influential these conferences were beyond the regular clientele who patronised them. The teaching certainly presented an ongoing challenge to take the Christian life seriously and devotedly, and to rely on the Holy Spirit for life and strength.

The Geelong convention arose naturally out of Grubb's Keswick connection and convictions. In fact, Watsford articulated this, writing that 'It was thought that a convention for holiness similar to the Keswick Convention in England would be a blessing.'¹⁵⁵ The people who thought this were members of the 'Praying Band', a group of ministers who had been praying for revival for a number of years.¹⁵⁶ Following Grubb's visit, the Geelong convention was repeated for a number of years, eventually being superseded by the Upwey, now Belgrave Heights, conventions. In NSW the Petersham convention started at the same time.¹⁵⁷ Smaller conventions were and are still held in places such as Kerang in Victoria, Katoomba and Bowral in NSW, Victor Harbour SA, and Mt Tambourine in Queensland. All had a strong missionary interest and emphasis. For example, at Bowral in 1894, over two days, a Miss Denness spoke twice on her work among children in India; Mrs Deck spoke twice, about the Queensland Kanaka mission and Mr Reeve's work in India;¹⁵⁸ Mr Neave spoke of work in Russia and was asked to continue into a second address; and Rev. Bavin spoke on the CIM.¹⁵⁹ This was in addition to addresses on Christian living, a Christian Endeavour rally, and a WCTU meeting!

Unity

One of the most visible outcomes of these meetings was the growing unity experienced by participants, in particular the organisers. Corrie Johnstone wrote

¹⁵⁵ *Weekly Advocate*, 3 October 1891, p. 647.

¹⁵⁶ Paproth, 'Deeper Life Movement', pp. 59-63.

¹⁵⁷ For a program of the 1894 convention, see *Australian Christian World*, 10 August 1894, p11; for reports, 17 August 1894, p. 7, and 31 August 1894, p. 3.

¹⁵⁸ The beginning of the Poona and Inland Village Mission.

¹⁵⁹ For a report of the 1894 convention, held on Benjamin Short's property, see *Australian Christian World*, 11 January 1894, p. 7.

of the events in Scotland which engendered Dr Somerville's visit: 'Barriers which had for ages separated different bodies of Christians, and which seemed as if nothing on this side of the millennium would break them down, were in a few months swept away, and something like a general fusion took place.'¹⁶⁰ At the end of Dr Somerville's week in Geelong, the Rev. Bunning, a Baptist minister very much to the fore in evangelistic work, said that 'he rejoiced in the real union of believers that had been manifested ... all their little differences as denominations had been filled up by the tide of blessing which had come in during the week.'¹⁶¹

All the major campaigns studied for this thesis had interdenominational committees, albeit sometimes rather *ad hoc* arrangements: in 1894 when McNeill arrived in Sydney, there was a slightly undignified grab for his attention between Chalmers Church deacons, the YMCA, and an official Presbyterian committee. In the end, in accordance with his wishes, 'it was decided not to conduct the Mission on Presbyterian lines but to entrust the arrangements to the Minister's Association.'¹⁶² Even Clarke and Grubb, who were used extensively in Anglican churches, were seen to have an influence way beyond that sphere. Hilliard argues that in this respect, revival meetings were 'striking illustrations of the late nineteenth century ideal of "common Christianity" – that all Protestants held the great "essential" doctrines in common and were separated only by ... church practice and government.'¹⁶³

Even before Somerville and Varley arrived in 1877, a United Evangelistic Committee existed in Melbourne, and indeed, in some way or other invited Varley to the colony.¹⁶⁴ At the conclusion of Somerville's Melbourne meetings, the *Southern Cross* observed the 'pleasing union of all denominations to secure success', and noted that 'with the exception of the Church of England clergy all of the other denominations have been largely represented by ministers.'¹⁶⁵ In 1878, as a direct result of Somerville's advice and problems with Varley, this committee

¹⁶⁰ *Words of Grace*, October 1878, p. 6.

¹⁶¹ *Spectator and Methodist Chronicle*, 18 August 1877, p. 187.

¹⁶² *Australian Christian World*, 12 July 1894, p. 3. Apostrophe as in the original.

¹⁶³ Hilliard, *Popular Revivalism*, p. 19.

¹⁶⁴ Varley, *Henry Varley's Life Story*, p. 121.

¹⁶⁵ *Southern Cross*, 20 October 1877, p. 3.

was put on a more formal footing as the United Evangelistic Association.¹⁶⁶ Although this fell into abeyance, it was revived in 1883 as the Evangelisation Society of Victoria, perhaps because of the impetus of another international visitor, Mrs Hampson. It had a wide list of both clerical and lay evangelicals on the committee, and aroused some comment from the advertisements it placed in almost every religious paper outlining its aims.¹⁶⁷ Its ongoing work was clearly both an outcome of the accord experienced in working together in evangelistic campaigns, and a stimulus to more of the same.

This was not the only example of unity of outreach by any means. After Mrs Baeyertz' meetings in Norwood in South Australia, 'a Ministerial Association was formed, consisting of the Wesleyan, Presbyterian, Primitive Methodist, English Baptist, Congregational and United Methodist Churches ... The churches named have been carrying on united services for the past fortnight, and so far 18 have come out for Christ.'¹⁶⁸ In Collingwood, the working class inner-Melbourne suburb, Dr Somerville spoke at the Mission Hall, which had received a major boost from his meetings and from Mrs Baeyertz speaking there. The *Southern Cross* commented that it was 'most gratifying to witness the harmony and zeal with which the Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, Baptists, Plymouth Brethren and Congregationalists etc, work together, each associating himself or herself with that part of the work most suitable to their minds.'¹⁶⁹

A most remarkable example of Christian unity, indeed unique as far as I can tell, was the communion service held in Melbourne at the end of Somerville's visit.¹⁷⁰ Anglican clergy regretted that they were not able to be officially involved,¹⁷¹ but

¹⁶⁶ *Southern Cross*, 10 August 1878, p. 1.

¹⁶⁷ Darrell Paproth, 'Steps leading to the Formation of the Society', chapter 1 in Robert Evans, *The Evangelisation Society of Australasia: The First Thirty-Five Years, 1883-1918*, Hazelbrook, 2010, p. 32. See advertisements in *Southern Cross*, 20 October 1883 (and letter from Theo Kitchen 27 October 1883, p. 9 with a report published as a supplement to that edition); notice summarising the circular and commenting on work outside the Anglican aegis, *Church of England Messenger*, 7 August 1883, p. 3; advertisement, *Victorian Freeman*, August 1883, p. 131.

¹⁶⁸ *Truth and Progress*, 1 August 1881, p. 89.

¹⁶⁹ *Southern Cross*, 8 June 1878, p. 2.

¹⁷⁰ The *Church of England Messenger*, 10 August 1878, p. 3, says that Somerville complied with a request from the 'large body of Melbourne ministers', including three Church of England clergy.

¹⁷¹ *Church of England Messenger*, 10 August 1878, p. 3: 'We share unreservedly in the longing for union which prompted this movement ... Even for union's sake, we must not palter with principle ... We stand ...

the Town Hall was crammed with about 4,000 people for what sounds like a most moving service. Dr Cairns (Presbyterian) presided, prayers were offered by the Revs Binks (Wesleyan) and Bailhache (Baptist), Dr Somerville spoke, and Edwin Good (Brethren) organised the actual communion component. The *Southern Cross* thought that ‘to the high strung emotion of many, the scene, with its accompaniments so solemn and yet so joyous, must have borne a closer resemblance to what they expect to see in heaven ...’ than to anything on earth.¹⁷²

However, to come back to earth, it must be pointed out that, while those involved with such meetings experienced Christian unity in their focus on evangelism, there were many others who from choice or lack of opportunity were not so involved. Those churches, ministers, or individuals who did not approve of or feel comfortable with the revivalist sub-culture, and those whose attendance was prevented by other obligations, transport or other difficulties, continued on with ‘normal’ church activities. The newspapers which reported the evangelistic meetings also carried many notices and reports of ordinary services, anniversaries, special song services, fund-raisers, etc, at exactly the same time as the special meetings.

Most of the examples in this section have been from Melbourne. Darrell Paproth¹⁷³ and Stuart Piggin¹⁷⁴ have argued that there was a nucleus of committed laymen in Melbourne which gave strength, intelligent planning, and vigour to outreach activities for decades. Paproth notes that ‘official’ unity, such as the Evangelical Alliance, did not last as well as the ‘network of individuals’.¹⁷⁵ I concur with this assessment, but note that the other capitals had either ongoing or

for an order of ministry and an order of worship’. They felt they could not accept ‘an insufficient ministry and an attenuated office.’

¹⁷² *Southern Cross*, 3 August 1878, p. 1.

¹⁷³ Paproth is currently working on this precise area. His argument may be seen in his articles: ‘The 1888 Centennial Mission in Victoria’, *Lucas*, NS No. 1, Autumn 2009, pp. 31-66; ‘The Deeper Life Movement in Victoria, 1880-1914’, *Our Yesterdays*, No. 10, 2002, pp. 52-77; ‘Henry Varley and the Melbourne Evangelicals’, *Journal of Religious History* Vol. 25 No. 2, June 2001, pp. 173-187; ‘Henry Varley Down Under’, Part I, *Lucas* No. 30, June 2001, pp. 34-68.

¹⁷⁴ Stuart Piggin, ‘“Not a little Holy Club”: Lay and Clerical leadership in Australian Anglican Evangelicalism 1788-1988’, in W J Sheils and Diana Wood (eds.), *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay, Papers read at the 1988 Summer Meeting and the 1989 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Oxford, 1989, pp. 367-383.

¹⁷⁵ Paproth, ‘Centennial Mission’, p. 50.

ad hoc committees or associations which arranged at least the evangelistic meetings, and in some cases the conferences for spiritual holiness. Some had ongoing outreach meetings: in Brisbane the gospel choirs formed during Somerville's meetings continued to hold song services as an outreach for many years.¹⁷⁶

Individual churches experienced an ongoing influence also. In 1883, the 'striking development' of churches making their evening services 'especially popular and evangelistic' was noted. Methodist, Baptist, and Independent churches were cited, with Sankey's hymns being used, and an after meeting being held.¹⁷⁷ We may add to this list pretty well all Brethren gospel halls,¹⁷⁸ which in some cases have continued to hold gospel meetings on Sunday evening until the present day.¹⁷⁹ In some areas a quite distinct congregation would be present for the 'gospel meeting'.¹⁸⁰

Tangible outcomes

Conversions, unity, a deeper spiritual life – all these are what could be called intangible results of evangelistic campaigns. A claimed inner spiritual reality can only be judged by visible words and actions. To some extent there was evidence of these in action and practice, such as an individual's changed manner of life or increased church memberships. It might also be possible on a local level to examine crime rates for such matters as drunkenness and other social offences and see if there was a drop in these after major evangelistic efforts. Using this method,

¹⁷⁶ *Brisbane Courier*, 8 October 1888, p. 4.

¹⁷⁷ *Southern Cross*, 22 September 1883, p. 7, quoting the *Daily Telegraph*.

¹⁷⁸ However, Brethren gospel meetings were probably more the result of the early evangelists' involvement in the 1859 revival than a product of these evangelistic meetings.

¹⁷⁹ Evening 'gospel meetings' were common until at least the 1980s. There was increasing debate about their usefulness, however, so that even where assemblies retained an evening service, they often became a forum for Bible teaching, or a youth service. The current list of assemblies in Australia shows that only a few of the more conservative meetings have a named Gospel service. AMT office, Notice of meetings, 2011.

¹⁸⁰ This was particularly observable in working class areas, judging by my personal experience in Glenorchy, Tasmania, 1950s-1960s, and Coburg, Victoria, 1960s-1970s.

Stuart Piggin has demonstrated the notable, though temporary, social effect of the Billy Graham crusades in 1959.¹⁸¹

Nineteenth century population figures are patchy and variable between states, making it difficult to compare crime statistics. It would be possible to do some very basic broad analysis, but it would be almost meaningless. However, it is possible to look at figures for Victoria, the state where the revivalist sub-culture really flourished. The following graphs show the comparison of offences brought before the magistrates' courts with the increase or decrease of population.¹⁸²

	magistrates' court charges	population Victoria	
1870	19,525	730,198	26.7
1875	19,967		
1880	18,857	861,566	21.9
1885	23,155		
1890	31,736	1,139,840	27.8
1895	18,707		
1900	22,388	1,201,070	18.6

Table 10: Victoria: offences before the magistrates' courts compared to the population

¹⁸¹ Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, word and world*, Oxford, 1996, pp. 168-71.

¹⁸² For the data on which this analysis has been made, see Vamplew (ed.), *Australians: Historical Statistics*, pp. 308-311, esp. p. 310.

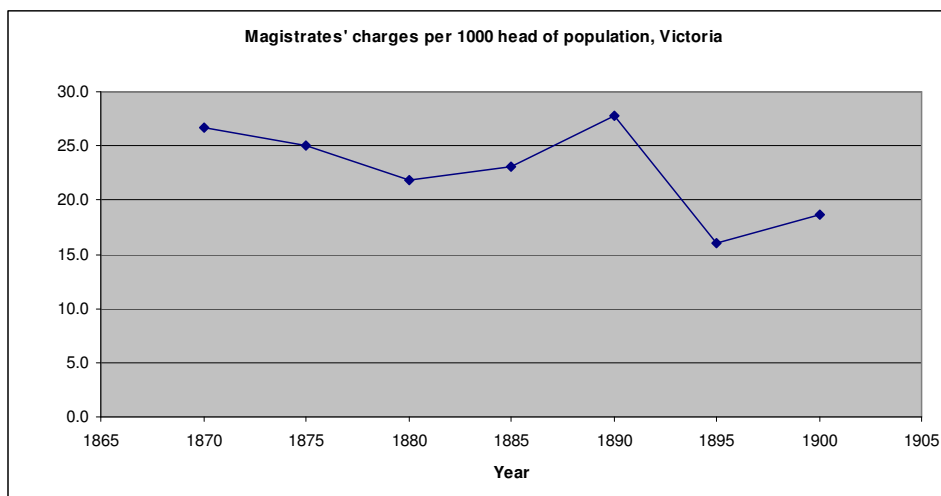


Table 11: Magistrates' charges per 1000 head of population.¹⁸³

They show that there were drops in the number and proportions of people charged between 1875 and 1880, and between 1890 and 1895 – both periods when there was significant large-scale evangelism in Victoria. However, the latter period includes the years of the land bust, bank failures and major economic depression, so discretionary spending on alcohol, for example, would have been affected by sheer lack of money in many cases. It is not possible to make a definitive link between evangelistic/revivalist meetings and changes in behaviour from these figures.

Certainly, at the time of some meetings, it was claimed that they had made a difference. Captain Probert wrote in September 1877 that ‘The theatres are crying out at their poor attendance, which is a good thing.’¹⁸⁴ Probert of course interpreted this as evidence of spiritual interest and conviction, but it is likely that for some people it was alternative entertainment, especially where Varley was involved. In response to a query, he claimed in 1878 that theatres and hotels of Melbourne had felt the effect of his meetings. He wrote that he had it on good authority that attendance at theatres had decreased, as also in Launceston (where

¹⁸³ Censuses were only held every ten years, whereas the statistics were given every five years. The missing population numbers (i.e. 1875, 1885, 1895) were obtained by linear interpolation between the two known population figures immediately preceding and immediately following the figure required. My thanks to Associate Professor Ian Gordon for his help with this graph.

¹⁸⁴ *Missionary Echo*, February 1878, p. 38.

the Pavilion Theatre had closed) and Hobart. He compared this to the situation in Williamstown and Stawell after Burnett's crusades which allegedly resulted in fewer hotels.¹⁸⁵ On the other hand, 'Theophilus' claimed that 'the revivalism which has been carried on ... for many months past has made no such difference among the lowest classes as is perceptible to the police or ... the general public.'¹⁸⁶

It is very difficult to come to any valid conclusion on this aspect, as the raw data and the many variables do not stand up to real analysis. In chapter 7, I have shown that Somerville, Varley and Guinness all spoke out on the problem of the social evil, and I have considered how effective this was. Burnett, Booth, and Noble were all temperance evangelists, and Mrs Hampson, Varley, and McNeill, in particular, were outspoken on temperance as well. Just how many people changed their behaviour permanently as a result of their efforts is impossible to say.

On the issue of public morality at the other end of the scale, in 1879 the editor of the *Southern Cross* asked:

What will the world care for our conferences and conventions, our prayer meetings and revival services, if the men who promote them and attend them are not at the highest level of morality – yea, incapable of meanness and the thing that is crooked and wriggling?¹⁸⁷

The world might well have asked this in the 1890s, when many of the leaders of society who fell furthest in the breaking of the land boom were also known to be church members. However, few were closely associated with the sort of evangelism under discussion. James Balfour 'narrowly escaped sequestration' and was financially embarrassed by the bank crashes.¹⁸⁸ Beath was associated in various ventures with Munro and others who were arraigned as key perpetrators of the boom and bust, but perhaps from Scottish prudence, financial wisdom,

¹⁸⁵ *Southern Cross*, 21 September 1878, p. 2.

¹⁸⁶ *Southern Cross*, 20 July 1878, p. 2.

¹⁸⁷ *Southern Cross*, 14 June 1879, p. 2.

¹⁸⁸ Michael Cannon, *The Land Boomers*, Melbourne, 1967, p. 35.

conservatism, or a sense of Christian stewardship, had withdrawn from these associations in the mid-1880s.¹⁸⁹

James Mirams, one of the real scoundrels, had been a stalwart of the Congregational church and teetotal campaigns,¹⁹⁰ and his father, also James, was the well-known minister of the Collins Street church, editor of the *Victorian Independent*, and often listed on the platform of evangelistic meetings or holiness conferences. However, it does seem that, by and large, most of the key participants in evangelistic meetings were not tainted by financial scandal. As far as the international speakers were concerned, Varley attacked the land speculators and the greed and social misery they caused,¹⁹¹ and McNeill and Cook made the point that God might be specially speaking to people through the misery of the 1890s Depression.

The large crowds which attended McNeill's meetings were certainly seen as evidence of people being more aware of eternal realities rather than material gain. On the other hand, the radical *Bulletin*, pointing out the anomalies with characteristic rancour, said that he was the

bringer of glad tidings to busted syndicators and insolvent church-goers ... no nonsense about high principle, and discipline of the mind, and all that moral philosophy stuff ... It is easier to accept God than to believe in banks ... The business person who can taste M'Neill's hogwash without vomiting is to be regarded with much suspicion.¹⁹²

It was at the local level that longer-term projects arising out of evangelistic campaigns were most visible. In particular, Somerville consistently suggested follow on activities, such as the Gospel Tent in Melbourne, and particularly work which ladies could undertake: his suggestions in Hobart were typical, urging the formation of a Ladies Evangelistic Association, which could organise 'mother's [sic] meetings, classes for young ladies from 14-19 ..., classes for larrikins, a flower mission, a coffee room, a singing mission for sick rooms or hospitals. All

¹⁸⁹ Cannon, *Land Boomers*, pp. 118, 165.

¹⁹⁰ Cannon, *Land Boomers*, pp. 71-76.

¹⁹¹ See Chapter 7.

¹⁹² *Bulletin*, 11 August 1894, p. 14.

these agencies were to be distinctly christian [sic] in their aims.¹⁹³ Also, his visit was often the trigger for the formation or re-establishment of the YMCA in the relevant area.¹⁹⁴

In Melbourne, keen evangelicals took his words to heart. By 1879, Edwin Good could report that the Collingwood Coffee Room, offering a free library, games, music, and hot coffee, averaged an attendance of 150, ‘*very nearly all* being of the class most difficult to reach – some occasionally in a state of intoxication.’¹⁹⁵ However, this sort of initiative seemed to gradually die out unless sustained by a persevering stalwart such Dr Singleton. Nothing more is heard of Edwin Good after about 1882.

Somerville was also the instigator of the idea of a Gospel Tent in Melbourne, for which £400 was raised in a few months. The idea was that such a facility could be moved to different areas for a few months each. For example, it opened in Collingwood in February 1878,¹⁹⁶ and in October it was being moved to South Yarra, hoping to attract the navvies working on the railway line.¹⁹⁷ Again, this eventually seems to have fallen into disuse by the early 1880s – possibly the upkeep and manpower needed was difficult to sustain. As early as May 1878 there was an appeal for workers (Sunday School teachers and visitors) and for funds (£3 per week needed).¹⁹⁸

¹⁹³ *Mercury*, 14 June 1878, p. 2.

¹⁹⁴ J T Massey, *The Y.M.C.A. in Australia*, Melbourne, 1950, p. 48, says that ‘Dr W A Somerville (1877-8) visited most Australian and New Zealand Associations as a representative of the English movement. He had a definite influence in its formation at Hobart and Launceston, and reorganisation in Sydney. His meetings and counsel stirred men into action.’ Massey has confused Dr Somerville’s initials (his musician son was Willie), and he was not primarily a representative of the YMCA, although he certainly advocated the setting up of Associations as a consequence of his meetings. However, it is evident from many reports that the gist of this statement is true.

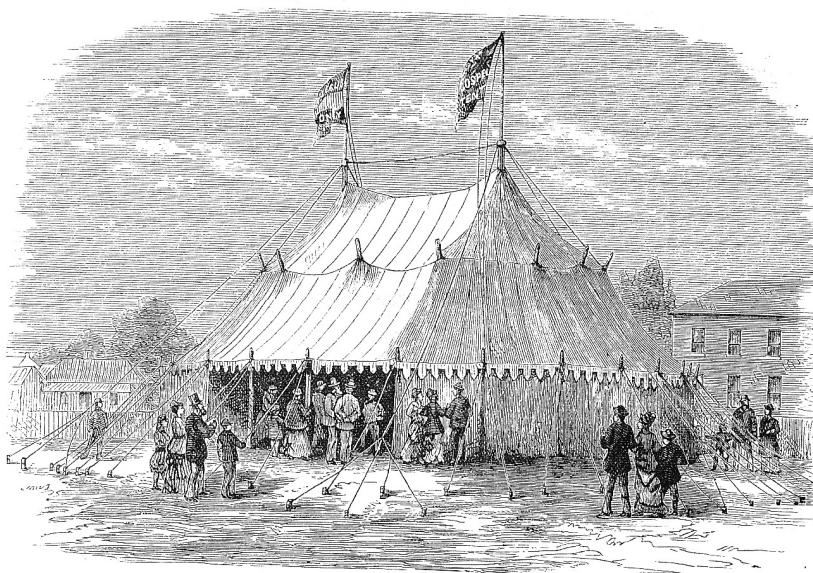
¹⁹⁵ *Southern Cross*, 29 March 1879, p. 1. Emphasis in original.

¹⁹⁶ Henry Rainey reported home to the British Brethren constituency that ‘A gospel tent has been bought, and fitted up in a low part of Collingwood; it cost £400 everything included, and will hold about twelve hundred.’ *Missionary Echo*, June 1878, p. 95.

¹⁹⁷ *Southern Cross*, 19 October 1878, p. 2.

¹⁹⁸ *Southern Cross*, 1 June 1878, p. 3.

Somerville also suggested an undenominational hall be built, so that evangelistic meetings need not rely on churches or public buildings.¹⁹⁹ Although this idea of a 'Metropolitan Tabernacle' came to be associated with Varley,²⁰⁰ and came to nothing in a welter of argument about his motives (to run an independent church such as he had in London? to bring in Brethren ideas by the back door?), and the insistence on laymen on the committee,²⁰¹ the idea was supported by men of Singleton's calibre and experience who could see the possibilities.



THE MELBOURNE GOSPEL TENT.—OPENED 22ND FEBRUARY, 1878

56: The Gospel tent, Collingwood, set up as a result of Dr Somerville's suggestion.²⁰²

Another tangible outcome of the evangelistic campaigns was the ongoing prayer meetings that ensued. These might also be considered as a continuation of the unity experienced in the meetings themselves. For example, in Castlemaine in country Victoria, Somerville's visit was 'preceded by sixteen united prayer meetings, held in the Congregational, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, Primitive

¹⁹⁹ *Argus*, 12 July 1878, p. 3: 'The Melbourne Association should proceed energetically with their work, and one of their first requirements would be a large building comprising a hall for public meetings, numerous committee rooms, library, coffee room, etc.' See *Southern Cross*, 3 August 1878, p. 2, for a lengthy discussion of the pros and cons.

²⁰⁰ Apparently he suggested such a hall on 22 May: *Southern Cross*, 3 August 1878, p. 2.

²⁰¹ *Southern Cross*, 3 August 1878, p. 2.

²⁰² *Words of Grace*, September 1878, p. 401.

Methodist, Bible Christian, and Baptist churches'.²⁰³ An integral part of Moody's *modus operandi* was the midday prayer meeting, and Somerville, Varley, and all the major evangelists followed suit. One key element of preparing the ground for revival was prayer, and these meetings often proved inspiring and encouraging as requests for and answers to prayer were shared, and the evangelist gave short Bible messages or devotionals. The midday prayer meetings often continued past the actual campaigns, especially in the major population centres, and were often given a shot in the arm by subsequent evangelists. The Melbourne one had evidently lapsed even in the few months after Somerville's visit, as they were reported as starting again when Varley returned from Tasmania.²⁰⁴ However, it was also hard to keep the flame of enthusiasm going, not to mention the time commitment. For example, by October 1878 the Ballarat Evangelisation Society reported that the noon prayer meeting had ceased.²⁰⁵

The noon prayer meetings were revived for Mrs Hampson's meetings, and later for McNeill's. Their messages were reported in full, and, given their length, cannot have left a lot of time for prayer. Nevertheless, the most lasting initiatives for prayer were the women's prayer unions resulting from Mrs Hampson's visits. For example, the annual meetings of the Sydney Women's Prayer Union were regularly reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and it was still in existence into the middle of the twentieth century.²⁰⁶ It is likely that, as this was a women's meeting, it was more sustainable, in that middle-class women might have some flexibility in the use of their time than men who were in paid work.

Another longer-term outcome of these missions was that existing church members were revitalised and motivated for the existing avenues of ministry in which they were involved. A corollary of this was that ministers and other workers were given fresh inspiration and models of how to present both the Gospel and

²⁰³ *Spectator*, 25 August 1877, p. 199. It is notable that Castlemaine as a centre of goldmining had three species of Methodist.

²⁰⁴ *Southern Cross*, 18 May 1878, p. 2.

²⁰⁵ *Southern Cross*, 12 October 1878, p. 1.

²⁰⁶ The nineteenth AGM of the prayer union 'established by Mrs Hampson in 1883' was reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 September 1902, p. 13. The 'Sydney Prayer Union' was one of the organisations involved in praying for shorter hotel hours in 1945. *Army News*, 27 September 1945, p. 5.

Christian teaching. The Archbishop of Sydney thanked God that, through Grubb and his team, 'fresh workers for the Lord, and for the cause of religion, purity, and temperance among ourselves have been raised up, as well as for foreign missionary work.'²⁰⁷ Of the effect on ministers, one observer, noting that 'younger men [were] specially noticeable' at McNeill's midday services' thought that it was

probable that through them echoes of Mr McNeill's teaching and reflections of his intense earnestness will survive long after [he] has left Australia ... if this strong, resolute, white-hot spirit kindles to its own glow the younger ministry of all the churches, the effect on the Christianity of the whole community may be very blessed.²⁰⁸

An example of this may be seen in the life of R B S Hammond, Sydney Anglican clergyman and social reformer.²⁰⁹ Although he was converted under Grubb, his biographer wrote that Henry Drummond's visit the next year was 'one of the turning points of his life' and if 'not actually responsible for his conversion ... was the means of a distinct advance in his Christian understanding'.²¹⁰ In his case, two speakers with quite different personalities, approaches, and even theology, were both of major influence in his life.

Another person who was often mentioned as a 'trophy' of Mrs Baeyertz was J J Virgo in South Australia. In another example of one where the impact was passed on to many others, Virgo became the general secretary of the YMCA there until 1900, and later had an Empire-wide role in the same capacity.²¹¹ He was also a preacher and singer in his own right.²¹²

²⁰⁷ Sydney Diocesan Synod, Proceedings 1892 9th Synod, 1st Session (16-23 Aug), Sydney Diocesan Archives 1995/35/33, p. 27.

²⁰⁸ *Southern Cross*, 17 August 1894, p. 647.

²⁰⁹ Stephen Judd, 'R B S Hammond', *ADEB*.

²¹⁰ Bernard G Judd, *He That Doeth: The Life Story of Archdeacon R B S Hammond, OBE*, London, 1951, p. 17.

²¹¹ Hilliard, *Popular Revivalism*, p. 14.

²¹² During Yatman's meetings in Adelaide Virgo often sang solos, and went with Yatman to other states. See reports in the *Adelaide Advertiser* August-September 1899, especially for the final meeting, 5 September 1899, p. 7. He was also the 'competent accompanist and coadjutor' for the Torrey/Alexander Simultaneous Mission in Melbourne in 1902: *Southern Cross*, 23 May 1902, p. 620.

A specific result from Drummond's meetings with young men might have been the university Christian fellowships which resulted. However, inspirational though he evidently was in personal work, he was not as effective as an organiser, and the fledgling unions in Melbourne and Sydney faltered. In fact, a later account says that 'there was no visible religious activity in the Universities' until John Mott's visit in 1896 when Student Christian Unions were established on an organised basis in both the larger secondary schools and the universities – twenty five in total.²¹³ He himself said at the time that 'in only five institutions were there student Christian societies, and but one of these was worthy of the name organisation.'²¹⁴ Mott was the travelling secretary of the Student Volunteer Movement, so linked Australian students with the growing world-wide missionary vision of 'evangelisation of the world in this generation'.

Overseas missions

The final long term outcome which may at least partly be attributed to the series of international visits which had begun with Somerville's, was the increasing number of foreign missionaries being sent overseas. Of course denominational missions, and societies such as the London Missionary Society, had sent missionaries to the Pacific region since the early days of settlement.²¹⁵ There were also missions to Aborigines in every colony.²¹⁶ Macartney had been fostering an interest in India and China particularly from the 1870s with his magazine *The Missionary, At Home and Abroad*, and the 1880s witnessed a discernible increase

²¹³ W H Sallmon, *Among Australasian Students*, Sydney, 1900, pp. 5-6; Margaret Holmes and David Garnsey, *Other Men Laboured: Fifty Years with the Australian Christian Student Movement*, Melbourne, 1946, pp. 5-6.

²¹⁴ *Southern Cross*, 12 February 1897, p. 159, had a long article by Mott on student work in Australasia, which was followed by a second part in the next issue.

²¹⁵ Some accounts are S M Johnstone, *A History of the Church Missionary Society in Australia and Tasmania*, Sydney, 1925; J G Paton, *John G Paton, missionary to the New Hebrides: an autobiography*, London, 1889; John Watsford, *Glorious Gospel triumphs, as seen in my life and work in Fiji and Australasia*, London, 1900.

²¹⁶ The classic history of Aboriginal missions is John Harris, *One Blood*, Sutherland, NSW, 1990.

in the numbers going to work with Zenana women in India.²¹⁷ Nevertheless, this increase was in the single digit figures only.

However, in the late 1880s and throughout the 1890s there was a very noticeable growth in overseas recruits going to China, India, and Africa. This seems to have been due to a number of factors: the growing awareness of need, the growing acceptance of single women as missionaries,²¹⁸ the link between the holiness movement and missions, and the visits of such men as Hudson Taylor of the China Inland Mission [CIM], and George Grubb.²¹⁹ However, although not every international visitor had a missions emphasis, their mere presence in Australia connected hearers with the wider world of evangelism – or at least the closely-linked world of faith missions. In particular, Guinness with his parents' well-known missionary training activities and missions advocacy, and Müller with his support of the CIM, British and Foreign Bible Society, and many Brethren and other missionaries, must have reinforced both the need and the potential openings.

Coming on top of Taylor's inspirational visit in 1890, Grubb's influence, with the concomitant holiness and missions emphasis of Keswick, was seminal: 'Eugene Stock, one of the two members of the [Church Missionary Society] Deputation to Australia in 1892, repeatedly refers to the fact that it was the spiritual atmosphere created by Grubb's Mission which was to a large extent the atmosphere in which the CMS Deputation lived, worked, and succeeded.'²²⁰

The inter-denominational nature of the evangelistic meetings discussed in this thesis also led to openness to work with non-denominational faith missions. In

²¹⁷ Rosalind Gooden, 'Five Barley Loaves: An icon for Australasian Baptist Missionary Work', paper delivered at ANZ Missionaries, At Home and Abroad: 1st Biennial Trans-Tasman Mission History Conference, Canberra, Australia, 8-10 October 2004, rspas.anu.edu.au/pah/TransTasman/papers.php.

²¹⁸ See Anne O'Brien, *God's Willing Workers: Women and Religion in Australia*, Sydney, 2005, p. 94, for a list of organisations which started to use women. She does not include the CIM. Janet West, 'The Role of the Woman Missionary from 1880-1914', *Lucas*, Nos. 1 & 2, June and December 1996, pp. 31-60, has an interesting discussion of the increase in women missionaries from the 1880s, especially in the CIM and CMS, and the influence of Grubb et al. See also Margaret Allen, ' "White Already to harvest": South Australian Women Missionaries in India', *Feminist Review* No. 65, Summer 2000, pp. 92-107, and Gooden, ' "Five Barley Loaves" '.

²¹⁹ These developments are outlined in more detail by Deane, 'The Contribution of the New Evangelical Movements', PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 1983, pp. 76 ff.

²²⁰ Johnstone, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, p. 200.

fact, this was another way in which Christian, or at least Protestant, unity was demonstrated. The same names occur again in relation to mission committees and support of various kinds. Silas Mead in Adelaide, the Baptist minister heavily involved in evangelistic meetings, was also a key figure in the formation of the South Australian Baptist Missionary Society.²²¹ Macartney, Bird, Philip Kitchen, Lockhart Morton, Soltau, and Samuel Chapman were all founding members of the Australian CIM council²²² and also key participants in organising evangelistic outreaches with overseas speakers. The links involved in the invitation to Hudson Taylor to visit Australia have been noted in chapter 4. Wives of prominent members were also involved: Mrs James Martin, along with Mesdames Chapman, Bailhache, and Hiddlestone, started the Zenana Foreign Mission in Victoria in 1872, disseminating information and collecting donations.²²³

The initiatives of the 1880s and 1890s are quite striking. Brethren Florence Young, whose father had been converted under Varley, started the Queensland Kanaka Mission.²²⁴ In this she received encouragement from George Müller.²²⁵ Later, after several years in China with the CIM, she formed the South Seas Evangelical Mission to reach the same ethnic group back in the Solomon Islands.²²⁶ She was obviously influenced by Hudson Taylor and the principles of the CIM.²²⁷

Both the China Inland Mission and the Church Missionary Society established Australian branches in the 1890s. The number of missionaries sent from Australia rose exponentially in this decade – the CIM prayed for one hundred missionaries to go in this decade, and this goal was reached.²²⁸ However, one mission which has been largely overlooked in academic work is the Poona and Inland Village

²²¹ Gooden, 'Awakened Women', p. 52.

²²² Marcus Loane, *The Story of the China Inland Mission in Australia and New Zealand 1890-1964*, Sydney, 1965, p. 7.

²²³ Gooden, 'Awakened Women', pp. 58-60.

²²⁴ Florence Young, *Pearls from the Pacific*, London, n.d.[c. 1925], p.42ff.

²²⁵ Young, *Pearls from the Pacific*, p. 43.

²²⁶ See Alison Griffiths, 'Florence Selina Harriett Young', *ADEB*.

²²⁷ See Loane, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, p. 34.

²²⁸ Loane, *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, chapter 2; see Appendix 1, pp. 151-154, for the names and dates.

Mission [PIVM] to the western area of India inland from Bombay.²²⁹ This wholly Australasian mission burst on the evangelical scene in 1893, and flourished for several years before leadership problems and dissension over policy caused a major split in 1902-3.²³⁰ It continued well into the twentieth century with reduced numbers.

The number of people who went to India with the PIVM by 1900 are truly astonishing, in the light of the individuals and small groups sent by denominational missions, and are comparable with the steady accessions of the CIM.²³¹ Some mission sources claim that around one hundred went from Australia and New Zealand by 1900;²³² more likely it seems to have been around 70-80. In 1893-6 there were small groups, then one group of about thirty went in 1897,²³³ and another of similar size in 1898.²³⁴ The 1897 group attended the Geelong Convention, underlining the conventions/missions nexus.²³⁵ The PIVM's founder, Charles F Reeve, is himself worthy of detailed study, and seems to have been a compelling figure with excellent Bible teaching skills.²³⁶ He had been part of the

²²⁹ For example, West, 'The Role of the Woman Missionary', does not mention this mission at all.

²³⁰ G A Hemming (ed.), *Advancing Together: a tale of two missions* [PIVM and CIGM], London, n. d. [c. 1971], pp. 33-4; Irene Dover, *Pathway through India: The life of Amy Parsons – Pioneer*, Cheshire, n.d. [c.1962], p. 41; William C Irvine, Notes in *Daily Light*, 1902-3. There is absolutely no hint of this crisis in *White Already to Harvest*, the PIVM's magazine. Indeed, it contains many encouraging stories, including a very positive report of the tenth mission conference in February 1903 – not long after several workers had left following tense meetings with Reeve. See William C Irvine, Notes in *Daily Light*, January 1903 and previous year *passim*.

²³¹ 1890: twelve; 1891: twenty-two in several groups; 1892: five; 1893: three; 1894: seven; 1895: eleven; 1896: ten; 1897: eleven; 1898: ten; 1899: nine.

²³² Hemming, *Advancing Together*, p. 33. Also, see article in *Southern Cross*, 8 September 1899, p. 886, which sounds like the result of an interview with Reeve: 'The first hundred workers in the mission are now complete, truly a wonderful testimony to God's faithfulness.' However, Gillian Whittall, one of C F Reeve's great-grand-daughters, has painstakingly put together a spreadsheet of all workers mentioned in reports and the magazine, and found a figure closer to eighty. Personal communication.

²³³ My grandfather William Carleton Irvine was in this group, leaving New Zealand in September, and arriving in India on 11 October. Wm C Irvine, notes in *Daily Light*. A report in *Southern Cross*, 8 September 1899, p. 886, says that there were twenty ladies and eleven gentlemen.

²³⁴ My grandmother, then Agnes Kay, left New Zealand with this group on 21 October 1898 and arrived in India in December. Information from William C Irvine's list of family dates, and hand-written notes in the *Daily Light*. The *Southern Cross* article, 8 September 1899, p. 886, says that there were twenty nine in this group.

²³⁵ *Southern Cross*, 17 September 1897, p. 914: 'Missionary meetings were held on Friday afternoon and evening, at which short addresses were given by returned missionaries, and a few of the thirty-five who have now gone to the mission field in India.'

²³⁶ Charles Frederick Reeve was born in Leighton Buzzard, England, in 1859. He migrated to Australia with his brothers, one of whom became a Brethren leader and teacher in north-west Tasmania, in the 1870s. Notes in his own handwriting in his Bible (held by his grand-daughter Rachel Humann in Melbourne) state that he was born again in 1877, and baptised in Sydney in 1878. He married Annie Pirani in Launceston in 1880 (she had previously worked briefly at the Maloga aboriginal mission). They had six daughters (one of whom died in Poona as a baby) and one son who died in WWI. He undertook evangelism in northern Tasmania in the

Hobart Brethren assembly in the 1880s, as an evangelist and elder,²³⁷ and changed his mind on foreign missionary work as a result of hearing Hudson Taylor in the Hobart Town Hall in September 1890.²³⁸ He evidently travelled around parts of Australia and New Zealand, gathering recruits.

It is arguable that this could not have happened so quickly without the depth of interest and the challenge issued by Taylor and Grubb as to the perceived need for missionaries. Indeed, a New Zealand Brethren leader whom Reeve tried to enlist as a Bible instructor to give Bible teaching to the recruits, wrote later that

Following on the heels of Mr Grubb's missions, and Mr Soltau's, he [Reeve] found quite a responsive people to his scheme. Numbers of young men and women, the cream of their respective communions, volunteered for the new Mission. Money simply flowed into Mr Reeve's hands...²³⁹

Indeed, at a PIVM field conference in Nasrapur in February 1902, it was reported that 'many of us had met and been blessed through Mr Grubb's ministry in the Colonies 10 years before.'²⁴⁰

Although this heady atmosphere did not last, it gives some idea of the environment in which such a new and untried mission could initially flourish.²⁴¹ Of course such missionary interest had been growing, but it can certainly be argued that it was possibly the outcome of these international visits with the longest reach both geographically and in terms of church growth world-wide.

early 1880s, and settled in Hobart 1882-1886 before widening his area of ministry to include other states, although it seems his home base was still in Hobart. With Ebenezer McGavin (who is now considered the first Australian Brethren missionary) he started the PIVM work in 1892 or early 1893. In 1920 Reeve relinquished, or was relieved of, the leadership. He returned to Australia in the 1930s and died in 1941. I hope to write about Reeve in a subsequent article. References include family information, English and Australian birth, death and marriage records, census information, and PIVM sources.

²³⁷ There are many references to Reeve in H L Garrett's diary, and some letters to and from him in his letters. There are also references to and a report from Reeve in the British Brethren missionary magazine *Missionary Echo*, later *Echoes of Service*. See July 1880, p. 109; October 1880, pp. 155-6; April 1881, p. 55; June 1881, p. 86; May 1889, p. 151.

²³⁸ Hemming, *Advancing Together*, pp. 32-33.

²³⁹ Franklin Ferguson, *Reminiscences of Christian Experience and Service in New Zealand from very early days*, Palmerston North, n. d. [c. 1943], p. 27.

²⁴⁰ *White Already to Harvest*, March 1902, p. 35.

²⁴¹ There is a very interesting and favourable report by F B Meyer after a visit in 1899 in the *Southern Cross*, 28 July 1899, p. 717, taken from the *Christian*, May 18, 1899.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the major evangelistic meetings of the last quarter of the nineteenth century did not entirely fulfil either the hopes or the fears held for them before they began. Their short-term impact was notable, especially in terms of publicity and numbers attending, in the major cities and towns in which they were held. Evidence of widespread community awareness of the meetings and the evangelists may be seen in editorial comment, letters to the editor, and satire.

Their reach into the community was not as great as hoped, either geographically or demographically, but they had unpredicted consequences such as the growing number of Christian conferences and conventions, and the increase in overseas missionary personnel towards the end of this period. Their influence may also be seen in styles of meetings, individual conversions of some later significant church leaders, and the way in which they kept the awareness of evangelism in the public consciousness.

They did not, in general, engender the emotional excesses which had been feared by some. However, if one of the anticipated outcomes was some sort of widespread revival, neither was this achieved. On the other hand, the denominations which supported the evangelistic outreaches seem to have experienced more than natural growth of membership, and in some cases a much larger growth than can be explained by any other means than accessions by conversion.

Conclusion

***‘Mere evanescent excitement’?*¹**

Who can tell of the great good outcoming from the work of “California” Taylor, Dr Somerville, Mrs Hampson, Mark Guy Pearse, Gipsy Smith, and Thomas Cook, John McNeill, and the other devout Christian evangelists who in by-gone times have laboured amongst us?

Southern Cross, 8 September 1899, p. 886.

The key question which this thesis has sought to answer is the level of impact on Australian society of the British evangelists of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In other words, did the experiment work?² Did the time, energy, planning, and expenditure on mass evangelistic meetings pay dividends in terms of church growth and community change? Did the international stars of the evangelical scene who were invited to Australia, or came of their own volition, persuade more people towards an evangelical conversion and a faith commitment than might otherwise have happened with normal church activity?

For an experiment to work, the conditions need to be replicated. Religious conditions in Australia were in some ways similar, in other ways different, from those obtaining in the UK at the time of Moody’s visit. Given the largely British background of the population, there was a wide awareness of the basic Christian stories and tenets. However, unlike in Glasgow and Edinburgh, there was not the depth of years of doctrinal teaching which merely needed a spark to set alight a living faith. It was therefore going to be harder to kindle the flame of revival.

However, this thesis has shown that there was indeed some groundwork by what I have called the forerunners of this revivalist movement, during the 1870s. In particular, I have argued that the early Brethren evangelists have been overlooked

¹ *Argus*, 28 December 1869, p. 5, in a letter referring to Walter Douglas which claimed that his meetings were not ‘mere evanescent excitement’.

² Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia*, Oxford, 1996, p. 57.

in this regard, influencing evangelicals in regard to the unity of the body of Christ, methods of evangelism, and the holding of Christian conferences. In many ways they prepared the ground for the visits of better known international evangelists, especially in the colonies of Victoria and Tasmania.

It is evident from a dispassionate review of newspaper reports that the impact of these latter visits in the short-term was noteworthy. The great majority of meetings were well-attended, indeed often crowded out, and in some cases their popularity forced organisers to obtain increasingly bigger venues. In general, meetings were reported factually, generating community awareness, and publicity was increased where there was controversy, or disagreement as to the effectiveness of revival meetings. In all these ways there was demonstrable immediate impact.

However, large evangelistic meetings were limited in scope geographically, demographically, in time, and in the type of church involved. The geographical spread was mostly limited to the south-eastern coastline from Adelaide round to Brisbane, including Tasmania. It can be seen from Appendix A that the majority of international visitors took meetings outside the capital cities, but generally in the larger regional centres. It was clearly not practical logistically to go to smaller rural places: for most of them, the time taken for travel would have been prohibitive. Nevertheless, the immigrant evangelists MacNeil and Burnett, and to some extent Mrs Baeyertz, did achieve penetration of rural areas, although mostly only for one stay per centre. Western Australia was the least included, with visits increasing in the 1890s when steamship travel became more common.

The biographical study for this thesis has enabled the delineation of the extent of travel and the dovetailing of all the details together (Appendix A). This has provided a factual foundation and a resource for future researchers. It also reveals the overlap between visits, most notably in 1877-8, 1886, and 1894. These coincidences seem to have been because the initiative for evangelistic tours mostly came from the evangelists themselves; only a few were actually invited. Research utilising the various digitised resources and other works has also brought to light many hitherto-unnoticed biographical facts and connections,

underlining the concept of the revivalist sub-culture or network of which these visitors were a part.

The demographic impact has also been considered. Anecdotal evidence from newspaper comment, with some rudimentary statistical analysis, indicates that it was relatively difficult to engage the working classes in the large evangelistic meetings. However, there were exceptions that proved the rule, the more noticeable because they were cause for comment.

The longer-term impact on churches is harder to compute, and more questionable. It does seem that the denominations which actively participated in co-operative evangelistic efforts maintained church membership and in some cases increased it. This applies to the Methodists, Brethren and Baptists in particular. On the other hand, they were also the denominations with the most commitment to regular local outreach, which boosted their numbers as well.

The depth of impact of the new music introduced was unforeseen. While it is well known that this style of Christian music became popular from the 1870s, it was only as research progressed that the exponential rise in the use of Sankey's gospel songs emerged, and also just how much information was available, down to the numbers and titles of songs used at different meetings. Among evangelical historians their popularity is well known, but the depth and breadth of their reach into the community has not been shown before. Also, this study was able to define more closely the types of songs which were most commonly sung. It showed that in Australian evangelistic meetings, songs of entreaty, on the second coming, and on consecration and revival were more commonly sung than in the only other detailed analysis, which was of songs selected from the book, not of songs actually sung.

A key question is whether any of these campaigns brought about true revival. These meetings were certainly revivalist, in that they sought to engender the conditions which would encourage revival. Using the criteria suggested by others

as evidence for revival,³ it is my contention that elements of revival were present, but that these campaigns did not result in full-scale community revival. This was also a contemporary evaluation: in 1899, reflecting on the previous thirty years, and making comparisons with the USA and Ireland, Fitchett wrote that ‘Australia has not been blessed with what may be termed “a big revival”’.⁴ Even in the midst of the Centennial Mission, a minister who wrote that ‘“the times of refreshing have *come...*”’,⁵ wrote in the same report, ‘The expectation of a great and glorious revival in and around our city this year is daily increasing.’⁶ Clearly, the very many good things that were being experienced did not make up a ‘great and glorious revival.’

The first criterion is whether there were conversions. I have shown that there were indeed conversions, but that many of these were from among people who were already church-goers or who had some religious faith. Granted this constraint, one can certainly see times and places where the number of conversions was notable and made a big difference to church memberships. Even before the major international visits, the Brethren evangelists in Tasmania experienced real revival in a number of places,⁷ and this was also true in the early 1880s of areas of South Australia under Mrs Baeyertz. Certainly during the months of Somerville’s and Varley’s preaching in Melbourne in 1877, there were hundreds of conversions and noticeable accessions to churches. This was also the case with the other major evangelists. There is no doubt that numbers of people came to faith through these evangelistic meetings, but this single criterion is not enough to justify the term revival.

A second measure is the revitalisation of the church. This was probably the greatest area of impact of the international speakers. There were indeed many

³ Darrell Paproth, ‘Revivalism in Melbourne from Federation to World War I: the Torrey-Alexander-Chapman Campaigns’, in Mark Hutchinson, Edmund Campion and Stuart Piggin (eds.), *Reviving Australia: essays on the history and experience of revival and revivalism in Australian Christianity*, Sydney, 1994, pp. 144-5; Stuart Piggin, ‘Towards a Theoretical understanding of Revival: Recent Developments in the Historiography of Revival’, in *Reviving Australia*, pp. 13-33; Stuart Piggin, *Firestorm of the Lord*, Carlisle, 2000, pp. 18-24.

⁴ *Southern Cross*, 29 September 1899, p. 959.

⁵ *Australian Christian World*, 28 June 1888, p. 202. Emphasis in the original.

⁶ *Australian Christian World*, 28 June 1888, p. 203.

⁷ Piggin, ‘Towards a Theoretical Understanding’, pp. 13-14.

comments along these lines when evangelistic meetings were being assessed, and indeed, the experience of working together for a definite aim, hearing excellent preaching, being part of a large crowd with a similar purpose, and seeing some conversions, would have had a revitalising effect on many participants. One comment after the 1888 Centennial Mission was that ‘Hundreds of men have received a fuller baptism of the Holy Spirit, and are speaking in public and in private, in the churches, in the home, and by the wayside...’⁸ Grubb’s meetings were particularly noteworthy in this regard, in that many of his listeners came to a deeper comprehension of their faith and its reality, with a concomitant experience of the power of the Holy Spirit in their lives. But quite apart from Grubb, one observes in obituaries or biographies well into the twentieth century that people dated their conversion to Varley or Somerville or Mrs Baeyertz or Harry Guinness.

International speakers also contributed to the spiritual vitality of Christians by their support of, and in some cases initiation of conventions and conferences for the promotion of holiness. Somerville, Varley, and Grubb were particularly noteworthy in this regard, but once these conventions had been started, they continued throughout the 1880s, with the 1891 Geelong convention providing a new lease of life into the future.

A third way in which visiting evangelists contributed to the revitalisation of the church was by modelling new ways of presenting the gospel. This was not always seen as positive, in that the resultant preaching could sometimes be shallow and simplistic, but, as Manley states, ‘“preaching the Gospel” was now expected to conform to a new style’.⁹

A fourth way in which the wider church was helped by the revivalist movement was in the element of unity which it fostered. Rather than merely talking about Christian unity, participants experienced it as members of committees or choirs or prayer meetings, or merely as attendees, and in between these campaigns, at

⁸ *Australian Christian World*, 28 June 1888, p. 202.

⁹ Ken Manley, *From Woolloomooloo to ‘Eternity’*, Milton Keynes, 2006, p. 220.

Christian conventions. Starting in the 1880s, but particularly in the 1890s, this growing awareness of unity was expressed in the growth of inter-denominational missions and other activities, and the increase in overseas workers. Recruits to the China Inland Mission (CIM) and then the Poona and Inland Village Mission (PIVM), and also the newly formed Australian wing of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), came very largely from churches which were part of what I have called the revivalist sub-culture.

In particular, a direct correlation can be made from Hudson Taylor's visit, followed closely by George Grubb's, and the rise in missionary candidates. This thesis has pointed out that the PIVM matched the much better-known CIM in numbers of recruits, and that the rapid establishment of this mission has not been investigated in scholarly work before.

A third criterion of revival has been identified as 'the diminution of sinful practices in the community'.¹⁰ Indeed, all definitions of revival identify this communal change which goes beyond the church. Sizer writes that, 'while the Moody revivals focused on individual salvation and personal morality, they were not intended to be devoid of import for the social situation.'¹¹ In this study, this can be seen in the advocacy of temperance by almost all speakers, to a greater or lesser extent, and by the very deliberate targeting of the issue of social purity by Somerville, Varley and Guinness. The female speakers Mrs Baeyertz and Hampson also emphasised the value of Christian homes and the long-reaching influence of godly mothers, but so did Somerville and McNeill, for example. Varley spread his net wider with his attacks on gambling and land speculation, and his identification of the corrupt infrastructure which underlay these practices.

The moot question is whether what was said had any effect on sinful practices. Reaction to Varley certainly showed that he touched a nerve, and if his claims are to be believed, over the years he received hundreds of letters from men and youths

¹⁰ Piggin, 'Towards a Theoretical understanding', p. 17.

¹¹ Sandra Sizer, 'Politics and Apolitical Religion: The Great Urban Revivals of the Late Nineteenth Century', *Church History*, vol, 48, No. 1, March 1979, p. 94.

who had been helped by his frankness on sexual matters. In general, as I have shown in chapter 7, the evangelists were in the vanguard of attacks on the social evil of prostitution, and probably contributed to the rising concern about it. It would be impossible to measure any direct causal link, however.

Likewise, it is very difficult to generalise about the impact of so many different campaigns on other sinful practices in the community. In chapter 8 I have attempted to look at the possible relationship between figures for cases brought before the magistrates in Victoria and the revivalist meetings. This is only possible in the broadest sense, and, while there are indicators that there may have been some effect, for example on drunkenness, the many variables make it impossible to see a definite trend. It is also impossible to compute whether deeper Christian commitments resulted in such intangibles as more faithful marriages or greater business integrity.

The final marker which I see as essential in real revival is the element of surprise or spontaneity. Part of Holmes' definition of revival is that it should be 'an apparently spontaneous outbreak of religious excitement in a region'.¹² I concur with this, whether the meetings were deliberately organised with this in mind or not. It was this element for which people were looking at the time – the sense that God was at work in a way which was irresistible.

In general, I do not see this realised. Certainly there were times when it seemed imminent, and there were many meetings when the power of God seemed especially present. There were also several times when different places were taken over by talk of religion, and the level of interest was exceptional. Melbourne during Somerville's and Varley's sojourns, Melbourne and Sydney with Mrs Hampson, Melbourne with George Clarke, both cities with McNeill, are examples of this. During these times, the newspapers were replete with reports and comments, often speculating on the attraction of the evangelists and commenting on the extraordinary interest. However, as Fitchett observed, there was not a 'big

¹² Janice Holmes, *Religious Revivals in Britain and Ireland 1859-1905*, Dublin, 2000, p. xix.

revival' – a time when thousands were swept into the kingdom of God, with scenes of overwhelming repentance and conversion.

I believe it is possible to discern a change from real expectation of revival and the possibility of mass conversion of the 'careless' or 'lapsed masses' to an emphasis on Christian renewal. Sermons of the 1890s are more inward looking and lay stress on reviving lukewarm Christians. The language and content of sermons assume a familiarity with Christian information. This shift in emphasis is also noticeable in the choice of songs, as chapter 6 has shown. On the other hand, this is not what organisers of the Torrey/Alexander campaign in 1902 were aiming at: they certainly wanted conversions and rejoiced in them. Nevertheless, in summing it up, W G Taylor wrote that the 'finest and most permanent results' would be

a deeper desire to understand the inner teachings of the Word of God; a more Scriptural conception of the importance of personal work; the reorganising of congregations on the lines of up to date aggressive evangelism; a deeper welding together of the sacred ties that bind together the various Evangelical Churches; a stronger faith in the mighty power of intercessory prayer.¹³

All the results he enumerates are to do with the revitalisation of the church. Note that he does not claim large numbers of conversions as one of the finest results, although in fact there were indeed many of these, and nor does he claim a diminution of sinful practices in the community, although it might have been too early to notice these.

Apart from the question of revival, yet another area of impact of the meetings discussed in this thesis is the way they engendered the very real sense of global connection with both 'home' (Britain) and the USA. Macintyre claims that 'the major denominations had little need of these influxes of international expertise since they maintained close links with their parent churches.'¹⁴ This may well be so, but the continuing exposure of both churchgoers and the curious others who attended the meetings must have reinforced the sense of belonging to an Empire-wide confraternity. The Britishness of almost all these speakers – and the

¹³ *Southern Cross*, 5 September 1902, p. 1040.

¹⁴ Stuart Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, Cambridge, 2009, p. 116.

American Yatman was praised precisely because he sounded and acted like a Briton! – cemented links and even accents.

These were genuine links of personal contact. It is clear from the reports in religious papers in particular, that to some extent the Australian churches saw themselves as outposts of the British churches. Australian Christians, particularly within the revivalist sub-culture, were familiar with the key personnel in similar circles in Britain, and this enabled them to accept and welcome them when they toured Australia. In similar circles in England there was interest and awareness of evangelism in Australia, as shown by the many reports in English papers, especially the *Christian*. The bonds of Empire were thus both utilised and strengthened by these evangelistic tours.

There was also ongoing influence from American revivalism. It has long been acknowledged that Moody was the model for mass evangelism well into the twentieth century. The biographical studies of my thesis have emphasised that almost all the evangelists had personal experience of Moody's methods, some having worked with him (Somerville, Varley, Drummond, Soltau, Clarke, Grubb, McNeill) and/or having been converted under him (Grubb, Clarke). However, although this may seem to have been an American-style revivalism, it was mediated through British speakers and even British mores, and the evangelists did not follow Moody slavishly.

These meetings also encouraged a sense of Australian nationality, in that the visiting speakers clearly saw the whole continent, or most of it, as a mission field, rather than individual colonies. In fact, it is interesting that many of them also included New Zealand in their itineraries, presumably because of its proximity once one was already 12,000 miles away from Britain. Meetings in the different colonies were reported in neighbouring ones as people anticipated a visit or reminisced about the one they had experienced. This thesis therefore has drawn attention to the way in which these tours linked the different parts of Australia in a common purpose and interest in these crucial pre-Federation years.

During the course of this research, several possibilities for future lines of investigation emerged. It is astonishing that there has been no modern biography of Henry Varley, a man who commanded wide community notice, even notoriety, in Britain and Australia, who preached to tens of thousands of people in those countries and North America, and in his time was as publicly recognisable as Spurgeon and Moody.¹⁵ Another person who deserves biographical attention is Charles F Reeve, the founder of the PIVM. Both his personality and achievements are worthy of exploration. Finally, a further area of research could be an analysis of the language and content of the sermons which are so painstakingly recorded in the religious newspapers. There is no shortage of source material.

A final way of assessing the impact of the British evangelists who visited Australia in the final quarter of the nineteenth century is to visualise the picture in the negative. We could look at the Australian Protestant churches, and even more the evangelical wing, and imagine the situation in 1900 if none of these visits had occurred. Bollen states that, in general, 'religion has been of moderate importance. It has not determined the life of a people, yet without it life would have been different.'¹⁶ The same might be said in microcosm of the evangelistic movement discussed in this thesis.

Certainly, faithful and dedicated work which is the backbone of any organisation would have ensured the continuation and growth of churches. However, this thesis has demonstrated that they would have been without quite a large number of converts, who helped stabilise numbers and in some cases contributed to church growth. They would have had far less direct contact and connectedness with what they regarded as the root and centre of their church life, the British Isles, and with the new styles of evangelism. They would have had a far slower introduction to the new trends in gospel music – for good or ill! They would not have had the 'shot in the arm' effect of inspiring preaching and large cooperative outreach meetings. Ultimately, in Christian terms, there would have been less opportunity

¹⁵ I believe Dr Darrell Paproth has considered undertaking such a work.

¹⁶ J D Bollen, *Protestantism and Social Reform in New South Wales 1890-1910*, Carlton, 1972, p. 1.

for the work of the Holy Spirit in convicting, converting and revitalising the lives of many Australians.

Appendix A

Itineraries of international speakers 1876-1899

Notes:

The names of places have been abbreviated where necessary so as to fit into the columns.

Numbers after the names of places:

A single number indicates the day of the month on which the evangelist arrived in the place, or when the meetings started. Sources do not always differentiate.

A range of numbers indicates the known period of an evangelist's stay in a particular location.

Number > indicates that this was the first day of a visit.

> number indicates that this was the final day of a visit.

		Somerville	Varley	Baeyertz	Ord	Thomas Spurgeon	Hampson	Watsford	MacNeil	Burnett	RT Booth W T Glover
		1813-1889	1835-1912	1842-1924	1833-1907	1856-1916	1836-1925	1820-after 1900	1854-1896	1839-1895	Booth 1844-
1876	Aug				Melb w Russell					Albury	
1876	Sept				Melb w Russell					Wodonga 12 Yackandandah 19	
1876	Oct				Melb w Russell, R > Ballarat w CJ					El Dorado Bungwannah Barnawartha	
1876	Nov				L'ton w Russell					Wandiligong, Bright	
1876	Dec				Hbt, Kentish			Vic		Beechworth 2-Stanley	
1877	Jan				NZ			Vic			
1877	Feb				Sydney			Vic			
1877	Mar				Melbourne			Vic		Kilmore	
1877	Apr				Melbourne			Vic		Maryborough	
1877	May				Melbourne			Vic		Avoca	
1877	Jun	Melb 19			Melbourne			Vic		Mt Egerton, Ballan	
1877	Jul	Melb >19 Ball 20-30 Ararat 31	Melb		Melbourne			Vic		Williamstown	
1877	Aug	Stawell 1-2 Geelong 3-13 M'boro 14-15 C'maine 16-	Melb		Melbourne	arr Melb 28		Vic		Scarsdale & Linton >28	

		Somerville	Varley	Baeyertz	Ord	Thomas Spurgeon	Hampson	Watsford	MacNeil	Burnett	RT Booth W T Glover
		17 S'hurst 18-28									
1877	Sep	Sydney 5-	Melb		Melbourne	Geelong Ballarat		Vic		Preston	
1877	Oct	Bris 10-30	Melb		Melbourne	Vic		Vic		Prahran, South Yarra	
1877	Nov	T'wmba 1-2 Ipsw 3-7 Sydney 15- Bathurst 18- Orange 25- 28	Melb		NZ	G'long 18-20 Adel 24		Vic		Whittlesea 11- 17, Mt Egerton	
1877	Dec	> NZ	Geelong 19-22 Melb	Hbt	NZ	Adel		Vic		Ondit 2-8, Colac 9-	
1878	Jan	Auck	Melb	Hbt	NZ	SA Adel >14 > Tas		Vic			
1878	Feb	Wellington	Tas	Hbt	Nelson	Lton & area		Vic		Tas, NZ	
1878	Mar	Nelson	Lton 3- 17 Hbt 21	Hbt	NZ	Lton & area, Deloraine		Vic		Sale 11	
1878	Apr	W Coast Christchurch	Hbt >11 Deloraine 14,15 Perth Lford Lton	Hbt Lton	NZ	Hbt, Lton		Vic		Bairnsdale > 14, Walhalla 20	
1878	May	Dunedin,		Melb		Hbt, Lton		Vic		Port Albert,	

		Somerville	Varley	Baeyertz	Ord	Thomas Spurgeon	Hampson	Watsford	MacNeil	Burnett	RT Booth W T Glover
		Otago								Yarram 12-19	
1878	Jun	Hbt 8-14 Lton 22-26	Adel			Lton > Melb 16?		Vic		Ballarat, Stawell 9	
1878	Jul	Melb	Adel			Sydney Bris 21		Vic		Stawell	
1878	Aug	Syd > USA 15	Adel			Qld >30		Vic		Collingwood 18	
1878	Sep		Melb			> UK Adel 16, 17		Vic			
1878	Oct		Syd			on ship		Vic		Emerald Hill 12 Sandridge 16	
1878	Nov		Syd			UK		Vic		Sandridge	
1878	Dec		NZ			UK				Sandridge > 15	
1879	Jan		NZ	Hbt		Mentone				[Tas, NZ]	
1879	Feb		NZ			Mentone				[NSW]	
1879	Mar		Tas			Mentone				Echuca 2	
1879	Apr		Melb			UK				Echuca > 8, Brunswick 12-	
1879	May					UK				Collingwood 10, Hotham 31	
1879	Jun			Bendigo		UK			James town pastorate	Hotham,	
1879	Jul			Bendigo		UK			↓	Carlton 6-31, Ballarat Town Mission Anniv	
1879	Aug					UK			↓	Wesley Melb 17	

		Somerville	Varley	Baeyertz	Ord	Thomas Spurgeon	Hampson	Watsford	MacNeil	Burnett	RT Booth W T Glover
1879	Sep					UK			↓	Wesley Melb	
1879	Oct					> Aust 2			↓	Brunswick 18-31	
1879	Nov					on ship			↓		
1879	Dec					arr Melb 11 Tas rest				↓	
1880	Jan			Sheffield		Tas rest			↓		
1880	Feb				Hambleton				↓		
1880	Mar			Hbt		Longford			↓		
1880	Apr					Lton			↓	Adelaide 4; Pirie St 18	
1880	May					Del, Lton, Hbt 30				↓	
1880	Jun				UK	Del			↓	Adelaide Archer St 6-	
1880	Jul			Geelong	UK	Melb, CW, Ball 11 P'matta 29-30				Adelaide Archer St >9, Brompton	↓
1880	Aug			Ballarat	UK				↓	Norwood, Kent Town	
1880	Sep				UK	Syd, Bris Ipswich, T'wmbe				Moonta	↓
1880	Oct				UK	Newc, Syd			↓	Pt Adelaide 23	
1880	Nov			Adelaide Flinders St & Nth Ad Bap	UK	Bracknell 21			↓	Pt Adelaide, Crystal Brook 21-27, Pt Pirie	

		Somerville	Varley	Baeyertz	Ord	Thomas Spurgeon	Hampson	Watsford	MacNeil	Burnett	RT Booth W T Glover
1880	Dec				UK	Longford Evandale			↓	↓	
1881	Jan				UK				↓	SA	
1881	Feb			Lton Chn Miss Ch 6-20	UK	Dunedin			↓	SA, Jamestown 26	
1881	Mar			Warrnambool 20>		Dunedin				↓	
1881	Apr			W'bool >12, Koroit 24>	Melbourne	Dunedin			Temora Sydney	Caltowie 2-8, Terowie and district 9-22	
1881	May			Koroit>8? Belfast (Pt Fairy) > 1 June		Inverc	Dunedin		Balmain 1-8 Newcastle	Gladstone, Laura, Orroroo etc. Pt Pirie 28	
1881	Jun			Stawell		Dunedin			>11 Carlton 13 Em Hill	Pt Pirie and district, Pt Augusta 8-, Flinders Ranges	
1881	Jul					Auck			Richmond Collingwood Kilmore Ball 27	Moonta 17-	
1881	Aug			Norwood Bap SA 31 Jul >		Auck			Colac Camperdown 21	Moonta	
1881	Sep			Norwood, Parkside SA		Auck			Daylesford Jamestown 20	Mintaro 3, Clare 11	
1881	Oct			Flinders St Bap SA		Thames Waikato				Koorunga 9- 21, Clarendon 22	

		Somerville	Varley	Baeyertz	Ord	Thomas Spurgeon	Hampson	Watsford	MacNeil	Burnett	RT Booth W T Glover
1881	Nov			Flinders St SA		Auck pastor				Clarendon and district >12, Adelaide Archer St	
1881	Dec			Adelaide>2		Auck			Kapunda	Archer St >2, Redruth 7-22	
1882	Jan			Mt Barker SA		Auck				[Port Elliott]	
1882	Feb			Mt Barker, Clare SA		Auck				Pt Elliott 12-14, Pt Victor 19-	
1882	Mar			Kapunda SA		Auck				Pt Victor > 5 [Vic] Penola 11-13, Bordertown, Narracoorte, Kingston 25	
1882	Apr			Gawler SA		Auck				Robe 1-2, Victor Harbour 7-10, Port Macleay 11, Lucindale 13-14, Mt Gambier 16-30	
1882	May			Gawler SA		Auck				Millicent and district, Willunga 21	
1882	Jun			Moonta SA		Auck				Willunga and Clarendon district	
1882	Jul			Angaston SA		Auck				[Glenelg] Willunga district	
1882	Aug			SA		Auck				Willunga dist >2, Yorke peninsula 5-31	
1882	Sep			Alberton		Auck			Bendigo	Minlaton, Maitland, Wakefield and dist,	

		Somerville	Varley	Baeyertz	Ord	Thomas Spurgeon	Hampson	Watsford	MacNeil	Burnett	RT Booth W T Glover
				SA						Northern country areas 16-	
1882	Oct			SA		Auck				Kapunda 6-15, Koolunga, Hallett, Yacka, Koorunga >30	
1882	Nov			Glenelg SA		Auck				Auburn and Balaclava, Gawler 5-8, Auburn 12-17, Saddleworth 19-22, Pirie St farewell 26	
1882	Dec			SA		Auck				Kangaroo Is 10-17	
1883	Jan			SA		Auck					
1883	Feb			Nairne, Mt Barker SA		Auck					
1883	Mar			Woodside SA 25-		Auck					
1883	Apr			Woodside, Koorunga SA		Auck				[WA]	
1883	May			SA		Auck	Melb			Perth 12-	
1883	Jun			SA		Auck	Melb		Portarlington Colac	Perth	
1883	Jul			SA		Auck	Adel 20			Perth > 21, Fremantle 28	Melb
1883	Aug			Magill SA		Auck	Adel>1			Fremantle	
1883	Sep			SA		Auck	Syd 16			WA country areas	
1883	Oct			Gladstone SA		Auck	Syd >12			WA country areas	
1883	Nov			Terowrie, Jamestown, Pt Pirie SA		Auck				WA country areas, farewell mtg Perth 10	
1883	Dec			SA		Auck					
1884	Jan					Auck				[Port Elliott]	Adelaide 11 Melbourne 21 Hobart 25
1884	Feb					Auck				Vic	Hobart > 4 Launceston > 10, Melb 19

		Somerville	Varley	Baeyertz	Ord	Thomas Spurgeon	Hampson	Watsford	MacNeil	Burnett	RT Booth W T Glover
1884	Mar					Auck				Vic, Hobart 31-	Melb > 11
1884	Apr					Auck				Lton 12-20 Hobart 24-30	
1884	May					Auck >UK Perth, Lton	Hbt 10-27		WA	Southport 8, Hastings, Franklin, Huon, E Shore	Sydney 11
1884	Jun					on ship	Lton1-11		WA	NewTown, Glenorchy	rest Bowral
1884	Jul			Stawell 6-21		UK	Ballarat 3		WA	New Norfolk, Derwent Valley	rest Bowral
1884	Aug			W Melb 17-31		UK	Bend 20		WA	Oatlands 1, Midlands, Evandale, Perth, Beaconsfield 30	rest Bowral
1884	Sep					UK	Bend, Geelong		WA	Beaconsfield and dist >22, Evandale	rest Bowral
1884	Oct			Echuca 9?-23		UK				Tas East Coast	rest Bowral
1884	Nov					UK				Tas North and North West	rest Bowral

		Varley	Baeyertz	Thomas Spurgeon	MacNeil	Burnett	RT Booth W T Glover	Mountains	Noble	Mateer Parker	Soltau	Guinness	Muller	Clarke
		1835-1912	1842-1924	1856-1916	1854-1896	1839-1895	Booth 1844-1933	James 1844-1933	c. 1840 - ?	Mateer c1861-1917 Parker ?	1857-1912	1861-1916	1805-1898	c. 1858 - ?
1884	Dec		S Melb 14	UK		Lton farewell 19 [Formby]	rest Bowral							
1885	Jan		S Melb > 7 Morning-ton 25>	arr Lton 27			New Zealand							
1885	Feb		Morning-ton>2 Kyneton 22	Lton 1			New Zealand							
1885	Mar		Kyneton > 1	Tas?		NZ Sth Is	New Zealand							
1885	Apr			Auck		NZ Sth Is	New Zealand							
1885	May			Auck	Waverley pastorate	NZ Sth Is	Sydney					Hbt/Lton		
1885	Jun			Auck	↓	NZ Sth Is								
1885	Jul		YMCA Melb 12-29	Auck	↓	NZ Sth Is	Brisbane 17	NSW?				Adelaide		
1885	Aug		BC 16-1 Sept	Auck	↓	NZ Sth Is	Brisbane Toowoomba 17	NSW?		USA		Adelaide		
1885	Sep		Fitzroy Geo St	Auck	↓	NZ Sth Is	Sydney	NSW?		USA		Syd		

		Varley	Baeyertz	Thomas Spurgeon	MacNeil	Burnett	RT Booth W T Glover	Mountains	Noble	Mateer Parker	Soltau	Guinness	Muller	Clarke
			Bap 13-28											
1885	Oct		Echuca Bap 11-14	Auck	↓	NZ Sth Is	Melbourne	NSW?		USA		Melb		
1885	Nov			Auck	↓	NZ Sth Is				USA		Melb, Ballarat		
1885	Dec		W'town Wes 14 days	Auck	↓	NZ Sth Is				USA		Ballarat		
1886	Jan			Melb	Wel- comed GM 27	NZ Sth Is		Queensland Ipswich 24		USA		Lton	Syd 23	
1886	Feb			Hbt Auck	Waverley	NZ Sth Is	Hobart	Ipswich >3 Warwick 18-28		USA		Lton	Syd	
1886	Mar		Mansfield Pres 14 days		↓	NZ Sth Is	Bowral Kyneton 21- 29 Ballarat	Queensland NSW Kew		USA		Chn Miss Ch Lton	Bath 3- 10 Melb 12	
1886	Apr				↓	NZ Sth Is	Warrn 4-11 Adel 18	Victoria		USA		Chn Miss Ch Lton	G'long Ball M'boro Sand C'maine	
1886	May		Colac Wes+ Birregurra 14 days, Geelong Aberdeen St Bap 30-	Waverley	↓		Adel >3	Ballarat >23		USA		Chn Miss Ch Lton		
1886	Jun		Geelong >14. Lton Chn Miss Church 25-	Waverley	↓		Rockhampt on 1 Qld		Sydney 27	New Zealand 26		Hobart Sandhurst Sydney	Melb >9 Syd 11	

		Varley	Baeyertz	Thomas Spurgeon	MacNeil	Burnett	RT Booth W T Glover	Mountains	Noble	Mateer Parker	Soltau	Guinness	Muller	Clarke
1886	Jul		Lton Chn Miss Church		↓	NZ North Is			Sydney >30	Auckland Well'ton		Bris	Syd>14 Bris 16	
1886	Aug		Lton Chn Miss Church>22		Ballarat 18	NZ North Is			country NSW Brisbane 23	Ch'church Dunedin	Lton Chn Mission Church pastor	Syd Melb Albert St 20 -? Geelong 16-30, YMCA 29	Bris >10	
1886	Sep	Cape Town	Albert St Bap 26		Ballarat>1	NZ North Is	Townsville Sydney		Ips-wich 1 Bris >12 Townsville Melb 27	Dunedin 5	↓	Melb >13		
1886	Oct	South Africa	Albert St Bap >14 Melb Bap 31	W	Waverley	NZ North Is			Melb, W Dist	Petersham 10 P'matta 24	↓			
1886	Nov	South Africa	W Melb Bap >14		↓	NZ North Is			Sand-hurst		↓	Adelaide		
1886	Dec		W'town Y'ville		↓	NZ North Is	Sydney >30		Melb >20 Newcastle 24? Sydney		↓			
1887	Jan		Yea		↓				Sydney		↓			

		Varley	Baeyertz	Thomas Spurgeon	MacNeil	Burnett	RT W Glover	Booth T	Mountains	Noble	Mateer Parker	Soltau	Guinness	Muller	Clarke
										>2					
1887	Feb				↓						Sydney 2 Lton 14-21 Longford 23-				
1887	Mar				↓						Hobart 3 Deloraine Latrobe 24 Bracknell				
1887	Apr		W Dist		↓	NSW ACW 5/1/88					Deloraine	↓			
1887	May		Cobden, Whittlesea		↓	NSW						↓			
1887	Jun				↓	NSW						↓			
1887	Jul		Bendigo		N NSW	NSW						↓			
1887	Aug				Waverley	NSW						↓			
1887	Sep				Vic > SA	NSW						↓		Adel 22	
1887	Oct				Waverley	NSW						↓		SA	
1887	Nov		Ballarat Newstead		Pt Augusta	NSW						↓		Adel 17- 30	
1887	Dec		Yea, Chilwell		Waverley							↓		Mt Gambier 2-7 Narracoort 7-9 Alb St Bap 11 Hobart 14	

		Varley	Baeyertz	Thomas Spurgeon	MacNeil	Burnett	RT Booth W T Glover	Mountains	Noble	Mateer Parker	Soltau	Guinness	Muller	Clarke
1888	Jan				Broken Hill						↓		Hbt >6 Lton 9-11 >NZ 12 Inverc>24 Dunedin 28	
1888	Feb	Lton			Waverley						↓		Dunedin Pt Chalmers Oamaru Timaru W'ton 24	
1888	Mar	Hbt			Waverley	?Hbt					↓		Wton>16 Palmerston Nth >23 Bulls Marton	
1888	Apr		Alex'ndra		Waverley	Goullburn S Coast					↓		Wang Hawera N Plym >18 Auckland 19	
1888	May	>UK			Penrith	S Coast Newc					↓		Auck>21	Melb 4 St K 28
1888	Jun		M'borough		Waverley	Newc N Line	Vic				↓		Auck	St K>?16 Cwell 17-23 Kew 24-30
1888	Jul		YWCA Melb		Waverley	Newc	NSW				↓		Sydney 3	H'thorn 1-6 S Yarra 8, M Ponds Ess >22, Prahran 24

		Varley	Baeyertz	Thomas Spurgeon	MacNeil	Burnett	RT Booth W T Glover	Mountains	Noble	Mateer Parker	Soltau	Guinness	Muller	Clarke
1888	Aug					Wallsend Maitland					↓		Syd	Prahran >?5 Ballarat Geelong 19-24 E Melb
1888	Sep				Adel	Maitland					↓		Syd	E Melb, Rich, Melb
1888	Oct				Adel	Singleton					↓		Syd	Toorak 6-14 Syd 28
1888	Nov	Melb			Adel						↓		Syd >10 Melb 12- 15 Adel 18 >Ceylon	Syd >13 C'town Ball Melb 23-30
1888	Dec	Melb			Adel						↓			
1889	Jan										↓			
1889	Feb										↓			
1889	Mar					NSW N					↓			
1889	Apr										↓			
1889	May										↓			
1889	Jun				Abbots- ford pastor						↓			

		Varley	Baeyertz	Thomas Spurgeon	MacNeil	Burnett	Soltau	Guinness	H Taylor	Wm Booth	Grubb	Drummond	Cook	Smith	McNeill	Yatman
		1835-1912	1842-1924	1856-1916	1854-1896	1839-1895	1857-1912	1861-1916	1832-1905	1829-1912	1856-1940	1851-1897	1859-1912	1860-1947	1854-1933	1853-after 1920
1889	Jul		Sth Preston		↓	Syd	Lton pastor									
1889	Aug	Syd	Eaglehawk		↓	Qld?	↓									
1889	Sep		Brisbane		↓	Qld?	↓									
1889	Oct	NSW	Ipswich		↓	Qld?	↓									
1889	Nov	NSW			↓	Qld?	↓									
1889	Dec		Melb farewell	Dunedin	↓		↓									
1890	Jan		Tas rest	Tas 27	↓		↓									
1890	Feb		Dunedin 16	Tas-rest	↓		↓									
1890	Mar		Dunedin >5	Lford 16 Lton 23-5 Hbt 29	↓		↓									
1890	Apr			Lton Latrobe Dport Perth	↓		↓				Melb, Hbt, NZ	Albany 13 Adelaide Melb 21				
1890	May			Lton Vic Tas > 31	Prahran Pres 19		↓				NZ	Melb Adelaide 19-26				

		Varley	Baeyertz	Thomas Spurgeon	MacNeil	Burnett	Soltau	Guinness	H Taylor	Wm Booth	Grubb	Drummond	Cook	Smith	McNeill	Yatman
1891	Apr	country Tas		NZ	↓		↓									
1891	May	Hbt		NZ	Dunedin		↓				Melb 31					
1891	Jun	Melb		NZ	Dunedin		↓				Cwood 6-12 St Hilary Kew 13-19 Geelong 20-26 Ballarat St John's 27-					
1891	Jul			Auck			↓				Ball > 6 St Paul's 5-13 Bairnsdale 18-27					
1891	Aug			NZ	Ballarat		↓				Fitzroy 1-7 Albert Park 8-15 Caulfield 15-24 Elsternwick 22-28 St Paul's 30					
1891	Sep			NZ	Queens- cliff Kyneton		↓				St Paul's >6 Melb 7-9 Geelong conv 15-17					
1891	Oct			NZ			↓	Adelaide			St Barn 4-12 S Hill 18- 22					
1891	Nov			NZ			↓				Wool'oo 1-8 P'matta 15-22 St Philips 29					

		Varley	Baeyertz	Thomas Spurgeon	MacNeil	Burnett	Soltau	Guinness	H Taylor	Wm Booth	Grubb	Drummond	Cook	Smith	McNeill	Yatman
1893	Sep				Geelong Ararat		Lton ?									
1893	Oct						Lton ?									
1893	Nov				Jinjellie NSW		Lton ?									
1893	Dec				Chiltern		Lton ?									
1894	Jan						Lton ?									
1894	Feb						Lton ?									
1894	Mar				W'ton Napier		India?						Albany 20-23 Perth 24		W'ton	
1894	Apr				Auck Warrnmbi		India?						Perth >2 York 3? Adelaide Pirie St 10-19 Kent Town 21-30			
1894	May				Adelaide		India?						Moonta a 9-18 Kadina 5 days Burra 28	Adel		
1894	Jun				Victoria		India?						Burra >1 Port Pirie 3- 12	Adel Ball 30	Tas	

		Varley	Baeyertz	Thomas Spurgeon	MacNeil	Burnett	Soltau	Guinness	H Taylor	Wm Booth	Grubb	Drummond	Cook	Smith	McNeill	Yatman
													Broken Hill 15-25			
1894	Jul				Gawler Norwood		Maldon Melb						Melb 1-11 Sth Melb 15 G'long 29	Ball 1-6 Melb 7-? Syd 15	Hbt Melb 20-	
1894	Aug				Adelaide Melb 29-31 heard JMcN		Melb						Geelong Ballarat Bendigo 26	>7 12	Melb >12 G'long 13-17 Bendigo 19-24 Melb 29-31	
1894	Sep				Cool-gardie		Melb						Hbt 9 Lton 23>	Syd?	Ball 2-7 Adel 9- Bris by 28	
1894	Oct				Kalgoorlie		Melb						New-castle 14-23 Waverley 28	USA	Syd 7-28	
1894	Nov				C'gardie & Kalgoorlie		Melb						Waverley Bathurst Stanmore 25	>6 11-20		

		Varley	Baeyertz	Thomas Spurgeon	MacNeil	Burnett	Soltau	Guinness	H Taylor	Wm Booth	Grubb	Drummond	Cook	Smith	McNeill	Yatman
1894	Dec	Melb			C'gardie & K		Melb						Stanmore 9-18 W Maitland 10 days Centenary Hall 30			
1895	Jan	Melb					Melb						Centenary Hall > 8 Auck 20			
1895	Feb	Melb					Melb						Well- ington 3 Christ- church 17			
1895	Mar				Albany Perth Frem (ACW)		Melb						Timaru 10 days Dunedin 16-26 Oamaru New Plymouth			
1895	Apr						Melb						Oamaru>1 Sydney Armidale 10days			
1895	May						Melb						Tenter- field 1 day			
1895	June				Batesfd V		Gore, NZ						Bris 1- 10 Ipswic h			

		Varley	Baeyertz	Thomas Spurgeon	MacNeil	Burnett	Soltau	Guinness	H Taylor	Wm Booth	Grubb	Drummond	Cook	Smith	McNeill	Yatman
1899	Sep								left Shang-hai 25							Broken Hill 6 Melb 21-30
1899	Oct								Bris 16 Syd 27							Hobart 5 Launceston >24
1899	Nov								Melb 13							Port Adelaide 10 -21
1899	Dec								Adel 4 Melb 12 23	Ballarat >Ltn						India
1900	Jan								Hbt >Inverc 5							
1900	Feb								NZ							
1900	Mar								19 Auck >N York							
1900	Aug	Melb														
1900	Sep	Melb														
1900	Oct	Melb														
1900	Nov	Melb														
1900	Dec	Melb														
1901	Jun							Geelong								
1901	Jul							Melb								

Appendix B

Newspapers

This table of newspapers gives most of the newspapers consulted, their range of dates where known, and their religious orientation if applicable. It also shows how different newspapers merged or changed title.

Title of paper	Place published	Dates published	Religious orientation	places and dates held	Format	Comments
<i>Advertiser</i>	Adelaide			TROVE	digitised	previously the <i>South Australian Advertiser</i>
<i>Age</i>	Melbourne	1854-		SLV	microfilm	
<i>Argus</i>	Melbourne	1848-1957		TROVE	digitised	
<i>Australasian</i>	Melbourne	1864-1946		SLV	microfilm	
<i>Australasian Christian Standard</i>	Melbourne	1891-97	Churches of Christ	Mitchell 1885-90; SLV 1887-90; Deakin 1887-90; SLV 1891-97; SL NSW 1891	hard copy	previously the <i>Australian Christian Standard</i>
<i>Australian Christian Advocate</i>	Melbourne	1874-1880	Churches of Christ	Mitchell 1886-89, 1891-1953; SLV 1886-1953	hard copy	became the <i>Australian Christian Witness</i>
<i>Australian Christian Pioneer</i>	Adelaide	1868-1880	Churches of Christ	NLA 1868-1880 impf; Mitchell 1868-1875/6; SA broken run	hard copy	amalgamated with <i>Australian Christian Watchman</i>
<i>Australian Christian Standard</i>	Melbourne	1885-1890	Churches of Christ	NLA 1883-85	hard copy	became the <i>Australasian Christian Standard</i>
<i>Australian Christian Watchman</i>	Melbourne	1880-85	Churches of Christ	SLV 1872-3; Mitchell 1880-85	hard copy	became the <i>Australian Christian Standard</i>
<i>Australian Christian Witness</i>	Melbourne	1881-84	Churches of Christ	Mitchell 1881-4; NLA 1883-5	hard copy	amalgamated with <i>Australian Christian Watchman</i>
<i>Australian Christian World</i>	Sydney	1886-1953		Mitchell 1886-89, 1891-1953; SLV 1886-1953	hard copy	
<i>Australian Church Record</i>	Sydney	1879-1987	Anglican	Moore College Lib		
<i>Australian Churchman</i>	Sydney	1867-1886	Anglican	SL NSW 1867-1886; NLA	microfilm	

Title of paper	Place published	Dates published	Religious orientation	places and dates held	Format	Comments
<i>Australian Independent</i>	Sydney	1888-91	Congregational	Mitchell	hard copy	previously the <i>NSW Independent</i>
<i>Australian Missionary Tidings</i>	Sydney	1910-present	Brethren	AMT Office Brisbane	hard copy, CD	
<i>Australian Record</i>	Sydney	1886-91	Anglican	Moore College Lib	microfilm	previously the <i>Church of England Record</i>
<i>Australian Witness and Presbyterian Herald</i>	Sydney	1872-78	Presbyterian	Mitchell	hard copy	became the <i>Presbyterian and Australian Witness</i>
<i>Australasian Missionary News</i>	Sydney	1888-1890	Anglican?	Mitchell	hard copy	
<i>Ballarat Courier</i>	Ballarat	1869-present		SLV	microfilm	
<i>Banner of Truth</i>	Sydney	1876-1885				
<i>Brisbane Courier</i>	Brisbane	1864-1933		Oxley, Baillieu, TROVE	microfilm	
<i>Telegraph</i>	Brisbane	1872-1988		Oxley	microfilm	
<i>Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record</i>	Sydney	1858-1877	Methodist	SL NSW	microfilm	became the <i>Weekly Advocate</i>
<i>Christian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church</i>	Melbourne	1865-1877	Presbyterian	Mitchell 1865-1877 SLV 1873-77	hard copy microfilm	became the <i>Presbyterian Review and Monthly Record of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria</i>
<i>Christian Witness</i>	Hobart	1872-78	evangelical	TAHO 1872-77; SLV 1874-78; AOT 1872, 1878	hard copy	
<i>Christian, The</i>	London	1870-1969	evangelical/ revivalist	British Library	hard copy	Previously <i>The Revival</i>
<i>Church Gazette for the Diocese of Melbourne</i>	Melbourne	1862-66	Anglican	SLV La Trobe	hard copy	previously the <i>Church of England Record for Victoria</i>

Title of paper	Place published	Dates published	Religious orientation	places and dates held	Format	Comments
<i>Church Missionary Intelligencer</i>	London	1891-1906	Anglican-CMS	University of Tasmania	hard copy	previously the <i>Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record</i>
<i>Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record</i>	London	1877-1890	Anglican-CMS	University of Tasmania	hard copy	became the <i>Church Missionary Intelligencer</i>
<i>Church News</i>	Hobart		Anglican	TAHO	microfilm	
<i>Church of England Messenger</i>	Melbourne	1870-76	Anglican	SLV La Trobe	microfilm	became the <i>Church of England Messenger and Ecclesiastical Gazette</i>
<i>Church of England Messenger and Ecclesiastical Gazette</i>	Melbourne	1876-89	Anglican	SLV La Trobe	microfilm	previously the <i>Church of England Messenger</i>
<i>Church of England Record</i>	Sydney	1880-86	Anglican	Moore College Lib	microfilm	became the <i>Australian Record</i>
<i>Church of England Record for Victoria</i>	Melbourne	1855-61	Anglican	SLV 1857-61; NLA 1855-56; Mitchell 1855-56	hard copy	became the <i>Church Gazette for the Diocese of Melbourne</i>
<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	Melbourne	1869-1892		SLV	microfilm	
<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	Sydney	1879-1990		SL NSW	microfilm	
<i>Day Star</i>	Hobart	Jan 1886-Dec 1894	Baptist	University of Tasmania archives	hard copy	incorporated into <i>Southern Baptist</i>
<i>Echo</i>	Sydney	1878-1893		SL NSW	microfilm	
<i>Echoes of Service</i>	Bath	1880-present	Brethren	Bath, UK	hard copy	previously the <i>Missionary Echo</i>
<i>Geelong Advertiser</i>	Geelong	1856-1989		SLV	microfilm	
<i>Illustrated Australian News</i>	Melbourne	1876-1889		SLV	microfilm	
<i>Launceston Examiner</i>	Launceston	1842-		SLT 1842-	microfilm	

Title of paper	Place published	Dates published	Religious orientation	places and dates held	Format	Comments
<i>Melbourne Church News</i>	Melbourne	1866-68 (1870)	Anglican	SLV La Trobe	hard copy	became the <i>Church of England Messenger</i>
<i>Mercury</i>	Hobart	1854-		SLT 1854-, TROVE	microfilm	
<i>Missionary at Home and Abroad, The</i>	Melbourne	1873-1894	evangelical / missions	NLS 1873-77; SLV 1876-79; Mitchell 1882-86; Trinity College Melbourne 1884-98	hard copy	full set donated by CMS Victoria still being accessioned by the SLV Rare Books Collection 2010
<i>Missionary Echo, The</i>	Bath	1872-1880	Brethren	Bath, UK	hard copy	Became <i>Echoes of Service</i>
<i>Monthly Messenger and Missionary Record of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria</i>	Melbourne	1880-86	Presbyterian	SLV		became the <i>Presbyterian Monthly and Messenger of the Churches of Australia and Tasmania</i>
<i>New South Wales Baptist</i>	Sydney	1885-	Baptist			
<i>New South Wales Independent</i>	Sydney	1875-1887	Congregational	Mitchell	microfilm	became the <i>Australian Independent</i>
<i>People's Friend</i>	Hobart	?	temperance	SLT Launceston 1886-96		
<i>Pioneer</i>	Launceston	1884-92	evangelical / missions	TAHO	hard copy	
<i>Presbyterian and Australian Witness</i>	Sydney	1879-1902	Presbyterian	Mitchell	hard copy	previously the <i>Australian Witness and Presbyterian Herald</i>

Title of paper	Place published	Dates published	Religious orientation	places and dates held	Format	Comments
<i>Presbyterian Monthly and Messenger of the Churches of Australia and Tasmania</i>	Melbourne	1886-1893	Presbyterian	SLV		previously the <i>Monthly Messenger and Missionary Record of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria</i>
<i>Presbyterian Review and Monthly Record of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria</i>	Melbourne	1878-79	Presbyterian	SLV		became the <i>Monthly Messenger and Missionary Record of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria</i>
<i>Protestant Standard</i>	Sydney	1869-86	Protestant	Mitchell	microfilm	
<i>Queensland Evangelical Standard</i>	Brisbane	1876-1887	evangelical	Oxley & NLA 1876-82, 84-87	microfilm	
<i>South Australian Advertiser</i>	Adelaide	1858-1889		TROVE	digitised	became the <i>Advertiser</i>
<i>Southern Baptist</i>	Melbourne	1895-1912	Baptist	BUV archives, SLV	hard copy	incorporated <i>Truth and Progress</i> , <i>Day Star</i> , and <i>Victorian Baptist</i>
<i>Southern Congregationalist</i>	Melbourne	1878-1943	Congregational	SLV	hard copy	previously the <i>Victorian Independent</i>
<i>Southern Cross</i>	Melbourne	1872-1934	evangelical	SLV 1874-1928	hard copy	
<i>Spectator</i>	Melbourne	1875-1911	Methodist	SLV	microfilm	
<i>Sydney Mail</i>	Sydney	1860-1912		Mitchell	microfilm	
<i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>	Sydney	1842		TROVE	digitised	
<i>Tasmanian Evening Herald</i>	Launceston	1878-?		SLT Launceston 1886-96		
<i>Truth and Progress</i>	Adelaide	1868-1894	Baptist	Mitchell 1868-1885	microfilm	incorporated into <i>Southern Baptist</i>

Title of paper	Place published	Dates published	Religious orientation	places and dates held	Format	Comments
<i>Victorian Baptist</i>	Melbourne	1890-1894	Baptist	BUV archives, SLV	hard copy	previously the <i>Victorian Freeman</i> , incorporated into the <i>Southern Baptist</i>
<i>Victorian Churchman</i>	Melbourne	1890-1913	Anglican	SLV La Trobe; Trinity College Melbourne	hard copy	
<i>Victorian Freeman</i>	Melbourne	1876-1889	Baptist	SLV; Mitchell 1877	hard copy	became the <i>Victorian Baptist</i>
<i>Victorian Independent</i>	Melbourne	1870-79	Congregational	SLV	hard copy	became the <i>Southern Congregationalist</i>
<i>Weekly Advocate</i>	Sydney	1877-1891	Methodist	SL NSW	microfilm	previously the <i>Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record</i>
<i>Weekly Work</i>	Melbourne	-1877	evangelical	seen mentioned, no copies extant		
<i>Willing Work</i>	Melbourne	1877-82	evangelical / Brethren	Mitchell 1877-82; NLA 1877-79	hard copy	
<i>Words of Grace</i>	Melbourne> Sydney	1876-81	evangelical	Mitchell	hard copy	
<i>Words of Grace Illustrated Christian Weekly</i>	Sydney	1880-82	evangelical	Mitchell 1880-81 (incomplete)	hard copy	

Appendix C

Songs

Explanation of column headings

Song	Usually the title, sometimes the first line if this is how the song was better known
Number given	The number given, if any, in the relevant reference.
SS	<i>Sacred Songs</i> – the early edition of Sankey's
NH	<i>New Hymns</i>
CC	<i>Christian Choir</i>
Date, place	The date of occurrence, and place of meeting and/or evangelist
Occasion	Only noted when it was something different from a normal meeting
Lyrics	Author
Music	Composer or origin
SSS	The number in <i>Sacred Songs and Solos</i> – the 1200 song edition
HCF	The number in <i>Hymns of Consecration and Faith</i>
Red	The number in <i>Redemption Songs</i>
Reference	Reference where occurrence is noted. Occasionally this is missing

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
? God will take care of you	189			189	1877 Dr S Geelong	children	Crosby	Sankey	517			SC 18/8/77
? Tell it out among the nations	135		135		1877 Dr S Geelong		Havergal	Sankey (Hav)	1073			SC 18/8/77
? There is no love like the love of Jesus	125			125	1877 HV Melb		Littlewood	Perkins	42			SC 1/9/77
A beautiful home in the sky (The Saviour Jesus has gone to prepare)					1879 WofG		TC	Camm				WG Aug 79
A fairness resides in Jesus our Head					1877 Kentish	conference						WW 19/1/78
A little talk with Jesus, how it smooths the rugged road					1877 Kentish	conference	anon					WW 19/1/78
A little while the Lord will come	7				1873 Table Cape	conference	Deck					CW 25/1/73
A little while with Jesus					1880 WofG		Crosby	Doane				WG Jun 80
A pilgrim through this lonely world					1877 Kentish	conference	Denny					WW 19/1/78
A ruler once came to Jesus by night (Ye must be born again)		379			1882 Mrs B Glenelg	solo	Sleeper	Stebbins	366			T&P 1/1/83
A ruler once came to Jesus by night (Ye must be born again)		379			1886 HG Brisbane		Sleeper	Stebbins	366			BC 16/7/86
A Saviour for you					1877 Dr S Melb	choir, noon prayer mtg						WG Aug 77
Abundantly able to save (Whoever receiveth the Crucified One)			115		1886 HG Brisbane	choir	Hoffman	Bliss	400			BC 12/7/86
Abundantly able to save (Whoever receiveth the Crucified One)			115		1886 HG Brisbane		Hoffman	Bliss	400			BC 15/7/86
All for Jesus				149	1878 Spurgeon Bris	children	James	Stebbins	1179			QES 3/8/78
All hail the power of Jesus' name (Crown Him Lord of all)		646			1870 Douglas Lton		Perronet	Shrubsole?	203	367		Exam 5/4/70
All hail the power of Jesus' name	73	646			1875 Lton	Believers' Conf	Perronet	Shrubsole?	203			conf booklet
All hail the power of Jesus' name		646			1877 HV Melb		Perronet	Shrubsole?	203			WW 8/12/77
All hail the power of Jesus' name		646			1878 Maloga		Perronet	Shrubsole?	203			WW 23/3/78
All hail the power of Jesus' name		646			1886 HG Brisbane		Perronet	Shrubsole?	203			BC 24/7/86
All hail the power of Jesus' name		646			1886 HG Melb		Perronet	Shrubsole?	203			SC 8/10/86
All hail the power of Jesus' name		646			1886 Lton	farewell Hiddlestone	Perronet	Shrubsole?	203			Pioneer 10/5/86
All hail the power of Jesus' name		646			1886 Melb	YMCA 15th anniv, Jubilee Singers	Perronet	Shrubsole?	203			ACW 25/6/86
All hail the power of Jesus' name		646			1887 miss farewell		Perronet	Shrubsole?	203			MAHA Sept 87
All hail the power of Jesus' name		646			1888 GC Melbourne		Perronet	Shrubsole?	203			ACW 2/8/88
All hail the power of Jesus' name		646			1888 Sydney?	farewell CIM miss	Perronet	Shrubsole?	203			Pioneer Apr 88
All hail the power of Jesus' name		646			1891 Geelong	convention	Perronet	Shrubsole?	203	367		Reports
All hail the power of Jesus' name		646			1891 Melb	wedding	Perronet	Shrubsole?	203			Miss Nov 91
All hail the power of Jesus' name		646			1891 Petersham conf		Perronet	Shrubsole?	203			ACW 17/9/91
All hail the power of Jesus' name		646			1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Perronet	Shrubsole?	203	367		Reports of addresses
All hail the power of Jesus' name		646			1892 Grubb Melb	closing service Exhib	Perronet	Shrubsole?	203	367		CofE Mess 2/10/91
All my doubts I give to Jesus (Fully trusting)	193	207			1878 HV Geelong	choir	Morgan	Stebbins	868			WW 5/1/78
All my doubts I give to Jesus (Fully trusting)		207			1878 Melb	Union prayer mtg	Morgan	Stebbins	868			WW 16/8/78
All my doubts I give to Jesus (Fully trusting)	193	207			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Morgan	Stebbins	868			WW 10/9/80
All my doubts I give to Jesus (Fully trusting)		207			1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Morgan	Stebbins	868	485		ACW 14/1/92
All people that on earth do dwell (Old Hundredth)		83			1877 Adelong NSW	church foundation	Kethe	Franc	9			AW 29/9/77

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
						stone						
All people that on earth do dwell (Old Hundredth)		83			1877 Dr S Bathurst		Kethe	Franc	9			AW 8/12/77
All people that on earth do dwell (Old Hundredth)	83	83			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Kethe	Franc	9			BC 15/10/77
All people that on earth do dwell (Old Hundredth)		83			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Kethe	Franc	9			BC 22/10/77
All people that on earth do dwell (Old Hundredth)		83			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Kethe	Franc	9			QES Supp 20/10/77
All people that on earth do dwell (Old Hundredth)		83			1877 Dr S Geelong		Kethe	Franc	9			SC 18/8/77
All people that on earth do dwell (Old Hundredth)		83			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Kethe	Franc	9			SC 1/9/77
All people that on earth do dwell (Old Hundredth)		83			1877 Dr S Sydney		Kethe	Franc	9			QES 29/9/77
All people that on earth do dwell (Old Hundredth)		83			1878 HBM Melb	farewell YMCA	Kethe	Franc	9			WW 6/2/78
All people that on earth do dwell (Old Hundredth)	83	83			1878 HV Lton		Kethe	Franc	9			Exam 3/5/78, WW 10/3/78
All people that on earth do dwell (Old Hundredth)		83			1878 Melb	communion service	Kethe	Franc	9			SC 10/8/78
All people that on earth do dwell (Old Hundredth)		83			1878 Spurgeon Bris	children	Kethe	Franc	9			QES 3/8/78
All people that on earth do dwell (Old Hundredth)		83			1883 Mrs H Sydney		Kethe	Franc	9			Adv 22/9/83
All people that on earth do dwell (Old Hundredth)		83			1886 Bris	United Protestant	Kethe	Franc	9			BC 12/7/86
All people that on earth do dwell (Old Hundredth)		83			1888 GC Sydney		Kethe	Franc	9			ACW 1/11/88
All people that on earth do dwell (Old Hundredth)		83			1891 Petersham conf		Kethe	Franc	9			ACW 17/9/91
All people that on earth do dwell (Old Hundredth)	183	83			1894 JMcN Sydney		Kethe	Franc	9			SMH 8/10/94
All the way my Saviour leads me		131			1881 JMacN SA		Crosby	Lowry	522			MacNeil p 128
Almost persuaded		52			1877 Brisbane Wes	Sacred Song Service	Bliss	Bliss	452			Adv 22/9/77
Almost persuaded	52	52			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bliss	Bliss	452			QES Supp 3/11/77
Almost persuaded		52			1877 Dr S Geelong		Bliss	Bliss	452			Spec Supp 18/8/77
Almost persuaded		52			1877 Dr S Sydney		Bliss	Bliss	452			Adv 22/9/77
Almost persuaded		52			1878 Bris	United Ev service	Bliss	Bliss	452			QES 10/8/78
Always cheerful					1890 Collingwood	children, SS picnic						SC 18/4/90
Am I a soldier of the Cross?		75	60		1872 Circular Head		Watts	Sankey	672			CW 21/9/72
Am I a soldier of the Cross?	75	75	60		1877 Dr S Brisbane		Watts	Sankey	672			QES 10/11/77
Am I a soldier of the Cross?		75	60		1877 Dr S Brisbane		Watts	Sankey	672			QES 27/10/77
Am I a soldier of the Cross?	75	75	60		1877 Dr S Brisbane		Watts	Sankey	672			QES Supp 20/10/77
Am I a soldier of the Cross?	75	75	60		1877 Dr S Sydney	men	Watts	Sankey	672			AW 13/10/77
Am I a soldier of the Cross?	75	75	60		1877 Dr S Sydney		Watts	Sankey	672			AW 20/10/77
Am I a soldier of the Cross?	75	75	60		1877 Dr S Sydney		Watts	Sankey	672			AW 24/11/77
Am I a soldier of the Cross?	75	75	60		1878 Dr S Melb	choir	Watts	Sankey	672			SC 6/7/78, WW 5/7/78
Am I a soldier of the Cross?		75	60		1878 Melb	noon prayer mtg	Watts	Sankey	672			WW 9/8/78
Angels are waiting					1879 Maloga	funeral						WW 8/8/79
Angels are waiting for the coming					1877 Brisbane Wes	Sacred Song Service						Adv 22/9/77
Angels ever bright and fair					1877 Brisbane Wes	Sacred Song Service	Handel?					Adv 29/9/77
Anywhere with Jesus					1879 WofG							WG Dec 1879
Are your windows open toward Jerusalem? (Do you see the Hebrew captive kneeling?)		167			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bliss	Bliss	167			QES 1/12/77
Are your windows open toward Jerusalem?	167	167			1877 Dr S Sydney	noon prayer mtg	Bliss	Bliss	167			AWA 13/10/77
Are your windows open toward Jerusalem?	167	167			1878 HV Melb	Chn conf	Bliss	Bliss	167			WW 20/9/78
Are your windows open toward Jerusalem	157	167			1878 HV Melb	Chn conf	Bliss	Bliss	167			WW 27/9/78

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Are your windows open toward Jerusalem?	167	167			1878 HV Melb	Chn conf	Bliss	Bliss	167			WW 31/5/78
Are your windows open toward Jerusalem?		167			1878 Melb	Chn conf	Bliss	Bliss	167			
Are your windows open toward Jerusalem?		167			1879 Sydney	Ch of Christ, choir	Bliss	Bliss	167			ACA Aug 79
Beautiful land, The					1877 Brisbane Wes	Sacred Song Service						Adv 29/9/77
Before Jehovah's awful throne		143			1876 Benalla	Wesleyan	Watts	Mainzer	252			Spec 19/8/76
Before Jehovah's awful throne		143			1877 Dr S Ballarat		Watts	Mainzer	252			SC 1/9/77
Before Jehovah's awful throne		143			1883 Mrs H Sydney		Watts	Mainzer	252			DT 17/9/83
Behold one standing at the door		319?			1878 Mrs B Sandhurst	sailors - solo	Crosby	Knapp	378?		106?	WW 22/11/78
Beneath the Cross of Jesus	108	108			1877 HV Melb		Clephane	Sankey	139			SC 29/9/77
Beneath the Cross of Jesus		108			1878 HV Pentridge		Clephane	Sankey	139			WW 12/1/78
Beside the well at noontime (Ho, everyone that thirsteth)					1880 WofG		Bliss	Bliss				WG Mar 80
Beyond the smiling and the weeping		283			1899 Yatman Sydney	Virgo solo	Bonar	Stebbins	931			SMH 30/6/99
Beyond the smiling and the weeping		283			1900 Yatman Adel	Virgo solo	Bonar	Stebbins	931			Ad Adv 28/9/99
Beyond the smiling and the weeping		283			1900 Yatman Adel	Virgo solo	Bonar	Stebbins	931			Ad Adv 23/8/99
Bless me now	120	120			1880 Table Cape	conference	Clark	Lowry	491			WW 6/2/80
Bless me now	120	120			1880 Table Cape	conference	Clark	Lowry	491			WW 6/2/80
Blessed assurance		500			1894 JMcN Sydney		Crosby	Knapp	873			SMH 15/10/94
Blessed be the fountain of blood (Whiter than the snow)		396			1878 WofG		Latta	Perkins	113			WG Nov 78
Blessed be the fountain of blood (Whiter than the snow)		396			1882 JMacN Perth	prison	Latta	Perkins	113			MacNeil p 159
Blest be the tie that binds	80	80			1880 TS Qld	farewell	Fawcett	Nageli	506			VF 10/80
Blest be the tie that binds	80	80			1886 Melb	YMCA 13th conf	Fawcett	Nageli	506			ACW 20/8/86, SC 20/8/86
Brethren, let us join to bless					1881 Kentishbury	conf	Cennick					WW 14/1/81
Bringing in the sheaves	274	274			1884 Melbourne	Booth welcome YMCA	K.S.	Miner	757			Argus 22/1/84 p7
Call them in	197	197			1877 HV Melb		Shipton	.	391			Spec 6/10/77
Call them in	197	197			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Shipton	Sankey	391			QES Supp 10/11/77
Call them in	197	197			1877 Dr S Sydney		Shipton	Sankey	391			AW 24/11/77
Call them in	197	197			1877 Dr S Sydney		Shipton	Sankey	391			AW 3/11/77
Call them in	197	197			1877 Dr S Sydney	noon prayer mtg	Shipton	Sankey	391			AW 6/10/77
Called to the feast by the King are we (when the King comes in)					1886 Wm Noble Sydney		Landor					ACW 16/7/86
Choose ye today	226	226			1878 United Ev service Bris		Crosby	Doane	440			QES 10/8/78
Christ is all, yes all in all					1890s Melb	The Band	Booth, Herbert	Booth, Herbert				SC 18/9/96
Christ is all, yes all in all					1896 Melb	J MacN funeral	Booth, Herbert	Booth, Herbert				SC 11/9/96
Come over the line					1881 Mrs B Norwood	solo						T&P 1/9/81
Come to our poor nature's night					1886 HG Brisbane		Rawson	Scholefield		183		BC 12/7/86
Come to the Saviour	16	16			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Root	Root	1165			QES Supp 10/11/77
Come to the Saviour	16	16			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Root	Root	1165			QES Supp 20/10/77
Come to the Saviour	16	16			1877 Dr S Geelong	children	Root	Root	1165			SC 18/8/77, Spec 18/8/77

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Come to the Saviour	16	16			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Root	Root	1165			SC 1/9/77
Come to the Saviour	16	16			1877 Dr S Sydney	children	Root	Root	1165			AW 29/9/77
Come to the Saviour	16	16			1877 HV Melb		Root	Root	1165			SC 1/9/77
Come to the Saviour? ("Joyful shall our meeting be")		16			1880 Port Chalmers	sailors	Root	Root	1165			WW 9/1/80
Come unto Jesus, ye that mourn					1877 Brisbane Wes	Sacred Song Service	Sumner					Adv 29/9/77
Come ye that love the Lord		224			1894 JMcN Sydney		Watts	Lowry	823			SMH 8/10/94
Come, brethren, as we march along		248			1875 Lton	Believers' Conf	Bliss	Bliss				conf booklet
Come, brethren, as we march along	248	248			1880 Melb	Chn conf	Bliss	Bliss				WW 30/7/80
Come, for the feast is spread		227			1878 Gold St Collingwood		Burton	Bliss	281			WW 22/2/78
Come, Holy Spirit!			80		1886 HG Brisbane		Bruce	Sankey	195			BC 12/7/86
Come, let us anew					1881 Mrs B SA		Wesley					ICW 6/1/82
Come, let us join our cheerful songs					1873 Table Cape	conf	Watts	"York"	245			CW 25/1/73
Come, let us join our cheerful songs					1875 Lton	Believers' Conf	Watts	"York"	245			conf booklet
Come, let us join our cheerful songs					1875 Table Cape	conf	Watts	"York"	245			CW 6/2/75
Come, the dear Master is calling					1894 Cook Melbourne	Smith solo	Stokes					Smith 289
Courage, sister					1877 Brisbane Wes	Sacred Song Service						Adv 29/9/77
Crown of rejoicing, A		174			1877 HV Melb		Aitchinson	Bliss				SC 8/9/77
Crown of rejoicing, A		174			1878 Dr S Melb		Aitchinson	Bliss				
Crown of rejoicing, A		174			1878 HV Melb		Aitchinson	Bliss				WW 5/7/78
Crown of rejoicing, O	174	174			1877 HV Melb		Aitchinson	Bliss				Spec Supp 1/9/77
Crown of rejoicing, O		174			1878 Dr S Invercargill		Aitchinson	Bliss				WG Jul 78
Crown of rejoicing, O	174	174			1878 Dr S Melb		Aitchinson	Bliss				SC 6/7/78
Crown of Rejoicing, The		174			1878 Dr S Sydney		Aitchinson	Bliss				SC 24/8/78
Crown of Rejoicing, The		174			1878 Dunedin	YMCA	Aitchinson	Bliss				WW 13/12/78
Dare to do right					1877 Brisbane Wes	Sacred Song Service						Adv 29/9/77
Down in the valley with my Saviour		345			1886 HG Brisbane		Cushing	Lowry	529			Tele 19/7/86
Down life's dark vale we wander (When Jesus Comes)	22	22			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bliss	Bliss				QES Supp 10/11/77
Down life's dark vale we wander (When Jesus Comes)	22	22			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bliss	Bliss				QES Supp 3/11/77
Down life's dark vale we wander (When Jesus Comes)	22	22			1877 Dr S Maryborough		Bliss	Bliss				SC 25/8/77
Down life's dark vale we wander (When Jesus Comes)		22			1877 Dr S Sydney		Bliss	Bliss				Adv 15/9/77
Down life's dark vale we wander (When Jesus Comes)	22	22			1878 Dr S Melb	Benev Asylum	Bliss	Bliss				SC 20/7/78
Down life's dark vale we wander (When Jesus Comes)	25	22			1878 HV Melb	Chn conf	Bliss	Bliss				WW 27/9/78
Down life's dark vale we wander (When Jesus Comes)		22			1878 United Ev service Bris		Bliss	Bliss				QES 10/8/78

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Down life's dark vale we wander (When Jesus Comes)		22			1879 Melb	2nd Advent conf	Bliss	Bliss				WW 11/7/79
Down life's dark vale we wander (When Jesus Comes)		22			1881 Melb	YMCA 2nd Advent conf	Bliss	Bliss				WW 7/1/81
Doxology (Praise God from whom all blessings flow)					1875 Lton	Believers' Conf	Ken	Franc				conf booklet
Doxology					1875 Lton	Believers' Conf	Ken	Franc				conf booklet
Doxology					1877 Dr S Brisbane		Ken	Franc				QES 1/12/77
Doxology					1877 Dr S Brisbane		Ken	Franc				QES 10/11/77
Doxology					1877 Dr S Brisbane		Ken	Franc				QES 10/11/77
Doxology					1877 Dr S Brisbane		Ken	Franc				QES 29/9/77
Doxology					1877 Dr S Brisbane		Ken	Franc				QES Supp 10/11/77
Doxology					1877 Dr S Brisbane		Ken	Franc				QES Supp 27/10/77
Doxology					1877 Dr S Geelong		Ken	Franc				SC 18/8/77
Doxology					1877 Dr S Melb	Chn convention	Ken	Franc				SC 28/7/77
Doxology					1877 Dr S Melb	noon prayer mtg	Ken	Franc				WG Aug 77
Doxology					1877 Dr S Melb	noon prayer mtg	Ken	Franc				WG Aug 77
Doxology)					1877 Dr S Sydney		Ken	Franc				Adv 13/10/77
Doxology					1877 Dr S Sydney		Ken	Franc				Adv 13/10/77
Doxology					1877 Dr S Sydney		Ken	Franc				Adv 15/9/77
Doxology					1877 Dr S Sydney	noon prayer mtg	Ken	Franc				Adv 6/10/77
Doxology					1877 HV Melb	butchers	Ken	Franc				Spec 13/10/77
Doxology					1877 Kentish	conference	Ken	Franc				WW 19/1/78
Doxology					1878 HBM Melb	farewell YMCA	Ken	Franc				WW 8/2/78
Doxology					1878 HV Hobart		Ken	Franc				Merc 6/4/78
Doxology					1878 HV Lton		Ken	Franc				Exam 3/5/78
Doxology					1878 HV Melb	Chn conf	Ken	Franc				WW 29/9/78
Doxology					1878 Melb	Chn conf	Ken	Franc				
Doxology					1878 Sandhurst	Chn workers' conv	Ken	Franc				WW 28/6/78
Doxology					1878 Spurgeon Bris	children	Ken	Franc				QES 3/8/78
Doxology					1886 United Protestant Bris		Ken	Franc				
Doxology					1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Ken	Franc				Reports of addresses
Doxology					1894 JMcN Melb		Ken	Franc				Argus 13/8/94
Doxology					1894 JMcN Melb		Ken	Franc				Argus 23/7/94
Doxology					1894 JMcN Melb		Ken	Franc				Argus 24/7/94
Doxology					1894 JMcN Melb		Ken	Franc				Argus 26/7/94
Doxology					1894 JMcN Melb		Ken	Franc				Argus 30/7/94
Doxology					1894 JMcN Sydney		Ken	Franc				SMH 8/10/94
Doxology					1894 JMcN Sydney		Ken	Franc				SMH 9/10/94
Fade, fade each earthly joy	252	189			1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Bonar Mrs	Perkins	1045	262		Reports of addresses
Fade, fade each earthly joy	50				1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Bonar Mrs	Perkins	1045	262		Reports of addresses
Far, far away, in heathen darkness dwelling	428	446			1891 Geelong	convention	McGranahan	McGranahan	1090	445		Reports

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Far, far away, in heathen darkness dwelling	428	446			1892 Grubb Lton	convention	McGranahan	McGranahan	1090	445		Reports of addresses
Far, far away, in heathen darkness dwelling	31	446			1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	McGranahan	McGranahan	1090	445		Reports of addresses
Farewell faithful friends		111			1878 Dr S Sydney		Bishop	Bishop				SC 24/8/78
Free from the law (Once for all)		11			1875 Lton	Believers' Conf	Bliss	Bliss	143			Conf booklet
Free from the law (Once for all)	11	11			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bliss	Bliss	143			QES Supp 10/11/77
Free from the law (Once for all)		11			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bliss	Bliss	143			QES Supp 17/11/77
Free from the law (Once for all)	11	11			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bliss	Bliss	143			QES Supp 24/11/77
Free from the law (Once for all)	11	11			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bliss	Bliss	143			QES Supp 24/11/77
Free from the law (Once for all)	11	11			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bliss	Bliss	143			QES Supp 24/11/77
Free from the law (Once for all)		11			1877 Dr S C'maine		Bliss	Bliss	143			Spec 25/8/77
Free from the law (Once for all)		11			1877 Dr S Melb		Bliss	Bliss	143			WG Aug 77
Free from the law (Once for all)	11	11			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Bliss	Bliss	143			SC 8/9/77
Free from the law (Once for all)	11	11			1877 Dr S Sydney		Bliss	Bliss	143			AW 20/10/77
Free from the law (Once for all)		11			1877 HV Melb		Bliss	Bliss	143			SC 22/9/77
Free from the law (Once for all)	11	11			1877 HV Melb		Bliss	Bliss	143			SC 29/9/77
Free from the law (Once for all)	11	11			1877 HV Melb		Bliss	Bliss	143			
Free from the law (Once for all)		11			1878 HV Carlton		Bliss	Bliss	143			WW 8/2/78
Free from the law (Once for all)		11			1880 Mrs B Adelaide		Bliss	Bliss	143			T&P Dec 80
Free from the law (Once for all)		11			1880 Port Chalmers	sailors	Bliss	Bliss	143			WW 9/1/80
Fresh from the throne of glory	198	198			1877 HV Melb		Bonar	Lowry				SC 22/9/77
From death unto life			129		1894 JMcN Sydney	solo	Cary (arr)	Kirkpatrick	884			DT 10/10/94
From every stormy wind that blows	144			239	1879 Melb	YMCA - Chn conf	Stowell	Wilder	1171			WW 14/11/79
From Greenland's icy mountains	705	705			1891 Petersham conf		Heber	Mason	1070			ACW 24/9/91
Full Salvation!					1892 Grubb		Webber	Hastings		199		ACW 14/1/92
Fully persuaded		149			1878 United Ev service Bris		Aitchinson	Sherwin				QES 10/8/78
Gather them in	104			47	1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Crosby	Stebbins	779			SC 1/9/77
Gather them in				47	1883 Mrs H Sydney		Crosby	Stebbins	779			DT 17/9/83
Gather them into the fold					1877 Dr S Geelong	children						Spec Supp 18/8/77
Gethsemane	219	219			1877 Dr S Geelong	choir	Tappan	Bradbury	132			SC 18/8/77
Gethsemane	219	219			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Tappan	Bradbury	132			SC 1/9/1877
Gethsemane	219	219			1877 Dr S Sydney	choir	Tappan	Bradbury	132			AW 6/10/77
Gethsemane		219			1878 Gold St Collingwood	choir	Tappan	Bradbury	132			WW 22/2/78
Glory to His Name					1881 JMacN SA							MacNeil p 128
Glory, honour					1873 Table Cape	conference - farewell	Theodulph of Orleans?					CW 25/1/73
Go and tell Jesus		521			1877 Dr S Brisbane		no author given	Seward	74			QES Supp 27/10/77
Go and tell Jesus		521			1878 WofG		no author given	Seward	74			WG Mar 79
Go bury thy sorrow		5			1878 Dr S Melb	UEA inaug	Bachelor	Bliss	777			
Go bury thy sorrow		5			1878 Melb	HV Chn conf	Bachelor	Bliss	777			SC 1/6/78

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Go bury thy sorrow		5			1899 Yatman Adel	Virgo solo	Bachelor	Bliss	777			Ad Adv 30/8/99
Go work in my vineyard	4	4			1877 Dr S Brisbane	choir	Kane	Kane				QES Supp 27/10/77
Go work in my vineyard	4	4			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Kane	Kane				QES Supp 27/10/77
Go work in my vineyard		4			1877 Dr S Geelong	choir	Kane	Kane				SC 11/8/77
Go work in my vineyard	4	4			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Kane	Kane				SC 1/9/77
Go work in my vineyard		4			1877 Dr S Sydney		Kane	Kane				QES 29/9/77
Go work in my vineyard	4	4			1877 HV Melb		Kane	Kane				Spec Supp 1/9/77
Go work in my vineyard		4			1877 HV Melb	children	Kane	Kane				Spec Supp 25/8/77
Go work in my vineyard	4	4			1878 Dr S Melb	UEA inaug	Kane	Kane				SC 13/7/78
Go work in my vineyard		4			1878 Melb	noon prayer mtg	Kane	Kane				WW 16/8/78
Go, labour on		619			1891 Petersham conf		Bonar, H	Mason	815			ACW 17/9/91
God be with you till we meet again		494			1894 JMcN Sydney	last mtg	Rankin	Tomer	298			SMH 29/10/94
God be with you till we meet again		494			1899 Yatman Adel		Rankin	Tomer	298			Ad Adv 5/9/99
God be with you till we meet again?		494			1877 Melb	United Chn Workers' annual mtg	Rankin	Tomer	298			Spec 14/7/77
God be with you till we meet again?		494			1878 HV Melb		Rankin	Tomer	298			WW 12/1/78
God in mercy sent His Son	23				1875 Lton	Believers' Conf	Burlingham					Conf booklet
God loved the world of sinners lost		38			1878 Sandridge	sailors	Stockton	Fischer	17	581		WW 11/10/1978
God loved the world of sinners lost		38			1883 Mrs H Sydney		Stockton	Fischer	17	581		DT 10/10/83
God loved the world of sinners lost	27	38			1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Stockton	Fischer	17	581		ACW 14/1/92
God loved the world of sinners lost	389	38			1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Stockton	Fischer	17	581		Reports of addresses
Gospel rest, The					1878 Spurgeon Bris	children						QES 3/8/78
Grace there is my every debt to pay					1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	H Booth			540	286	ACW 14/1/92
Grace, 'tis a charming sound		81			1880 WofG		Doddridge /Toplady	Clark/trad	9			WG Mar 80
Hallelujah 'Tis Done ('Tis the Promise of God)	92	92			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bliss	Bliss	841			QES 20/10/77
Hallelujah 'Tis Done ('Tis the Promise of God)	92	92			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bliss	Bliss	841			QES Supp 1/12/77
Hallelujah 'Tis Done ('Tis the Promise of God)	92	92			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bliss	Bliss	841			QES Supp 17/11/77
Hallelujah 'Tis Done ('Tis the Promise of God)	92	92			1877 Dr S C'maine		Bliss	Bliss	841			SC 25/8/77
Hallelujah 'Tis Done ('Tis the Promise of God)	92	92			1877 Dr S Geelong		Bliss	Bliss	841			SC 18/8/77
Hallelujah 'Tis Done ('Tis the Promise of God)		92			1877 Dr S Geelong		Bliss	Bliss	841			Spec 11/8/77
Hallelujah 'Tis Done ('Tis the Promise of God)	92	92			1877 Dr S M'borough		Bliss	Bliss	841			AW 1/9/77
Hallelujah 'Tis Done ('Tis the Promise of God)	92	92			1877 Dr S M'borough		Bliss	Bliss	841			SC 25/8/77
Hallelujah 'Tis Done ('Tis the Promise of God)	92	92			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Bliss	Bliss	841			SC 1/9/77
Hallelujah 'Tis Done ('Tis the Promise of God)	92	92			1877 Dr S Sydney		Bliss	Bliss	841			Adv 15/9/77
Hallelujah 'Tis Done ('Tis the Promise of God)		92			1877 Dr S Sydney		Bliss	Bliss	841			Adv 15/9/77
Hallelujah 'Tis Done ('Tis the Promise of God)	92	92			1877 Dr S Sydney		Bliss	Bliss	841			AW 20/10/77
Hallelujah 'Tis Done ('Tis the Promise of God)		92			1877 HV Melb		Bliss	Bliss	841			Spec 22/9/77
Hallelujah 'Tis Done ('Tis the Promise of God)		92			1877 HV Melb		Bliss	Bliss	841			Spec Supp 1/9/77
Hallelujah 'Tis Done ('Tis the Promise of God)	92	92			1878 Bris	United Ev service	Bliss	Bliss	841			QES 3/8/78
Hallelujah 'Tis Done ('Tis the Promise of God)	92	92			1878 Dr S Sydney		Bliss	Bliss	841			SC 24/8/78
Hallelujah 'Tis Done ('Tis the Promise of God)		92			1879 Melb	holiness conf	Bliss	Bliss	841			WW 4/7/79
Hallelujah 'Tis Done ('Tis the Promise of God)		92			1880s MB Burra		Bliss	Bliss	841			Glenny p. 64

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Hallelujah 'Tis Done ('Tis the Promise of God)	92	92			1884 Melb	Booth welcome YMCA	Bliss	Bliss	841			Argus 22/1/84 p7
Hallelujah 'Tis Done ('Tis the Promise of God)		92			1896 Ballarat	MB memorial service	Bliss	Bliss	841			Glenny p. 64 "one of his favourites"
Hallelujah, He is risen!		173			1877 WofG		Bliss	Bliss	157			WG Aug 77
Hark the song of Jubilee	380				1891 Geelong	convention	Montgomery	Sullivan?				Reports
Hark, the gospel news is sounding					1873 Table Cape	conference						CW 25/1/73
Have you been to Jesus (Washed in the blood of the lamb)		398			1876 Preston	musical evening	Hoffman	Hoffman	379			Spec 12/8/76
Have you been to Jesus (Washed in the blood of the lamb)	58	398			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Hoffman	Hoffman	379			SC 1/9/77
Have you been to Jesus (Washed in the blood of the lamb)	38	398			1877 Dr S Sydney	children	Hoffman	Hoffman	379			AW 29/9/77
He leadeth me		95			1877 Dr S Melb		Gilmore	Bradbury	542			WG Aug 77
He leadeth me	95	95			1877 Dr S Sydney	noon prayer mtg	Gilmore	Bradbury	542			AW 13/10/77
He leadeth me	95	95			1879 Melb	holiness conf	Gilmore	Bradbury	542			WW 4/7/79
He that believeth		299?			1877 HV Melb		McGranahan	McGranahan	359?			SC 8/12/77
He will hide me		375			1886 HG Brisbane		Servoss	McGranahan	547			BC 12/7/86
He wipes the tear from every eye					1880 Melb	MB farewell-duet	Mackinlay	Lee				WG Feb 80
Hear ye the glad news from heaven		96			1877 HV Melb		Bliss	Bliss				Spec 8/9/77
Hearts and homes					1877 Brisbane Wes	Sacred Song Service						Adv 29/9/77
His praises I will sing	125		62		1877 HV Melb		Aitchinson	Stebbins	240			
Hold fast till I come (O spirit, o'erwhelmed by thy failures and fears)	171	171			1879 Melb	2nd Advent conf	Paulina (Mrs Bliss)	Bliss				WW 11/7/79
Hold the fort		1			1876 Preston	musical evening	Bliss	Bliss	669			Spec 12/8/76
Hold the fort		1			1877 Dr S Ballarat		Bliss	Bliss	669			BC 25/7/77
Hold the fort		1			1877 Dr S Brisbane	children	Bliss	Bliss	669			QES Supp 24/11/77
Hold the fort		1			1877 Dr S M'borough	fire	Bliss	Bliss	669			SC 25/8/77
Hold the fort		1			1877 Dr S Melb		Bliss	Bliss	669			SC 21/7/77
Hold the fort		1			1877 Dr S Melb		Bliss	Bliss	669			WG Aug 77
Hold the fort		1			1877 Dr S Sydney		Bliss	Bliss	669			SC 20/10/77
Hold the fort		1			1877 HV Melb	Richmond Paddock	Bliss	Bliss	669			SC 22/9/77
Hold the fort		1			1877 HV Melb	butchers, familiar	Bliss	Bliss	669			Spec 13/10/77
Hold the fort	1	1			1877 HV Melb		Bliss	Bliss	669			Spec 22/9/77
Hold the fort		1			1877 HV Melb		Bliss	Bliss	669			Spec Supp 1/9/77
Hold the fort		1			1878 Dr S Dunedin	fire	Bliss	Bliss	669			WW 14/6/78
Hold the fort		1			1878 HV Lton		Bliss	Bliss	669			Merc 16/3/78
Hold the fort		1			1878 Maloga	wedding, by heart	Bliss	Bliss	669			WW 2/2/78
Hold the fort		1			1878 Sandridge	sailors	Bliss	Bliss	669			WW 11/10/78
Hold the fort		1			1879 Sydney	Ch of Christ, choir	Bliss	Bliss	669			ACA Aug 79
Hold the fort	1	1			1880 Melb	Chn conf	Bliss	Bliss	669			WW 30/7/80
Hold the fort		1			1881 JMacN SA	shearing sheds	Bliss	Bliss	669			MacNeil p 128
Hold the fort		1			1881 JMacN SA	open air	Bliss	Bliss	669			MacNeil p 99
Hold the fort		1			1884 Melbourne	R T Booth	Bliss	Bliss	669			Argus 22/1/84 p7

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Hold the fort		1			1886 HG Sandhurst		Bliss	Bliss	669			SC 18/6/86
Hold the fort		1			1886 Hobart	R T Booth	Bliss	Bliss	669			Mercury 223/2/86 p3
Hold the fort		1			1896 Richmond Vic	opening St Stephens	Bliss	Bliss	669			MHAB 9/96 p 135
Holy Father, Thou hast spoken	179				1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Havergal F	Dykes		164		Reports of addresses
Holy, happy separation					1891 Geelong	convention - solo	Bennett	Mountain		54		Reports
How many sheep are straying					1877 Dr S Sydney	Chn convention	Gates	Lowry		442	631	WG 3/12/77
How many sheep are straying					1877 HV Melb		Gates	Lowry		442	631	SC 29/9/77
How many sheep are straying					1878 HV Melb	Temperance Hall	Gates	Lowry		442	631	WW 17/5/78
How many sheep are straying					1878 Melb	noon prayer mtg	Gates	Lowry		442	631	WW 23/8/78
How many sheep are straying					1878 Sandridge	choir	Gates	Lowry		442	631	WW 11/10/78
How sweet the name		145			1878 HV Melb	Chn conf	Newton	Reinagle	112	279		SC 1/6/78
How sweet the name		145			1878 HV Melb	Chn conf	Newton	Reinagle	112	279		WW 20/9/78
How sweet the name	145	145			1879 Melb	UEA conf	Newton	Reinagle	112	279		WW 27/6/79
How sweet the name		145			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Newton	Reinagle	112	279		WW 9/1/80
How sweet the name	222	145			1891 Geelong Conv		Newton	Reinagle	112	279		Reports
How sweet the name	222	145			1891 Petersham conf		Newton	Reinagle	112	279		ACW 24/9/91
How sweet the name	222	145			1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Newton	Reinagle	112			Reports of addresses
How sweet the name		145			1894 JMcN Melb		Newton	Reinagle	112	279		SC 24/8/94
Hungering for the sacred fire	436				1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Heathcote	Heathcote		482		Reports of addresses
I am coming to the Cross	54	54			1877 Dr S Brisbane		McDonald	Fischer	477			QES Supp 20/10/77
I am coming to the Cross		54			1877 Dr S Castlemaine		McDonald	Fischer	477			Spec 25/8/77
I am coming to the Cross	54	54			1877 Dr S Geelong		McDonald	Fischer	477			SC 11/8/77
I am coming to the Cross	54	54			1877 Dr S Geelong	women's mtg	McDonald	Fischer	477			SC 18/8/77
I am coming to the Cross	54	54			1877 Dr S Maryborough		McDonald	Fischer	477			SC 25/8/77
I am coming to the Cross	54	54			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		McDonald	Fischer	477			SC 1/9/77
I am coming to the Cross	54	54			1877 Dr S Sydney		McDonald	Fischer	477			AW 15/9/77
I am coming to the Cross	54	54			1877 Dr S Sydney		McDonald	Fischer	477			AW 6/10/77
I am coming to the Cross	53	54			1877 HV Melb		McDonald	Fischer	477			SC 29/9/77
I am now a child of God	86	244			1875 Lton	Believers' Conf	Parker	Phillips				conf booklet
I am now a child of God		244			1875 Lton	Believers' Conf	Parker	Phillips				conf booklet
I am so glad (Jesus loves [even] me)		3			1875 Lton	Believers' Conf	Bliss	Bliss	38			conf booklet
I am so glad (Jesus loves [even] me)	3	3			1877 Dr S Brisbane	children	Bliss	Bliss	38			QES Supp 3/11/77
I am so glad (Jesus loves [even] me)		3			1877 HV Melb	children	Bliss	Bliss	38			Spec Supp 18/8/77
I am so glad (Jesus loves [even] me)		3			1877 Kentish	conference	Bliss	Bliss	38			WW 19/1/78
I am so glad (Jesus loves [even] me)		3			1878 Melb	children	Bliss	Bliss	38			WW 16/8/78
I am so glad (Jesus loves [even] me)	3	3			1880 Adelaide	choir at Destitute Asylum	Bliss	Bliss	38			WW 19/3/80
I am so glad (Jesus loves [even] me)		3			1890 Collingwood	children, SS picnic	Bliss	Bliss	38			SC 18/4/90
I am so glad (Jesus loves me)	3	3			1877 Dr S Sandhurst	children	Bliss	Bliss	38			SC 1/9/77
I am Thine own, O Christ	254			219	1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Bradley	Wright	603	274		Reports of addresses
I am Thine, O Lord (Draw me nearer)	165	165			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Crosby	Doane	607			QES Supp 1/12/77

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
I am Thine, O Lord (Draw me nearer)	165	165			1877 Dr S Sydney		Crosby	Doane	607			AW 3/11/77
I am Thine, O Lord (Draw me nearer)	165	165			1878 Dr S Melb	women	Crosby	Doane	607			WW 19/7/78
I am Thine, O Lord (Draw me nearer)	165	165			1878 Melb	Union prayer mtg	Crosby	Doane	607			WW 6/9/78
I am Thine, O Lord (Draw me nearer)	165	165			1879 Melb	YMCA - Chn conf	Crosby	Doane	607			WW 14/11/79
I am Thine, O Lord (Draw me nearer)	165	165			1879 Melb	UEA conf	Crosby	Doane	607			WW 27/6/79
I am Thine, O Lord (Draw me nearer)	165	165			1879 Melb	UEA conf	Crosby	Doane	607			WW 27/6/79
I am Thine, O Lord (Draw me nearer)		165			1880 Melb	Chn conf	Crosby	Doane	607			SC 24/7/80
I am Thine, O Lord (Draw me nearer)	165	165			1880 Melb	YMCA conf	Crosby	Doane	607			WW 9/4/80
I am Thine, O Lord (Draw me nearer)	165	165			1880 Table Cape	conference	Crosby	Doane	607			WW 6/2/80
I am Thine, O Lord (Draw me nearer)	10	165			1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Crosby	Doane	607			ACW 14/1/92
I could not do without Thee		743			1878 Willing Work		Havergal	Hermann	844			WW 16/8/78
I feel like singing all the time	36	350			1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Hammond	Stebbins	218			Reports of addresses
I feel like singing all the time	36	350			1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Hammond	Stebbins	218			Reports of addresses
I gave my life for thee		122			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Havergal F	Havergal	621			WW 26/4/80
I gave my life for thee		122			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Havergal F	Havergal	621			WW 7/5/M43280
I go to yonder home above					1877 Kentish	conference						WW 19/1/78
I have a Father in heaven					1881 Inskip							SC 23/4/80
I have a Saviour (I'm praying for you)		106			1877 Brisbane Wes	Sacred Song Service	Cluff	Sankey	350			Adv 29/9/77
I have a Saviour (I'm praying for you)	106	106			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Cluff	Sankey	350			QES Supp 13/10/77
I have a Saviour (I'm praying for you)	106	106			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Cluff	Sankey	350			QES Supp 3/11/77
I have a Saviour (I'm praying for you)		106			1877 Dr S Castlemaine		Cluff	Sankey	350			Spec 25/8/77
I have a Saviour (I'm praying for you)	106	106			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Cluff	Sankey	350			SC 8/9/77
I have a Saviour (I'm praying for you)		106			1877 HV Melb		Cluff	Sankey	350			Spec 8/9/77
I have a Saviour (I'm praying for you)		106			1877 HV Melb	gaol	Cluff	Sankey	350			WW 1/12/77
I have a Saviour (I'm praying for you)		106			1878 Warrnambool	obituary WofG	Cluff	Sankey	350			WG Jul 78
I have a Saviour (I'm praying for you)		106			1880 Adelaide	choir at Destitute Asylum	Cluff	Sankey	350			WW 19/3/80
I have been redeemed					1878 Melb	communion service						SC 3/8/78
I have entered the valley of blessing	50	50			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Wittenmyer	Fischer			382	SC 8/9/77
I have entered the valley of blessing	50	50			1877 Dr S Sydney		Wittenmyer	Fischer			382	AW 13/10/77
I have entered the valley of blessing	50	50			1877 Dr S Sydney		Wittenmyer	Fischer			382	AW 13/10/77
I have entered the valley of blessing		50			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Wittenmyer	Fischer			382	WW 9/4/80
I have found a Friend	51				1875 Lton	Believers' Conf						conf booklet
I have found a Friend	102				1875 Lton	Believers' Conf						conf booklet
I have read of a beautiful city		403			1899 Yatman Sydney	Virgo solo	Aitchinson	Presbrey	1195			SMH 17/7/99
I have read of a beautiful land		403?			1899 Yatman Adel	Virgo solo	Aitchinson?	Presbrey?	1195?			Ad Adv 5/9/99
I hear Thy welcome voice	10	10			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Hartsough	Hartsough	475			QES Supp 10/11/77
I hear Thy welcome voice	10	10			1877 Dr S M'borough		Hartsough	Hartsough	475			SC 25/8/77
I hear Thy welcome voice	10	10			1877 Dr S Sydney		Hartsough	Hartsough	475			AW 13/10/77
I hear Thy welcome voice	10	10			1877 Dr S Sydney		Hartsough	Hartsough	475			AW 15/9/77
I know he is mine		40			1877 Dr S Melb	noon prayer mtg	Bliss	Sankey	846			WG Aug 77
I know not the hour my Lord may come		23			1881 Melb	YMCA 2nd Advent conf	Bliss	McGranahan	980			WW 7/1/81

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
I know not the hour my Lord shall come		23			1875 Perrin death		Bliss	McGranahan	980			Perrin p. 147
I know not the hour when my Lord shall come		23			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Bliss	McGranahan	980			WW 7/4/80
I know not the hour when my Lord shall come	23	23			1880 TS Qld	farewell	Bliss	McGranahan	980			VF 10/80
I know not when my Lord may come		23?			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Bliss	McGranahan	980?			WW 4/6/80
I lay my sins on Jesus		260			1875 Lton	Believers' Conf	Bonar	Walch	870			conf booklet
I leave it all with Jesus					1879 WofG		a young lady	ES				WG Sep 79
I left it all with Jesus		28			1875 Lton	Believers' Conf	Willis	Warner				conf booklet
I left it all with Jesus		28			1877 HV Melb		Willis	Warner				SC 22/9/77
I left it all with Jesus		28			1878 HV Melb	noon prayer mtg	Willis	Warner				WW 17/5/78
I left it all with Jesus		28			1878 Macintyre W Dist	Scotch lady	Willis	Warner				WW 20/9/78
I left it all with Jesus		28			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Willis	Warner				WW 7/5/80
I love to tell the story	51	51			1878 Taradale	Cheek	Hankey	Main	46			ACW 1/8/84
I love to tell the story	51	51			1880 Melb	Chn conf	Hankey	Main	46			WW 30/7/80
I love to think of the heavenly land (There'll be no parting there)		97			1877 Dr S Melb	children	no author given	Bradbury	991			WG Aug 77
I love to think of the heavenly land (There'll be no parting there)	97	97			1877 Dr S Sydney			Bradbury	991			AW 3/11/77
I love to think of the heavenly land (There'll be no parting there)		97			1888 Sydney?	farewell CIM miss		Bradbury	991			Pioneer Apr 88
I love to think of the heavenly land (There'll be no parting there) ("There will be no more parting there")		97?			1878 Dr S Sydney	farewell		Bradbury	991			WG Sep 78
I need Thee every hour	84	84			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Hawks	Lowry	577			QES Supp 27/10/77
I need Thee every hour		84			1877 Dr S C'maine		Hawks	Lowry	577			Spec Supp 25/8/77
I need Thee every hour	84	84			1877 Dr S Sydney		Hawks	Lowry	577			AW 27/10/77
I need Thee every hour		84			1877 HV Melb		Hawks	Lowry	577			WW 1/12/77
I need Thee every hour	84	84			1878 HV Lton	conference	Hawks	Lowry	577			WW 10/5/78
I need Thee every hour		84			1878 HV Lton	conference	Hawks	Lowry	577			WW 15/3/78
I need Thee every hour	84	84			1878 HV Melb	Chn conf	Hawks	Lowry	577			WW 20/9/78
I need Thee every hour		84			1878 Sandhurst	United prayer mtg	Hawks	Lowry	577			WW 11/10/78
I need Thee every hour	84	84			1879 Melb	UEA conf	Hawks	Lowry	577			WW 27/6/79
I need Thee every hour		84			1880 Hobart	Cherbury solo	Hawks	Lowry	577			WW 23/1/80
I sat alone with life's memoriesq					1899 Yatman Adel	Virgo solo	Rankin					Ad Adv 29/8/99
I was once far away from the Saviour	564	564			1894 JMcN Lton	solo	Butler	Butler	906			PresMonth 1/8/94
I was once far away from the Saviour	564	564			1894 JMcN Melb	solo	Butler	Butler	906			SC 27/7/94
I was once far away from the Saviour		564			1894 JMcN Sydney	Burke solo	Butler	Butler	906			SMH 9/10/94
I will sing for Jesus	194				1873 Table Cape	conference	Gates					CW 25/1/73
I will sing for Jesus					1875 Phillips tour		Gates					CW 2/9/75
I will sing of my Redeemer		393			1878 WofG		Bliss	McGranahan	896			WG Apr 78
I will sing of my Redeemer		393			1879 Sydney	Ch of Christ, choir	Bliss	McGranahan	896			ACA Aug 79
I will sing of my Redeemer	29	393			1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Bliss	McGranahan	896			Reports of addresses
I will trust					1886 Tasmania			Guinness				Pioneer Apr 86

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
I would commune with Thee my God					1878 Table Cape	conference	Bubier	Psalm tune	502			WW 26/1/78
I would not ask for earthly store (Then shall my heart keep singing)	44		44		1880 Melb	YMCA conf	Maxfield	Ogden	640			WW 2/4/80
I'll stand by until the morning (Joy behold the Saviour!)		385			1880 Kew Iarrikins	Cherbury solo	Whittle (El Nathan)	McGranahan	1065			WW 17/9/80
I'll stand by until the morning (Joy behold the Saviour!)		385			1880 WofG		Whittle (El Nathan)	McGranahan	1065			WG May 80
I'm a child of the King		482			1881 Inskip		Buell	Sumner	946			SC 23/4/80
I'm more than conqueror (Jesus saves me now)	200				1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Parker	Camp		194		Reports of addresses
I'm more than conqueror (Jesus saves me now)	49				1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Parker	Camp		194		Reports of addresses
I'm more than conqueror (Jesus saves me now)	49				1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Parker	Camp		194		Reports of addresses
I'm on my journey up Zion's hill (All the way long 'tis Jesus)	390	269			1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Bliss?	Bliss				Reports of addresses
In evil long I took delight	19				1875 Lton	Believers' Conf	Newton	Wilson				conf booklet, Gospel Services hymn bk
In some way or other the Lord will provide	21	21			1877 Dr S Geelong		Cooke	Phillips	19			SC 18/8/77
In some way or other the Lord will provide		21			1877 Dr S Geelong		Cooke	Phillips	19			Spec 18/8/77
In some way or other the Lord will provide	21	21			1877 Dr S Sydney		Cooke	Phillips	19			AW 20/10/77
In some way or other the Lord will provide		21			1877 Kentish	conference	Cooke	Phillips	19			WW 19/1/78
In the fadeless springtime (By the gate they'll meet us)	256	256			1877 Dr S Sydney		Baxter Mrs L	Main	1005			AW 3/11/77
In the hour when guilt assails me (Christ is all)			95		1879 WofG		Bonar	Craven	92			WG Feb 79
In the rifted rock I'm resting		238			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Hartsough	Lowry	100			WW 6/2/80
In the silent midnight watches	217	217			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Coxe	Root	441			QES 20/10/77
In the silent midnight watches	217	217			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Coxe	Root	441			QES Supp 10/11/77
In the silent midnight watches	217	217			1877 Dr S Brisbane	choir	Coxe	Root	441			QES Supp 20/10/77
In the silent midnight watches	217	217			1877 Dr S Sydney		Coxe	Root	441			AW 20/10/77
In the silent midnight watches	217	217			1878 Dunedin	Theatre service	Coxe	Root	441			WW 9/8/78
Is God for me?					1873 Table Cape	conf						CW 25/1/73
Is God for me?					1875 Table Cape	conf						CW 6/2/75
It is well (When peace, like a river)		210			1878 Gold St Collingwood		Spafford	Bliss	901			WW 22/2/78
It is well (When peace, like a river)		210			1878 Melb	HV Chn conf	Spafford	Bliss	901			SC 1/6/78, WW 31/5/78
It is well (When peace, like a river)		210			1878 Melb	noon prayer mtg	Spafford	Bliss	901			WW 9/8/78
It is well (When peace, like a river)	210	210			1879 Melb	2nd Advent conf	Spafford	Bliss	901			WW 11/7/79
It is well (When peace, like a river)	210	210			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Spafford	Bliss	901			WW 6/2/80
It is well (When peace, like a river)		210			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Spafford	Bliss	901			WW 9/7/80
It is well (When peace, like a river)		210			1881 Kentishbury	conf	Spafford	Bliss	901			WW 28/1/81
It passeth knowledge	203	103			1878 Dr S Melb		Shekleton	Sankey	620			WW 12/7/78
It passeth knowledge	103	103			1879 Melb	Chn conf	Shekleton	Sankey	620			
It passeth knowledge		103			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Shekleton	Sankey	620			WW 9/1/80
It passeth knowledge	103	103			1880 Melb	Chn conf	Shekleton	Sankey	620			SC 31/7/80, WW 30/7/80
I've a message from the Lord (Look and live)		589			1877 Brisbane	Wesleyan Sacred Song Service	Ogden	Ogden	411			Adv 29/9/77

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
I've been redeemed					1877 Dr S Sandhurst							AW 8/9/77
I've been redeemed					1877 Dr S Sydney							AW 15/9/77
I've been redeemed	46 [45?]				1877 Dr S Sydney	choir						AW 22/9/77
I've been redeemed					1877 HV Melb							SC 1/9/77
I've been redeemed					1877 HV Melb	butchers: choir						Spec 13/10/77
I've been redeemed					1877 HV Melb	choir						Spec 8/9/77
I've been redeemed					1877 HV Melb							WW 20/10/77
I've been redeemed					1878 Dr S Invercargill							WG Jul 78
I've been redeemed					1878 HV Pentridge	choir						WW 12/1/78
I've been redeemed					1886 Bris	evang service						BC 12/7/86
I've been redeemed					1886 Melb	Fisk Singers Benev Asylum						SC 6/8/86
I've been redeemed					1886 Melb	YMCA 15th anniv, Jubilee Singers						
I've found a Friend		294			1878 Melb		Small	Stebbins	871			WW 13/10/78
I've found a Friend		294			1886 HG Brisbane		Small	Stebbins	871			BC 19/7/86
I've found a joy in sorrow	36	36			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Crewdson	Sankey	886			QES Supp 27/10/77
I've found a joy in sorrow	36	36			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Crewdson	Sankey	886			QES Supp 3/11/77
I've found a joy in sorrow	36	36			1877 Dr S Geelong		Crewdson	Sankey	886			Spec 11/8/77
I've found a joy in sorrow		36			1877 Dr S Geelong		Crewdson	Sankey	886			Spec Supp 25/8/77
I've found a joy in sorrow	36	36			1877 Dr S Melb	noon prayer mtg	Crewdson	Sankey	886			WG Aug 77
I've found a joy in sorrow	36	36			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Crewdson	Sankey	886			SC 1/9/77
I've found a joy in sorrow	36	36			1877 Dr S Sydney		Crewdson	Sankey	886			AW 13/10/77
I've found a joy in sorrow		36			1877 Dr S Sydney	Fiery Furnace	Crewdson	Sankey	886			AW 6/10/77
I've found a joy in sorrow	36	36			1878 HV Lton	conference	Crewdson	Sankey	886			WW 10/5/78
I've found a joy in sorrow	36	36			1879 Melb	YMCA - Chn conf	Crewdson	Sankey	886			WW 14/11/79
I've found a joy in sorrow (He rose from the dead)		36			1877 Dr S Sydney	choir	Crewdson	Sankey				Adv 6/10/77
I've found a joy in sorrow (He rose from the dead)		36			1878 Melb	noon prayer mtg - choir	Crewdson	Sankey				WW 26/7/78
I've found a pearl of precious price		242?			1878 Melb	noon prayer mtg	Mason	Bliss	88?			WW 9/8/78
I've found the pearl of greatest price		242			1877 HV Melb		Mason	Bliss	88			SC 22/9/77
I've found the pearl of greatest price		242			1877 HV Melb		Mason	Bliss	88			SC 29/9/77
I've found the pearl of greatest price		242			1878 Dr S Invercargill		Mason	Bliss	88			WG Jul 78
I've found the pearl of greatest price		242			1878 Dunedin	YMCA theatre service	Mason	Bliss	88			WW 13/12/78
I've found the pearl of greatest price		242			1878 Gold St Collingwood		Mason	Bliss	88			WW 22/2/78
I've found the pearl of greatest price	242	242			1878 Melb	noon prayer mtg	Mason	Bliss	88			WW 19/7/78
I've found the pearl of greatest price		242			1878 Melb	HV Chn conf	Mason	Bliss	88			SC 1/6/78
I've found the pearl of greatest price	242	242			1879 Melb	YMCA - Chn conf	Mason	Bliss	88			WW 14/11/79
I've found the pearl of greatest price	242	242			1879 Melb	YMCA - Chn conf	Mason	Bliss	88			WW 21/11/79

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
I've found the pearl of greatest price		242			1880 Melb	Chn conf	Mason	Bliss	88			SC 31/7/80
I've found the pearl of greatest price		242			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Mason	Bliss	88			WW 6/8/80
I've found the precious Christ of God					1875 Table Cape	conf	Mason					CW 6/2/75
I've found the precious Christ of God					1877 HV Melb		Mason					WW 15/12/77
I've found the precious Christ of God					1877 Kentish	conference	Mason					WW 19/1/78
I've found the precious Christ of God					1880 Melb	Quarterly mtg Ass Hall	Mason					WW 3/12/80
Jerusalem, my glorious home		651?			1879 Sydney	Ch of Christ, choir	FBP	Gauntlett	1010?			ACA Aug 79
Jesus loves me		69			1890 Collingwood	children, SS picnic	Warner	Bradbury	1155			SC 18/4/90
Jesus paid it all (All to Him I owe)		53			1878 Macintyre W Dist	Scotch lady	Hall	Grape	855			WW 20/9/78
Jesus paid it all (All to Him I owe)		53			1886 HG Brisbane		Hall	Grape	855			BC 19/7/86
Jesus saves me all the time					1878 WofG		A.C.D.					WG Feb 78
Jesus shall reign where'er the sun	228	228			1877 HV Melb		Watts	Hatton	1084			SC 27/10/77
Jesus shall reign where'er the sun	228	228			1877 HV Melb		Watts	Hatton	1084			WW 10/11/77
Jesus shall reign where'er the sun		228			1877 Sydney	Prot Hall mtg	Watts	Hatton	1084			AW 24/11/77
Jesus, and shall [can] it ever be		617			1875 Lton	Believers' conf	Grigg	Crassellius	905			Conf booklet
Jesus, and shall [can] it ever be		617			1886 Melb	YMCA 15th anniv, tune Winchester	Grigg	Crassellius	905			ACW 25/6/86
Jesus, I am resting, resting				67	1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Piggott	Mountain	635	242		ACW 31/3/92
Jesus, I am resting, resting	3			67	1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Piggott	Mountain	635	242		Reports of addresses
Jesus, keep me near the cross	127	127			1879 Melb	YMCA - Chn conf	Crosby	Doane	134			WW 14/11/79
Jesus, lover of my soul	47	62			1875 Lton	Believers' conf	Wesley	Marsh	227			Conf booklet
Jesus, lover of my soul	62	62			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Wesley	Marsh	227			QES Supp 24/11/77
Jesus, lover of my soul	62	62			1877 Dr S Sydney		Wesley	Marsh	227			AW 27/10/77
Jesus, lover of my soul		62			1877 HV Melb	choir	Wesley	Marsh	227			Spec Supp 18/8/77
Jesus, lover of my soul		62			1877 HV Melb		Wesley	Marsh	227			WW 24/11/77
Jesus, lover of my soul	62	62			1878 Dr S Melb		Wesley	Marsh	227			WW 12/7/78
Jesus, lover of my soul		62			1878 HV Hobart	choir	Wesley	Marsh	227			WW 5/4/78
Jesus, lover of my soul	62	62			1878 HV Lton		Wesley	Marsh	227			WW 10/5/78
Jesus, lover of my soul		62			1878 HV Pentridge		Wesley	Marsh	227			WW 12/1/78
Jesus, lover of my soul		62			1880 Mrs B Adelaide	converts' mtg	Wesley	Marsh	227			WW 17/12/80
Jesus, my Saviour, to Bethlehem came	17	481			1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	A.N.	Hasty	40			Reports of addresses
Jesus, that name is love		725?			1875 Lton	Believers' conf	Deck?					Conf booklet
Jesus, thine all victorious love (Spirit of burning, come!)					1891 Geelong Conv		Wesley	Hastings	187			Reports
Jesus, Thine all-victorious love	4				1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Wesley	Hastings	187	187		ACW 14/1/92
Jesus, Thine all-victorious love	163				1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Wesley	Hastings	187	187		Reports of addresses
Jesus, Thine all-victorious love	4				1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Wesley	Hastings	187	187		ACW 14/1/92
Jesus, Thou refuge of the soul ("Our refuge")	35		35		1877 Dr S Brisbane		Warren	Main	105			
Jesus, Thy blood and righteousness	114	618			1875 Lton	Believers' conf	Zinzendorf	Crassellius	177			Conf booklet
Jesus, Thy precious blood alone					1873 Table Cape	conference	O'Kane					CW 25/1/73
Joy bells		87			1878 Spurgeon Bris	choir	Pollard	Tucker	1127			QES 3/8/78
Joy joy joy					1877 Dr S Brisbane		Anon	Bradbury				QES Supp 10/11/77

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Joy joy joy					1877 Dr S Geelong		Anon	Bradbury				SC 11/8/77
Joy joy joy					1877 Dr S Melb	Benevolent Aylum	Anon	Bradbury				SC 4/8/77
Joy joy joy					1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Anon	Bradbury				SC 1/9/1877
Joy joy joy					1877 Dr S Sydney	men	Anon	Bradbury				AW 13/10/77
Joy joy joy					1878 WofG		Anon	Bradbury				WG Jul 78
Joy to the world!	152	152			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Watts	Handel/Mason	111			QES Supp 3/11/77
Joy to the world!	152	152			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Watts	Handel/Mason	111			QES Supp 3/11/77
Just as I am		82			1873 Table Cape		Elliott	Bradbury	473			CW 25/1/73
Just as I am	16	82			1875 Lton	Believers' conf	Elliott	Bradbury	473			Conf booklet
Just as I am		82			1878 HV Melb		Elliott	Bradbury	473			WW 6/9/78
Just as I am		82			1886 HG Brisbane		Elliott	Bradbury	473			BC 15/7/86
Just as I am		82			1886 HG Brisbane		Elliott	Bradbury	473			QES 30/7/86
Just as I am		82			1886 HG Brisbane		Elliott	Bradbury	473			Tele 19/7/86
Just as I was I came to Thee (Just as Thou art - how wondrous fair)					1880 Melb	Quarterly mtg Ass Hall	Denham Smith					WW 3/12/1980
Keep praying at the door					1878 WofG		no author given					WG 10/10/78
Keep praying at the door					1877 Dr S Brisbane							QES Supp 10/11/77
Keep praying at the door					1877 Dr S Sydney	noon prayer mtg						AW 13/10/77
Knocking, knocking, who is there?	19	19			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Stowe	Root	422			QES Supp 20/10/77
Knocking, knocking, who is there?		19			1877 Dr S Sydney		Stowe	Root	422			Adv 15/9/77
Knocking, knocking, who is there?		19			1877 HV Melb		Stowe	Root	422			Spec Supp 25/8/77
Knocking, knocking, who is there?		19			1878 Mrs B Hobart	Brickfields	Stowe	Root	422			WW 22/2/78
Knocking, knocking, who is there?		19			1878 Warrnambool	obituary WofG	Stowe	Root	422			WG Jul 78
Knocking, knocking, who is there?		19			1880 Port Chalmers	sailors	Stowe	Root	422			WW 9/1/80
Lead unto the Rock			69?		1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Crosby	Sankey	546?			WW 6/8/80
Let everlasting glories crown					1877 Sydney	Prot Hall mtg	Watts					AW 24/11/77
Let the lower lights be burning	29	29			1877 Dr S Ballarat		Bliss	Bliss	805			SC 1/9/77
Let the lower lights be burning	29	29			1877 Dr S M'borough		Bliss	Bliss	805			SC 25/8/77
Let the lower lights be burning	29	29			1877 Dr S Sydney		Bliss	Bliss	805			AW 20/10/77
Let the lower lights be burning		29			1880 Port Chalmers	sailors	Bliss	Bliss	805			WW 9/1/80
Let the Saviour in			114		1886 HG Brisbane		Aitchinson	Excell			102	BC 16/7/86
Let us sing of His love once again	332				1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Bottom	Webster		349		Report of addresses
Life Boat, The (Pull for the shore)		99			1877 HV Melb	butchers	Bliss	Bliss	1063			Spec 13/10/77
Life Boat, The (Pull for the shore)		99			1878 Spurgeon Bris	children	Bliss	Bliss	1063			Spec 3/8/78
Life Boat, The (Pull for the shore)		99			1880 Hobart	sailors	Bliss	Bliss	1063			WW 27/2/80
Life Boat, The (Pull for the shore)		99			1880 Port Chalmers	sailors	Bliss	Bliss	1063			WW 9/1/80
Life Boat, The (Pull for the shore)		99			1882 JMacN Perth	prison	Bliss	Bliss	1063			MacNeil p 159
Lift up thy [the] voice with singing		180			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Lathbury	Bliss				WW 6/8/80
Lift up thy voice with singing (Arise and shine)	180	180			1878 HV Melb	Chn conf	Lathbury	Bliss				WW 27/9/78
Lift up thy voice with singing (Arise and shine)	180	180			1878 Melb	noon prayer mtg	Lathbury	Bliss				WW 2/8/78
Lift up thy voice with singing (Arise and shine)	180	180			1879 Melb	2nd Advent conf	Lathbury	Bliss				WW 11/7/79
Lift up thy voice with singing (Arise and shine)		180			1880 Melb	YMCA conf	Lathbury	Bliss				WW 9/4/80

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Lifting thy voice with singing (Arise and shine)	180	180			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Lathbury	Bliss				WW 5/3/80
Light of the world, The		123			1878 Baptist Bris		Bliss	Bliss	417			QES 10/8/78
Like a river, glorious	261			53	1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Havergal	Mountain	652	272		Reports of addresses
Like a river, glorious	261			53	1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Havergal	Mountain	652	272		Reports of addresses
Like a river, glorious	7				1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Havergal	Mountain	652	272		Reports of addresses
Like a river, glorious	7				1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Havergal	Mountain	652	272		Reports of addresses
Lo! He comes with clouds descending		89			1878 HV Melb		Cennick /Wesley	Madan	161			WW 20/9/78
Lo! He comes with clouds descending		89			1881 Melb	YMCA 2nd Advent conf	Cennick /Wesley	Madan	161			WW 7/1/81
Lo! He comes with clouds descending	51				1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Cennick /Wesley	Madan	161			Reports of addresses
Lo! The day of God is breaking (Hear the call)	196	196			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Sherwin	Sherwin	688			QES Supp 20/10/77
Lo! The day of God is breaking (Hear the call)	196	196			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Sherwin	Sherwin	688			QES Supp 27/10/77
Lo! The day of God is breaking (Hear the call)		196			1877 Dr S Sydney		Sherwin	Sherwin	688			Adv 13/10/77
Lo! The day of God is breaking (Hear the call)	195	196			1877 Dr S Sydney		Sherwin	Sherwin	688			AW 3/11/77
Lo! The day of God is breaking (Hear the call)	195	196			1877 Dr S Sydney		Sherwin	Sherwin	688			AW 3/11/77
Lo! The day of God is breaking (Hear the call)	195	196			1877 Dr S Sydney		Sherwin	Sherwin	688			AW 3/11/77
Lo! The day of God is breaking (Hear the call)		196			1877 HV Melb		Sherwin	Sherwin	688			SC 8/9/77
Lo! The day of God is breaking (Hear the call)		196			1877 HV Melb		Sherwin	Sherwin	688			WW 20/10/77
Lo! The day of God is breaking (Hear the call)		196			1878 HV Melb	Temperance Hall	Sherwin	Sherwin	688			WW 17/5/78
Lo! The day of God is breaking (Hear the call)		196			1881 Melb	YMCA 2nd Advent conf	Sherwin	Sherwin	688			WW 7/1/81
Look away to Jesus		169			1877 Dr S Melb	noon prayer mtg	Burton	Bliss	409			WG Aug 77
Look away to Jesus	169	169			1877 Dr S Sydney	noon prayer mtg	Burton	Bliss	409			AW 6/10/77
Look away to Jesus		169			1877 HV Melb		Burton	Bliss	409			SC 8/9/77
Look away to Jesus		169			1877 WofG		Burton	Bliss	409			WG Jun 77
Look, ye saints, the sight is glorious	75	305			1875 Lton	Believers' conf	Kelly	Stebbins?	127			Conf booklet
Look, ye saints, the sight is glorious	375	305			1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Kelly	Stebbins?	127	412		Report of addresses
Lord Jesus, come (Hand and foot are weary)					1877 WofG		Bliss	Bliss				WG Sep 77
Lord Jesus, come, nor let us longer roam	80				1873 Table Cape	conference	Jekell	Bliss				CW 25/1/73
Lord Jesus, I long to be perfectly whole	85	35			1879 Melb	UEA conf	Nicholson	Fischer	569			WW 27/6/79
Lord Jesus, Thou dost keep Thy child	48				1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Pigott	Lowell Mason		202		Reports of addresses
Lord Jesus, Thou dost keep Thy child	48				1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Pigott	Lowell Mason		202		Reports of addresses
Lord Jesus, when we stand afar	64				1892 Grubb Lton	convention	How	Campion?				Reports of addresses
Lord of the worlds above		718			1886 HG Brisbane		Watts					BC 12/7/86
Lord, at Thy mercy seat		340			1899 Yatman Adel	YMCA quartet	Crosby	Perkins	478			Ad Adv 30/8/99
Lord, I hear of showers of blessing (Even me)	58	56			1875 Lton	Believers' conf	Codner	Bradbury	485			Conf booklet
Lord, I hear of showers of blessing (Even me)	56	56			1880 Melb	Chn conf	Codner	Bradbury	485			WW 30/7/80
Lord, I hear of showers of blessing (Even me)		56			1880 Melb	YMCA conf	Codner	Bradbury	485			WW 9/4/80
Lord, I hear of showers of blessing (Even me)		56			1886 HG Brisbane		Codner	Bradbury	485			Tele 19/7/86
Lord, through the blood (Cleansing for me)	13				1892 Grubb Lton	convention	H Booth	Bayly				Reports of addresses
Lord, Thy ransomed church is waking	434				1891 Geelong	convention	Stock	Sullivan		429		Reports
Lord, Thy ransomed church is waking	434				1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Stock	Sullivan		429		Reports of addresses

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Lord, Thy ransomed church is waking	434				1893 Grubb Lton	convention	Stock	Sullivan		429		Reports of addresses
Loved with everlasting love	260			58	1891 Geelong	convention	Robinson	Mountain	852	256		Reports
Loved with everlasting love	260			58	1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Robinson	Mountain	852	256		Reports of addresses
Loved with everlasting love	260			58	1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Robinson	Mountain	852	256		Reports of addresses
Loved with everlasting love	46				1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Robinson	Mountain	852	256		Reports of addresses
Loved with everlasting love	46				1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Robinson	Mountain	852	256		Reports of addresses
Man of sorrows		190			1877 WofG		Bliss	Bliss	102			WG Mar 77
Man of sorrows	190	190			1878 HV Melb	choir	Bliss	Bliss	102			WW 20/9/78
Man of sorrows	190	190			1879 Melb	Chn conf	Bliss	Bliss	102			SC 19/4/79
Master, the tempest is raging (Peace, be still)		395			1880 Hobart	Cherbury solo	Baker	Palmer	61			WW 23/1/80
Master, the tempest is raging (Peace, be still)		395			1886 Bris	evang service	Baker	Palmer	61			BC 12/7/86
Master, the tempest is raging (Peace, be still)		395			1886 Bris	evang service	Baker	Palmer	61			BC 12/7/86
Master, the tempest is raging (Peace, be still)		395			1889 Lton	Mission Ch steamer trip	Baker	Palmer	61			Pioneer Feb 89
Mighty to save (All glory to Jesus be given)	185	185			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Wittenmyer	Fischer				QES 13/10/77
Mighty to save (All glory to Jesus be given)	185	185			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Wittenmyer	Fischer				QES 13/10/77
Mighty to save (All glory to Jesus be given)	185	185			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Wittenmyer	Fischer				QES Supp 1/12/77
Mighty to save (All glory to Jesus be given)	185	185			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Wittenmyer	Fischer				QES Supp 17/11/77
Mighty to save (All glory to Jesus be given)		185			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Wittenmyer	Fischer				QES Supp 17/11/77
Mighty to save (All glory to Jesus be given)	185	185			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Wittenmyer	Fischer				QES Supp 27/10/77
Mighty to save (All glory to Jesus be given)	185	185			1877 Dr S C'maine		Wittenmyer	Fischer				SC 25/8/77
Mighty to save (All glory to Jesus be given)		185			1877 Dr S Geelong		Wittenmyer	Fischer				Spec Supp 25/8/77
Mighty to save (All glory to Jesus be given)	185	185			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Wittenmyer	Fischer				SC 8/9/77
Mighty to save (All glory to Jesus be given)	185	185			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Wittenmyer	Fischer				SC 8/9/77
Mighty to save (All glory to Jesus be given)		185			1877 Dr S Sydney		Wittenmyer	Fischer				Adv 22/9/77
Mighty to save (All glory to Jesus be given)	185	185			1877 Dr S Sydney		Wittenmyer	Fischer				AW 15/9/77
Mighty to save (All glory to Jesus be given)	185	185			1877 Dr S Sydney		Wittenmyer	Fischer				AW 20/10/77
Mighty to save (All glory to Jesus be given)		185			1877 Dr S Sydney		Wittenmyer	Fischer				QES 29/9/77
Mighty to save (All glory to Jesus be given)		185			1877 HV Melb	noon prayer mtg	Wittenmyer	Fischer				SC 1/9/77
Mighty to save (All glory to Jesus be given)		185			1877 HV Melb		Wittenmyer	Fischer				WW 1/12/77
Mighty to save (All glory to Jesus be given)		185			1878 Dunedin	YMCA	Wittenmyer	Fischer				WW 13/11/78
Mighty to save (All glory to Jesus be given)		185			1878 HV Melb		Wittenmyer	Fischer				SC 29/9/77
More holiness give me	94	94			1877 Dr S Brisbane	choir	Bliss	Bliss	582			QES Supp 3/11/77
More holiness give me		94			1878 HV Lton	conference	Bliss	Bliss	582			WW 15/3/78
More holiness give me		94			1878 Melb	Union prayer mtg	Bliss	Bliss	582			WW 10/5/78
More holiness give me		94			1878 Melb	noon prayer mtg	Bliss	Bliss	582			WW 26/7/78
More holiness give me	94	94			1879 Melb	YMCA - Chn conf	Bliss	Bliss	582			WW 14/11/79
More holiness give me		94			1880 Melb	YMCA conf	Bliss	Bliss	582			WW 2/4/1980
More holiness give me	94	94			1880 Melb	Chn conf	Bliss	Bliss	582			WW 30/7/80
More holiness give me	94	94			1880 Table Cape	conference	Bliss	Bliss	582			WW 6/2/80
More love to the Lord		192?			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Prentiss?	Doane?	632?			WW 4/6/80
More love to Thee, oh Christ	192	192			1880 Melb	Chn conf	Prentiss	Doane	632			SC 31/7/80, WW 30/7/80
More love to Thee, oh Christ	192	192			1880 Melb	YMCA conf	Prentiss	Doane	632			WW 2/4/80
More love to Thee, oh Christ		192			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Prentiss	Doane	632			WW 4/6/80

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
More to follow (Have you on the Lord believed?)		8			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bliss	Bliss	865	309		QES Supp 20/10/77
More to follow (Have you on the Lord believed?)		8			1877 Dr S Sydney		Bliss	Bliss	865	309		AW 15/9/77
More to follow (Have you on the Lord believed?)		8			1877 Dr S Sydney		Bliss	Bliss	865	309		QES 29/9/77
More to follow (Have you on the Lord believed?)		8			1877 Dr S Sydney		Bliss	Bliss	865	309		SC 20/10/77
More to follow (Have you on the Lord believed?)		8			1877 Dr S Sydney		Bliss	Bliss	865	309		
More to follow (Have you on the Lord believed?)		8			1877 HV Melb		Bliss	Bliss	865	309		SC 29/9/77
More to follow (Have you on the Lord believed?)		8			1878 HV Geelong		Bliss	Bliss	865	309		WW 5/1/78
More to follow (Have you on the Lord believed?)		8			1878 HV Melb	noon prayer mtg	Bliss	Bliss	865	309		WW 17/5/78
More to follow (Have you on the Lord believed?)	8	8			1880 Table Cape	conference	Bliss	Bliss	865			WW 6/2/80
My all is on the altar (My spirit, soul, and body)		744			1877 Dr S Brisbane	Chn convention	James	Hermann	637	65		QES Supp 17/11/77
My all is on the altar (My spirit, soul, and body)		744			1877 Dr S Melb	Chn convention	James	Hermann	637	65		SC 28/7/77
My all is on the altar (My spirit, soul, and body)		744			1877 Dr S Sydney		James	Hermann	637	65		AW 24/11/77
My all is on the altar (My spirit, soul, and body)		744			1877 Dr S Sydney		James	Hermann	637	65		AW 27/10/77
My all is on the altar (My spirit, soul, and body)		744			1878 HV Adelaide		James	Hermann	637	65		WW 16/8/78
My all is on the altar (My spirit, soul, and body)		744			1878 HV Melb		James	Hermann	637	65		
My all is on the altar (My spirit, soul, and body)		744			1878 WofG		James	Hermann	637	65		WG Sep 78
My God I have found	72	72			1877 HV Melb		J Denham Smith		131			SC 27/10/77
My God I have found	72	72			1877 HV Melb		J Denham Smith		131			WW 20/10/77
My God I love Thee					1886 HG Brisbane		Caswell					BC 12/7/86
My God is reconciled (Arise, my soul arise)		163			1886 Clarke Long Gully		Wesley	Darwell	154			SC 9/7/86
My heart is fixed, eternal God					1891 Grubb Melb	YMCA	Jukes			83		SC 11/9/91
My heart is resting, O my God	247			105	1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Waring	Swiss melody	609	283		Reports of addresses
My heart is resting, O my God	247			105	1893 Grubb Lton	convention	Waring	Swiss melody	609			Reports of addresses
My heavenly home is bright and fair	89		19		1873 Table Cape		Hunter	Miller				CW 25/1/73
My heavenly home is bright and fair ?			19		1877 Brisbane	Wesleyan Sacred Song Service	Hunter	Miller				Adv 29/9/77
My hope is built on nothing less		201			1875 Table Cape	conf	Mote	Bradbury	902			CW 6/2/75
My idols I cast at Thy feet (Oh, when shall my soul find her rest)	476				1891 Geelong Conv		B Booth	anon				Reports
My Jesus, I love Thee		374			1873 Table Cape	conference	Featherston	Gordon	659			CW 25/1/73
My Jesus, I love Thee		374			1875 Lton	Believers' conf	Featherston	Gordon	659			Conf booklet
My Jesus, I love Thee		374			1879 Maloga	funeral	Featherston	Gordon	659			WW 29/8/79
My Saviour suffered on the tree					1873 Table Cape	conference	Casson					CW 25/1/73
Never shone a light so fair	64		64		1877 Dr S Brisbane		Crosby	Lowry	27			QES Supp 3/11/77
Never shone a light so fair	64		64		1886 HG Brisbane		Crosby	Lowry	27			BC 12/7/86
No condemnation		76			1878 HV Lton	conference	Chapman					WW 15/3/78
Not all the blood of beasts	158	158			1877 Dr S Sydney		Watts	Mason	117			AW 24/11/77
Not all the blood of beasts	158	158			1879 Melb	UEA conf	Watts	Mason	117			WW 27/6/79
Nothing but leaves	34	34			1877 Dr S Brisbane	Ladies' Chn Assoc	Akerman	Vail	431			QES Supp 3/11/77
Nothing but leaves	34	34			1877 Dr S Sydney	noon prayer mtg	Akerman	Vail	431			AW 6/10/77

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Nothing but the blood of Jesus		338			1882 Mrs B Mt Barker		Lowry	Lowry	874			T&P 1/3/82
Nothing but the blood of Jesus		338			1886 HG Brisbane		Lowry	Lowry	874			BC 16/7/86
Nothing to pay					1879 WofG		GC	Llewellyn				WG Apr 79
Nothing unclean can enter in	43				1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Nicholson	Sweeney		40		Reports of addresses
Nothing, either great or small		74			1875 Lton	Believers' conf	Proctor	Thompson	142			Conf booklet
Nothing, either great or small		74			1877 HV Melb		Proctor	Thompson	142			AC Adv Dec 77
Nothing, either great or small (It is finished)		74			1877 HV Melb		Proctor	Thompson	142			SC 22/9/77
Now just a word for Jesus		168			1877 Dr S Brisbane	Chn convention	Crosby	Doane	1111			QES Supp 17/11/77
Now just a word for Jesus	168	168			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Crosby	Doane	1111			QES Supp 24/11/77
Now just a word for Jesus	168	168			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Crosby	Doane	1111			QES Supp 3/11/77
Now just a word for Jesus	168	168			1877 Dr S Melb	Chn convention	Crosby	Doane	1111			SC 28/7/77
Now just a word for Jesus	168	168			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Crosby	Doane	1111			SC 8/9/77
Now just a word for Jesus	168	168			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Crosby	Doane	1111			SC 8/9/77
Now just a word for Jesus		168			1877 Dr S Sydney		Crosby	Doane	1111			Adv 13/10/77
Now just a word for Jesus		168			1877 HV Melb		Crosby	Doane	1111			SC 22/9/77
Now just a word for Jesus		168			1878 Melb	Union prayer mtg	Crosby	Doane	1111			WW 6/9/78
Now just a word for Jesus		168			1878 Spurgeon Bris	children	Crosby	Doane	1111			QES 3/8/78
Now just a word for Jesus		168			1880 Mrs B Adelaide	converts' mtg	Crosby	Doane	1111			WW 17/12/80
Now the Lord our souls has fed	432				1891 Geelong	convention	Marston	Farrer		452		Reports
Now the Lord our souls has fed	432				1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Marston	Farrer		452		Reports of addresses
O Christ, what burdens bowed Thy head		44			1880 CFR Longford	baptism	Cousin	Sankey	128			WW 23/7/80
O Christ, what burdens bowed Thy head		44			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Cousin	Sankey	128			WW 7/5/80
O God of Bethel! by whose hand		438			1877 Sydney	Prot Hall mtg	Doddridge		514			AW 24/11/77
O God, our help in ages past		647			1878 Table Cape	conference	Watts	Croft	513			WW 26/1/78
O happy day		65			1872 Emu Bay		Doddridge	trad Eng tune	866			CW 24/8/72
O happy day		65			1875 Lton	Believers' conf	Doddridge	trad Eng tune	866			Conf booklet
O happy day	65	65			1877 HV Brighton		Doddridge	trad Eng tune	866			Vic Ind 1/9/77
O happy day		65			1877 HV Melb		Doddridge	trad Eng tune	866			SC 29/9/77
O happy day		65			1878 HV Melb		Doddridge	trad Eng tune	866			WW 12/1/78
O happy day		65			1886 HG Brisbane		Doddridge	trad Eng tune	866			Tele 19/7/86
O Light of light, shine in!	46				1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Bonar	Doane		36		Reports of addresses
O Lord I would delight in Thee					1877 Kentish	conference	Ryland					WW 19/1/78
O my Saviour, hear me		202			1877 Sydney	Prot Hall mtg	Crosby	Main	497			AW 24/11/77
O my Saviour, hear me	202	202			1879 Melb	UEA conf	Crosby	Main	497			WW 27/6/79
O Saviour, I am blind, lead Thou my way		270			1880 Melb		Cutting	Sherwin				WW 5/3/80
Oh for a heart to praise my God	34				1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Wesley	Richardson		32		Reports of addresses
Oh for a heart to praise my God	34				1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Wesley	Richardson		32		Reports of addresses
Oh, bliss of the purified	47	47			1877 Dr S Sydney	noon prayer mtg	Bottom	Bradbury				AW 13/10/77
Oh, bliss of the purified	47	47		7	1879 Melb	YMCA - Chn conf	Bottom	Bradbury				WW 14/11/79
Oh, bliss of the purified	47	47			1879 Melb	UEA conf	Bottom	Bradbury				WW 27/6/79
Oh, Christian awake					1875 Lton	Believers' conf	Crosby	Bradbury				Conf booklet
Oh, Christian awake (Stand like the brave)					1877 Brisbane Wes	Service Sacred Song	Crosby	Bradbury				Adv 29/9/77

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Oh, for a thousand tongues		141			1875 Lton	Believers' conf	Wesley		243			Conf booklet
Oh, may I then be redeemed and blest					1899 Yatman Adelaide	quartet						Ad Adv 26/8/99
Oh, now I see the crimson wave	192				1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Palmer?	Knapp?				Reports of addresses
Oh, now my soul hath found her rest (Oh, when shall my sould find her rest)	476				1892 Grubb Lton	convention	B Booth					Reports of addresses
Oh, the bitter shame and sorrow	71	716			1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Monod	Vincent	624	53		Reports of addresses
Oh, the clanging bells of time (Eternity)	184	184			1877 Dr S Geelong	choir	Gates	Bliss	1043			SC 18/7/77
Oh, the clanging bells of time (Eternity)	186	184			1877 Dr S Sydney		Gates	Bliss	1043			SC 6/10/77
Oh, the clanging bells of time (Eternity)		184			1877 HV Melb		Gates	Bliss	1043			WW 29/12/77
Oh, the clanging bells of time (Eternity)		184			1877 WofG		Gates	Bliss	1043			WG May 77
Oh, the clanging bells of time (Eternity)	184	184			1879 Melb	YMCA - Chn conf	Gates	Bliss	1043			WW 14/11/79
Oh, the clanging bells of time (Eternity)		184			1899 Yatman Adelaide	Virgo solo	Gates	Bliss	1043			Ad Adv 4/9/99
Oh, think of the home over there!		46			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Huntington	O'Kane	942			QES Supp 17/11/77
Oh, think of the home over there!	46	46			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Huntington	O'Kane	942			QES Supp 20/10/77
Oh, think of the home over there!		46			1877 Dr S Castlemaine		Huntington	O'Kane	942			Spec Supp 25/8/77
Oh, think of the home over there!	46	46			1877 Dr S Sandhurst	choir	Huntington	O'Kane	942			SC 1/9/1877
Oh, think of the home over there!	46	46			1877 HV Melb		Huntington	O'Kane	942			WW 20/10/77
Oh, think of the home over there!		46			1878 Melb	HBM farewell YMCA	Huntington	O'Kane	942			WG Feb 78
Oh, think of the home over there!		46			1894 JMacN Coolgardie	1000 men singing	Huntington	O'Kane	942			biog 257
Oh, think of the home over there!					1886 Launceston	farewell at ship	Huntington	O'Kane	942			Pioneer Mar 1886
Oh, to be nothing		133			1878 Willing Work		no author given			325		WW 23/8/78
Oh, to be nothing	133	133			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Taylor	Bliss		325		QES Supp 1/12/77
Oh, to be nothing	133	133			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Taylor	Bliss		325		QES Supp 1/12/77
Oh, to be nothing	133	133			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Taylor	Bliss		325		QES Supp 27/10/77
Oh, to be nothing		133			1877 Dr S Geelong		Taylor	Bliss		325		SC 11/8/77
Oh, to be nothing	133	133			1877 Dr S Melb	noon prayer mtg	Taylor	Bliss		325		WG Aug 77
Oh, to be nothing	133	133			1877 Dr S Sydney		Taylor	Bliss		325		AW 27/10/77
Oh, to be nothing	133	133			1877 HV Melb		Taylor	Bliss		325		SC 29/9/77
Oh, to be nothing	133	133			1878 HV Lton	conference	Taylor	Bliss		325		WW 10/5/78
Oh, to be nothing		133			1878 HV Lton	conference	Taylor	Bliss		325		WW 15/3/78
Oh, to be nothing		133			1878 HV Lton	conference	Taylor	Bliss		325		WW 15/3/78
Oh, to be nothing		133			1878 HV Melb	Chn conf	Taylor	Bliss		325		WW 20/9/78
Oh, to be nothing		133			1878 Melb		Taylor	Bliss		325		WW 23/8/78
Oh, to be nothing		133			1879 Christchurch	YMCA	Taylor	Bliss		325		WW 13/6/79
Oh, where are the reapers?	199	199			1879 Melb	YMCA - Chn conf	Rexford	Root	749			WW 21/11/79
Once I was dead in sin	115	115			1879 Melb	holiness conf	Pierson	Bliss	78			WW 4/7/79
Once I was dead in sin		115			1879 Melb	Chn conf	Pierson	Bliss	78			
Once I was dead in sin	115	115			1880 Melb	YMCA conf	Pierson	Bliss	78			WW 2/4/80

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Once I was dead in sin		115			1880 Melb	Chn conf	Pierson	Bliss	78			WW 30/7/80
One more day's work for Jesus	30	30			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Warner	Lowry			453	QES Supp 10/11/77
One more day's work for Jesus	30	30			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Warner	Lowry			453	QES Supp 3/11/77
One more day's work for Jesus	30	30			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Warner	Lowry			453	SC 8/9/77
One more day's work for Jesus	30	30			1877 Dr S Sydney	noon prayer mtg	Warner	Lowry			453	AW 22/9/77
One more day's work for Jesus		30			1878 Dr S Melb	UEA inaug	Warner	Lowry			453	SC 13/7/78
One there is above all others (Oh, how He loves!)		125			1875 Table Cape	conf	Nunn	Main	65			CW 6/2/75
One there is above all others (Oh, how He loves!)	125	125			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Nunn	Main	65			QES Supp 24/11/77
One there is above all others (Oh, how He loves!)	125	125			1877 HV Melb		Nunn	Main	65			Spec 22/9/77
One there is above all others (Oh, how He loves!)	125	125			1877 HV Melb		Nunn	Main	65			
One there is above all others (Oh, how He loves!)	125	125			1879 Melb	YMCA - Chn conf	Nunn	Main	65			WW 21/11/79
One there is above all others (Oh, how He loves!)		125			1879 Mrs B Melb	girls	Nunn	Main	65			WW 12/12/79
One there is above all others (Oh, how He loves!)		125			1888 GC Sydney	solo Burness	Nunn	Main	65			Aust Rec 3/11/88
Only a beam of sunshine		573			1899 Yatman Adel	Virgo solo	Crosby	Sweney	733			As Adv 1/9/99
Only a little while		408			1887 Melb	miss farewell	Crozier	Stebbins	746			MAHA Sept 87
Only a step to Jesus	236	236			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Crosby	Doane	448			QES Supp 3/11/77
Only a step to Jesus		236			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Crosby	Doane	448			QES Supp 3/11/77
Only a step to Jesus	236	236			1877 Dr S Sydney		Crosby	Doane	448			SC 20/10/77
Only an armour-bearer	33	33			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bliss	Bliss	696			QES Supp 1/12/77
Only an armour-bearer	33	33			1877 Dr S Sydney		Bliss	Bliss	696			AW 27/10/77
Only Jesus feels and knows	218	218			1879 Melb	holiness conf	Crosby	Main	51			WW 4/7/79
Only Thee, my soul's redeemer	240				1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Crosby	Doane		237		Reports of addresses
Onward and upward		164?			1879 Sydney	Ch of Christ, choir	Crosby	Sankey	693			ACA Aug 79
Onward Christian soldiers		611			1894 Cook Melbourne	Smith solo	Baring-Gould	Sullivan	706			Smith 288
Open the door for the children					1877 Dr S Geelong	children - Times of Blessing bk	Kidder					SC 18/8/77
Open the door for the children					1877 Dr S Melb	children	Kidder					WG Aug 77
Open the door for the children					1877 Dr S Sydney	children	Kidder					Adv 22/9/77
Open the door for the children					1877 Dr S Sydney	children	Kidder					AW 20/10/77
Open the door for the children					1878 Spurgeon Bris	children	Kidder					QES 3/8/78
Open the door for the children					1879 Maloga	chn by heart	Kidder					WW 8/8/79
Open the door for the children (Tenderly gather them in)					1877 Dr S Brisbane	children	Kidder					QES Supp 24/11/77
Our lamps are trimmed and burning (Behold the Bridegroom cometh)		100			1878 HV Melb	Chn conf	Root	Root	165			SC 1/6/78
Our lamps are trimmed and burning (Behold the	100	100			1878 HV Melb	Chn conf	Root	Root	165			WW 27/9/78

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Bridegroom cometh)												
Our lamps are trimmed and burning (Behold the Bridegroom cometh)	100	100			1878 HV Melb	Chn conf	Root	Root	165			WW 31/5/78
Our lamps are trimmed and burning (Behold the Bridegroom cometh)	100	100			1879 Melb	2nd Advent conf	Root	Root	165			WW 11/7/79
Our lamps are trimmed and burning (Behold the Bridegroom cometh)		100			1879 Melb	United prayer mtg	Root	Root	165			WW 6/6/79
Out of my bondage	52	487			1892 Grubb Sydney		Sleeper	Stebbins	498			ACW 14/1/92
Over the line		383			1880 Melb	Chn conf - solo	Bradford	Phelps	466			WW 30/7/80
Peace, perfect peace		730			1891 Petersham	Solo at conf	Bickersteth	Caldbeck	726			ACW 24/9/91
Praise Him, praise Him	334	454			1891 Geelong	convention	Crosby	Allen	208	356		Reports
Praise Him, praise Him	334	454			1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Crosby	Allen	208	356		Reports of addresses
Praise Him, praise Him	43	454			1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Crosby	Allen	208	356		Reports of addresses
Praise Him, praise Him	43	454			1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Crosby	Allen	208	356		Reports of addresses
Praise the Saviour, ye who know Him		562			1880 Melb	Quarterly mtg Ass Hall	Kelly		505			WW 3/12/80
Praise the Saviour, ye who know Him		562			1881 Kentishbury	conf	Kelly		505			WW 28/1/81
Pray, brethren, pray		306			1887 Melb	miss farewell	Bonar	Phillips	1032			MAHA Sept 87
Precious promise (I will guide thee)		128			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Niles	Bliss	543			QES Supp 10/11/77
Precious promise (I will guide thee)	128	128			1877 Dr S Brisbane	Chn convention	Niles	Bliss	543			QES Supp 17/11/77
Precious promise (I will guide thee)	128	128			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Niles	Bliss	543			QES Supp 27/10/77
Precious promise (I will guide thee)	123	128			1877 Dr S Melb	Chn convention	Niles	Bliss	543			SC 28/7/77
Precious promise (I will guide thee)		128			1877 Dr S Melb		Niles	Bliss	543			WG Aug 77
Precious promise (I will guide thee)	128	128			1877 Dr S Sydney		Niles	Bliss	543			AW 15/9/77
Precious promise (I will guide thee)	128	128			1877 Dr S Sydney		Niles	Bliss	543			AW 24/11/77
Precious promise (I will guide thee)	128	128			1877 HV Melb		Niles	Bliss	543			SC 1/9/77
Precious promise (I will guide thee)	128	128			1877 HV Melb		Niles	Bliss	543			
Precious promise (I will guide thee)	128	128			1878 Bris	United Ev service	Niles	Bliss	543			QES 7/9/78
Precious Saviour				121	1881 Kentishbury	conf	Rouse	Boole	629			WW 28/1/81
Rejoice and be glad		73			1878 HV Melb	Chn conf	Bonar	trad	224			WW 20/9/78
Rejoice and be glad	73	73			1878 HV Melb	Chn conf	Bonar	trad	224			WW 31/5/78
Rejoice and be glad	355	73			1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Bonar	trad	224			Reports of addresses
Rejoice! Rejoice! Ye saints rejoice	38		92		1875 Lton	Believers' conf	Hurditch	Burke	654			Conf booklet
Repeat the story o'er and o'er (The Half was never told)		194			1878 Gospel Tent		Bliss	Bliss	665			WW 1/3/78
Repeat the story o'er and o'er (The Half was never told)		194			1878 United Ev service Bris		Bliss	Bliss	665			QES 10/8/78
Repeat the story o'er and o'er (The Half was never told)	194	194			1879 Melb	UEA conf	Bliss	Bliss	665			WW 27/6/79
Repeat the story o'er and o'er (The Half was never told)		194			1880 Melb	Chn conf	Bliss	Bliss	665			SC 24/7/80
Rescue the perishing		37			1879 Maloga	chn by heart	Crosby	Doane	814			WW 8/8/79
Rescue the perishing		37			1880 Warangesda	aboriginals	Crosby	Doane	814			WW 23/4/80
Rescue the perishing		37			1881 Melb	YMCA 2nd Advent conf	Crosby	Doane	814			WW 7/1/81

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Rescue the perishing	37	37			1884 Melbourne	R T Booth	Crosby	Doane	814			Argus 22/1/84 p7
Rescue the perishing		37			1886 Bris	temperance mtg	Crosby	Doane	814			QES 23/7/86
Rescue the perishing		37			1886 HG Brisbane		Crosby	Doane	814			QES 2/7/86
Rescue the perishing		37			1886 Sydney		Crosby	Doane	814			ACW 2/7/86
Rescue the perishing		37			1895 Tasmania	temperance mtg	Crosby	Doane	814			Tas News 1/8/95
Revive Thy work O Lord	331	273			1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Midlane /Crosby	Doane	309	342		Reports of addresses
Ride on! Ride on in majesty	9		9		1877 Dr S Brisbane		Milman	Stebbins	135			QES Supp 10/11/77
Ride on! Ride on in majesty	9		9		1877 Dr S Brisbane		Milman	Stebbins	135			QES Supp 27/10/77
Ring the bells of heaven	39	39			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Cushing	Root	650			QES Supp 3/11/77
Ring the bells of heaven		39			1877 Dr S Sydney		Cushing	Root	650			Adv 15/9/77
Ring the bells of heaven		39			1877 Kentish	conference	Cushing	Root	650			WW 19/1/78
Ring the bells of heaven		39			1878 Adelaide	funeral	Cushing	Root	650			T&P Jul 78
Ring the bells of heaven		39			1878 Maloga	wedding, by heart	Cushing	Root	650			WW 2/2/78
Rise my soul, Thy God directs thee					1873 Table Cape		Darby					
Rise up and hasten, my soul, haste along	219				1873 Table Cape	conference	Denham Smith					CW 25/1/73
Rise up and hasten, my soul, haste along	106				1875 Lton	Believers' conf	Denham Smith					conf booklet
Rise up and hasten, my soul, haste along					1877 Kentish	conference	Denham Smith					WW 19/1/78
Rock of Ages		61			1877 Melb		Toplady	different tune	237			Spec 10/11/77
Rock of Ages		61			1878 WofG		Toplady	different tune	237			WG Mar 78
Rock of Ages	61	61			1877 Dr S Ballarat		Toplady	Hastings	237			SC 1/9/77
Rock of Ages	61	61			1877 Dr S Ballarat		Toplady	Hastings	237			BC 25/7/77
Rock of Ages	61	61			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Toplady	Hastings	237			QES Supp 20/10/77
Rock of Ages	61	61			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Toplady	Hastings	237			QES Supp 27/10/77
Rock of Ages		61			1877 Dr S Geelong		Toplady	Hastings	237			SC 11/8/77
Rock of Ages	61	61			1877 Dr S Maryborough		Toplady	Hastings	237			SC 25/8/77
Rock of Ages		61			1877 Dr S Melb		Toplady	Hastings	237			WG Aug 77
Rock of Ages		61			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Toplady	Hastings	237			SC 1/9/77
Rock of Ages		61			1877 Dr S Sydney		Toplady	Hastings	237			Adv 15/9/77
Rock of Ages	61	61			1877 Dr S Sydney	Bible lecture	Toplady	Hastings	237			AW 13/10/77
Rock of Ages	61	61			1877 Dr S Sydney		Toplady	Hastings	237			AW 22/9/77
Rock of Ages		61			1877 HV Melb	butchers: choir	Toplady	Hastings	237			Spec 13/10/77
Rock of Ages		61			1877 HV Melb	gaol	Toplady	Hastings	237			WW 1/12/77
Rock of Ages		61			1877 HV Melb	noon prayer mtg	Toplady	Hastings	237			WW 1/12/77
Rock of Ages	61	61			1878 HV Lton	conference	Toplady	Hastings	237			WW 10/5/78
Rock of Ages		61			1878 Mrs B Hobart	Brickfields	Toplady	Hastings	237			WW 22/2/78
Rock of Ages		61			1894 JMcN Lton		Toplady	Hastings	237			PresMonth 1/8/94
Sad and weary with my longing	76				1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Adams	Coffin		84		Reports of addresses
Safe in the Arms of Jesus		25			1875 Hobart	Macartney mission	Crosby	Doane	57			Merc 6/12/75

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Safe in the Arms of Jesus	59	25			1875 Lton	Believers' conf	Crosby	Doane	57			conf booklet
Safe in the Arms of Jesus		25			1875 Lton	Believers' conf	Crosby	Doane	57			conf booklet
Safe in the Arms of Jesus	25	25			1877 Dr S Brisbane	children	Crosby	Doane	57			QES Supp 24/11/77
Safe in the Arms of Jesus		25			1877 Dr S Sydney	children	Crosby	Doane	57			AW 20/10/77
Safe in the Arms of Jesus		25			1878 HV Lton		Crosby	Doane	57			Merc 16/3/78
Safe in the Arms of Jesus		25			1878 Macintyre W Dist	Scotch lady	Crosby	Doane	57			WW 20/9/78
Safe in the Arms of Jesus		25			1879 Maloga	funeral	Crosby	Doane	57			WW 9/8/79
Safe in the Arms of Jesus		25			1879 MB		Crosby	Doane	57			WG Oct 79
Safe in the Arms of Jesus		25			1880 Hobart	sailors	Crosby	Doane	57			WW 27/2/80
Safe in the Arms of Jesus		25			1880 Warangesda	aboriginals	Crosby	Doane	57			WW 23/4/80
Safe in the Arms of Jesus		25			1875 Hobart	Macartney mission	Crosby	Doane	57			Merc 6/12/75
Safe in the Arms of Jesus		25			1877 Dr S Ballarat		Crosby	Doane	57			BC 23/7/77
Saviour, breathe an evening blessing		370			1889 Lton	Mission Ch steamer trip	Edmeston	Stebbins	286			Pioneer Feb 89
Saviour, I follow on		161			1878 HV Lton	conference	Robinson					WW 15/3/78
Saviour, like a shepherd lead us	98	98			1877 Dr S Sydney	noon prayer mtg	Thrupp?	Bradbury	1164			AW 13/10/77
Saviour, like a shepherd lead us		98			1877 HV Melb	noon prayer mtg	Thrupp?	Bradbury	1164			SC 1/9/77
Saviour, like a shepherd lead us		98			1878 HV Brunswick	Baptist	Thrupp?	Bradbury	1164			VF Feb 78
Saviour, like a shepherd lead us		98			1879 Melb	chn	Thrupp?	Bradbury	1164			CE Mess 7/4/79
Saviour, more than life to me		129			1880 Melb	Chn conf	Crosby	Doane	570			SC 31/7/80
Saviour, more than life to me		129			1886 HG Sydney	item with Noble	Crosby	Doane	570			ACW 2/7/86
Saviour, Thy dying love	119	119			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Phelps	Lowry	634			QES Supp 3/11/77
Saviour, Thy dying love		119			1877 Dr S Melb	noon prayer mtg	Phelps	Lowry	634			WG Aug 77
Saviour, Thy dying love	119	119			1877 Dr S Sydney		Phelps	Lowry	634			AW 27/10/77
Saviour, Thy dying love	119	119			1879 Melb	YMCA - Chn conf	Phelps	Lowry	634			WW 21/11/79
Saviour, Thy dying love	119	119			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Phelps	Lowry	634			WW 10/9/80
Saviour, Thy dying love		119			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Phelps	Lowry	634			WW 4/6/80
Saviour, Thy dying love	119	119			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Phelps	Lowry	634			WW 9/4/80
Saviour, Thy dying love	143	119			1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Phelps	Lowry	634	142		Reports of addresses
Scatter seeds of kindness		12			1877 Dr S Ballarat	children	Smith Mrs	Vail				AW 11/8/77
Scatter seeds of kindness		12			1882 JMacN Perth	prison - men's request	Smith Mrs	Vail				MacNeil p 159
Search me, O God, my actions try	2				1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Bottom	Franc or Hull	587?	22		ACW 14/1/92
Seeking to love					1878 Spurgeon Bris	children						QES 3/8/78
Shall we ever meet again?	132				1873 Table Cape	conference	Moore					CW 25/1/73
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1877 Brisbane Wes	Service Sacred Song	Lowry	Lowry	1000			Adv 29/9/77
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1877 Dr S Ballarat		Lowry	Lowry	1000			SC 1/9/77
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1877 Dr S Ballarat		Lowry	Lowry	1000			BC 23/7/77
Shall we gather at the river?	68	68			1877 Dr S Bathurst		Lowry	Lowry	1000			
Shall we gather at the river?	68	68			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Lowry	Lowry	1000			QES Supp 13/10/77
Shall we gather at the river?	68	68			1877 Dr S Brisbane	Chn convention	Lowry	Lowry	1000			QES Supp 17/11/77
Shall we gather at the river?	68	68			1877 Dr S C'maine		Lowry	Lowry	1000			SC 25/8/77
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1877 Dr S Geelong		Lowry	Lowry	1000			SC 11/8/77, Spec 11/8/77
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1877 Dr S M'borough		Lowry	Lowry	1000			Spec 18/8/77

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Shall we gather at the river?	68	68			1877 Dr S Melb	Chn convention	Lowry	Lowry	1000			SC 28/7/77
Shall we gather at the river?	68	68			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Lowry	Lowry	1000			SC 1/9/77
Shall we gather at the river?	68	68			1877 Dr S Sydney		Lowry	Lowry	1000			Adv 15/9/77
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1877 Dr S Sydney	children	Lowry	Lowry	1000			Adv 22/9/77
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1877 Dr S Sydney	men	Lowry	Lowry	1000			AW 13/10/77
Shall we gather at the river?	68	68			1877 Dr S Sydney		Lowry	Lowry	1000			AW 24/11/77
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1877 Dr S Sydney		Lowry	Lowry	1000			SMH 10/9/77
Shall we gather at the river?	68	68			1877 HV Melb		Lowry	Lowry	1000			SC 29/9/77
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1878 Dr S Auckland		Lowry	Lowry	1000			WW 1/3/78
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1878 Dr S Hobart	children	Lowry	Lowry	1000			Merc 17/6/78
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1878 Dr S Wellington		Lowry	Lowry	1000			WW 15/3/78
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1878 HV Lton	conference	Lowry	Lowry	1000			WW 15/3/78
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1878 HV Melb	Chn conf	Lowry	Lowry	1000			SC 1/6/78
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1878 HV Melb		Lowry	Lowry	1000			SC 22/12/77
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1878 HV Melb		Lowry	Lowry	1000			WW 13/9/78
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1878 HV Melb	Chn conf	Lowry	Lowry	1000			WW 27/9/78
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1878 HV Melb		Lowry	Lowry	1000			WW 31/5/78
Shall we gather at the river?	68	68			1878 Melb	Chn conf	Lowry	Lowry	1000			
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1879 Melb	children	Lowry	Lowry	1000			CE Mess 7/4/79
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1879 Redcliffe	Manders	Lowry	Lowry	1000			WW 26/9/79
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1880 Melb	United Band mtg wharf	Lowry	Lowry	1000			WW 8/10/80
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1883 Mrs H Sydney	children	Lowry	Lowry	1000			Adv 22/9/83
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1886 Hamilton Vic	farewell rly stn	Lowry	Lowry	1000			SC 4/6/86
Shall we gather at the river?		68			1894 JMcN Sydney	1st miday mtg	Lowry	Lowry	1000			DT 10/10/94
Shall we meet beyond the river	240	240			1877 HV Melb		Hastings	Bates	913			
Showers of blessing		522			1878 Sandhurst	Chn workers' conv	Whittle (El Nathan)	McGranahan	306			WW 28/6/78
Simply trusting		193			1878 Maloga	Matthews solo	Page? Stites?	Sankey	836			WW 22/3/78
Since Thy Father's arm sustains thee	241	241			1879 Melb	YMCA - Chn conf	Carter	Bliss		97		WW 14/11/79
Since Thy Father's arm sustains thee	241	241			1880 Melb	YMCA conf	Carter	Bliss		97		WW 9/4/80
Sinners Jesus will receive (Christ receiveth sinful men)		477			1886 HG Brisbane		Bevan (tr.)	McGranahan	390			Tele 19/7/86
Sometime we'll understand			13		1894 JMcN Melb	Burke solo	Cornelius	McGranahan	740			Argus 21/7/94
Sometime we'll understand			13		1894 JMcN Sydney	Burke solo	Cornelius	McGranahan	740			SMH 11/10/94
Song of salvation		258			1878 HV Adelaide	choir	Phillips	Phillips	1182			WW 26/7/78
Song of salvation		258			1878 Sandridge	sailors	Phillips	Phillips	1182			WW 11/10/78
Song of salvation, The		258			1877 HV Melb	choir	Phillips	Phillips	1182			WW 8/12/77
Souls of men, why will you scatter?	9				1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Faber	Husband		514		Reports of addresses
Sound the battle cry		511			1890 Collingwood	choir, free breakfast	Sherwin	Sherwin	703			SC 18/4/90
Sowing the seed (What shall the harvest be?)		42			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Oakey	Bliss	1057			BC 16/10/77
Sowing the seed (What shall the harvest be?)		42			1877 Dr S Brisbane	Chn convention	Oakey	Bliss	1057			QES Supp 17/11/77
Sowing the seed (What shall the harvest be?)	42	42			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Oakey	Bliss	1057			QES Supp 27/10/77
Sowing the seed (What shall the harvest be?)		42			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Oakey	Bliss	1057			Week 20/10/77

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Sowing the seed (What shall the harvest be?)	42	42			1877 Dr S M'borough		Oakey	Bliss	1057			SC 25/8/77
Sowing the seed (What shall the harvest be?)	42	42			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Oakey	Bliss	1057			SC 1/9/77
Sowing the seed (What shall the harvest be?)	42	42			1877 Dr S Sydney		Oakey	Bliss	1057			AW 24/11/77
Sowing the seed (What shall the harvest be?)		42			1877 Geelong	Wesleyan	Oakey	Bliss	1057			Spec 1/9/77
Sowing the seed (What shall the harvest be?)		42			1877 HV Melb		Oakey	Bliss	1057			Spec 11/8/77
Sowing the seed (What shall the harvest be?)		42			1877 HV Melb		Oakey	Bliss	1057			Spec 15/9/77
Sowing the seed (What shall the harvest be?)		42			1877 HV Melb	children	Oakey	Bliss	1057			Spec Supp 18/8/77
Sowing the seed (What shall the harvest be?)	42	42			1877 HV Melb		Oakey	Bliss	1057			WW 20/10/77
Sowing the seed (What shall the harvest be?)	42	42			1877 Melb	Chn convention	Oakey	Bliss	1057			SC 28/7/77
Speed away!			32		1899 Yatman Adelaide	Virgo solo	Sterling	Woodbury	1072			Ad Adv 4/9/99
Stand up, stand up for Jesus!	15	15			1877 HV Brighton		Duffield	Webb	680			Vic Ind 1/9/77
Stand up, stand up for Jesus!		15			1877 Melb	YMCA hall opening- choir	Duffield	Webb	680			Spec 8/9/77
Stand up, stand up for Jesus!		15			1877 Sydney	Prot Hall mtg	Duffield	Webb	680			AW 24/11/77
Stand up, stand up for Jesus!		15			1881 Kentishbury	conf	Duffield	Webb	680			WW 14/1/81
Stand up, stand up for Jesus!		15			1881 Kentishbury	conf	Duffield	Webb	680			WW 28/1/81
Stand up, stand up for Jesus!		15			1888 GC Sydney		Duffield	Webb	680			ACW 1/11/88
Stand up, stand up for Jesus!		15			1894 JMcN Sydney		Duffield	Webb	680			SMH 11/10/94
Stand up, stand up for Jesus!	15	15			1899 Yatman Hobart		Duffield	Webb	680			Merc 14/10/99
Standing by a purpose true (Dare to be a Daniel)	7	7			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bliss	Bliss	707			QES 1/12/77
Standing by a purpose true (Dare to be a Daniel)		7			1877 Dr S Geelong		Bliss	Bliss	707			SC 18/8/77
Standing by a purpose true (Dare to be a Daniel)		7			1877 Dr S Melb		Bliss	Bliss	707			SC 21/7/77
Standing by a purpose true (Dare to be a Daniel)		7			1877 Dr S Sydney		Bliss	Bliss	707			Adv 6/10/77
Standing by a purpose true (Dare to be a Daniel)		7			1888 GC Sydney		Bliss	Bliss	707			ACW 1/11/88
Stay in the field					1886 Melb	YMCA 15th anniv, Jubilee Singers						ACW 25/6/86
Steal away to Jesus					1878 WofG		spiritual	spiritual				WG May 78
Steal away to Jesus					1877 Dr S Brisbane		spiritual	spiritual				QES Supp 17/11/77
Steal away to Jesus					1877 Dr S Brisbane		spiritual	spiritual				QES Supp 17/11/77
Steal away to Jesus					1877 Dr S Brisbane		spiritual	spiritual				QES Supp 27/10/77
Steal away to Jesus					1877 Dr S Brisbane	choir	spiritual	spiritual				QES Supp 3/11/77
Steal away to Jesus					1877 Dr S Sydney		spiritual	spiritual				AW 20/10/77
Steal away to Jesus					1877 Dr S Sydney		spiritual	spiritual				AW 24/11/77
Steal away to Jesus					1878 Dr S Melb		spiritual	spiritual				SC 6/7/78
Steal away to Jesus					1878 Dr S Melb	choir	spiritual	spiritual				WW 12/7/78
Steal away to Jesus					1886 Melb	YMCA 15th anniv, Jubilee Singers	spiritual	spiritual				ACW 25/6/86
Sweet by and by	2	9			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Bennett	Webster	964			SC 8/9/77
Sweet by and by	9	9			1877 Dr S Sydney		Bennett	Webster	964			AW 22/9/77
Sweet by and by	9	9			1877 Dr S Sydney		Bennett	Webster	964			AW 22/9/77
Sweet by and by		9			1878 Dr S Dunedin	farewell	Bennett	Webster	964			WW 14/6/78
Sweet by and by		9			1878 Dr S Dunedin	mtg for converts	Bennett	Webster	964			WW 14/6/78

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Sweet by and by	9	9			1878 TS Qld	farewell	Bennett	Webster	964			VF 10/80
Sweet by and by		9			1879 Sydney	Ch of Christ	Bennett	Webster	964			ACA Aug 79
Sweet by and by		9			1880 Hobart	sailors	Bennett	Webster	964			WW 27/2/80
Sweet by and by		9			1880 Warangesda	aboriginals	Bennett	Webster	964			WW 23/4/1980
Sweet by and by		9			1890 Collingwood	social evening	Bennett	Webster	964			SC 7/2/90
Sweet hour of prayer		48			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Walford	Bradbury	318			BC 11/10/77
Sweet hour of prayer		48			1877 Dr S Melb	Chn convention	Walford	Bradbury	318			SC 28/7/77
Sweet hour of prayer		48			1877 Dr S Sydney		Walford	Bradbury	318			Adv 15/9/77
Sweet hour of prayer		48			1878 Melb	Union prayer mtg	Walford	Bradbury	318			WW 16/8/78
Sweet hour of prayer		48			1878 Spurgeon Ipswich		Walford	Bradbury	318			QES 3/8/78
Sweet hour of prayer	48	48			1879 Melb	YMCA - Chn conf	Walford	Bradbury	318			WW 14/11/79
Take me as I am		327			1886 HG Brisbane		Hamilton	Sankey	476			BC 15/7/86
Take me as I am		327			1886 HG Brisbane		Hamilton	Sankey	476			BC 19/7/86
Take my life (Consecration hymn)		416			1877 Dr S Melb	noon prayer mtg	Havergal	Mozart	616	72		WG Aug 77
Take my life (Consecration hymn)		416			1878 HV Melb		Havergal	Mozart	616	72		WG Sep 78
Take my life (Consecration hymn)		416			1886 Maloga		Havergal	Mozart	616	72		SC 3/12/86
Take my life (Consecration hymn)	315	416			1888 GC Sydney		Havergal	Mozart	616	72		ACW 15/11/88
Take my life (Consecration hymn)	28	416			1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Havergal	Mozart	616	72		Reports of addresses
Take the name of Jesus with you		148			1879 Melb	Chn conf - YMCA	Baxter	Doane	91			WW 14/11/79
Take the name of Jesus with you		148			1880 Melb	Chn conf	Baxter	Doane	91	289		WW 30/7/80
Take the name of Jesus with you	249	148			1891 Geelong Conv		Baxter	Doane	91	289		Reports
Take the name of Jesus with you	249	148			1891 Geelong Conv		Baxter	Doane	91	289		Reports
Take the name of Jesus with you	249	148			1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Baxter	Doane	91	289		Reports of addresses
Take time to be holy			30		1891 Geelong Conv	solo	Longstaff	Stebbins	608	320		Reports
Take time to be holy			30		1899 Yatman Adel	Virgo solo	Longstaff	Stebbins	608	320		Ad Adv 25/8/99+A2
Tell it with joy again					1878 WofG		Crosby?	Doane				WG Dec 78
Tell me the old old story		14			1876 Preston	musical evening	Hankey		1131			Spec 12/8/76
Tell me the old old story		14			1877 Dr S Geelong		Hankey		1131			SC 18/8/77
Tell me the old old story	14	14			1877 Dr S Maryborough		Hankey		1131			SC 25/8/77
Tell me the old old story		14			1877 HV Melb		Hankey		1131			WW 24/11/77
Tell me the old old story		14			1878 Mrs B Hobart	Brickfields	Hankey		1131			WW 22/2/78
Tell me the old old story		14			1877 Dr S Ballarat		Hankey		1131			BC 25/7/77
Tenderly pleading (Turn thee, o lost one)	88		88		1878 HV Melb	Chn conf	Crosby	Sankey	449			WW 20/9/78
The Beulah Land		277			1881 Inskip		Stites	Sweney	944			SC 23/4/80
The bright for evermore		91			1878 Spurgeon Bris	children	Ogden	Ogden	984			QES 3/8/78
The Christian soldier					1878 Spurgeon Bris	children	Watts					QES 3/8/78
The Christian soldier					1878 WofG		Watts					WG Aug 78
The crowning day (Our Lord is now rejected)		363			1888 Sydney?	farewell CIM miss	(Whittle) Nathan	El McGranahan	176			Pioneer Apr 88
The crowning day (Our Lord is now rejected)	[30]	363			1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	(Whittle) Nathan	El McGranahan	176			Reports of addresses

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
The Father is keeping the helm in His hand					1879 WofG		Evans Mrs M W	R Mills				WG Oct 79
The gate ajar		2			1875 Hobart	Macartney mission	Baxter	Vail	372			Merc 6/12/75
The gate ajar		2			1875 Phillips tour		Baxter	Vail	372			CW 2/9/75
The gate ajar		2			1875 Table Cape	conf	Baxter	Vail	372			CW 6/2/75
The gate ajar	2	2			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Baxter	Vail	372			QES Supp 20/10/77
The gate ajar	2	2			1877 Dr S Sydney		Baxter	Vail	372			AW 22/9/77
The God of Abraham praise	116	116			1877 Melb	YMCA hall opening	Olivers	Jewish air	4			Spec 8/9/77
The golden bells					1877 Dr S Brisbane							QES Supp 20/10/77
The good physician	108				1877 HV Melb	Alfred Hospital	Hunter	Stockton	89 ?			WW 8/12/77
The Great Physician		49			1875 Perrin death		Hunter	Stockton ?	89			Perrin p. 147
The Great Physician		49			1877 Dr S Geelong		Hunter	Stockton ?	89			Spec 11/8/77
The Great Physician		49			1877 Dr S Ballarat		Hunter	Stockton ?	89			BC 25/7/77
The Great Physician		49			1877 Dr S Melb		Hunter	Stockton ?	89			WG Aug 77
The Great Physician		49			1878 HV Lton (Perth)	Chn conf	Hunter	Stockton ?	89			WW 15/3/78
The Great Physician		49			1886 HG Brisbane		Hunter	Stockton ?	89		291	BC 15/7/86
The Harbour Bell	49		49		1877 Dr S Brisbane		Yates	Sankey	395			QES Supp 20/10/77
The Harbour Bell			49		1899 Yatman Sydney	Fairfax solo	Yates	Sankey	395			SMH 20/1/96
The harvest is passing (Hark, sinner, while God from on high doth entreat thee)		243			1877 WofG		Anstey	Bliss	442			WG Jul 77
The higher rock		60			1877 HV Melb		Hartsough	Hartsough				WW 24/11/77
The Holy Ghost is come	186				1877 HV Melb		Bottom	Swiss melody		184		Spec 8/9/77
The Holy Ghost is come	186				1891 Geelong	convention	Bottom	Swiss melody		184		Reports
The Holy Ghost is come	186				1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Bottom	Swiss melody		184		Reports of addresses
The Holy Ghost is come	186				1893 Grubb Lton	convention	Bottom	Swiss melody		184		Reports of addresses
The Lord's my Shepherd	78	78			1877 Dr S Brisbane		trad	?Smart	562			QES 10/11/77
The Lord's my Shepherd		78			1877 Dr S Geelong		trad	?Smart	562			Spec Supp 25/8/77
The Lord's my Shepherd	78	78			1877 Dr S Sydney		trad	?Smart	562			AW 20/10/77
The Lord's my Shepherd	78	78			1878 Dr S Melb		trad	?Smart	562			SC 6/7/78
The Lord's my Shepherd		78			1878 Dr S Melb		trad	?Smart	562			WW 5/7/78
The Lord's my Shepherd		78			1878 HV Geelong		trad	?Smart	562			WW 5/1/78
The Lord's my Shepherd		78			1894 JMcN Melb		trad	?Smart	562			Argus 6/8/94
The Lord's my Shepherd		78			1894 JMcN Sydney		trad	?Smart	562			SMH 9/10/94
The mercy seat (Great God, to us Thy help afford)					1879 WofG		Kellett	Craven				WG May 79
The midnight cry (Trim your lamps and be ready)					1880 WofG		no author given	no author given				WG Jun 80
The palace of the King		234			1878 Dr S Sandhurst	YMCA - choir	Crosby (ad)	Vail	969			WW 12/7/78
The palace of the King		234			1878 Dr S Sydney		Crosby (ad)	Vail	969			SC 24/8/78
The palace of the King		234			1878 Melb	communion service	Crosby (ad)	Vail	969			SC 10/8/78
The palace of the King	234	234			1878 Melb	Chn conf	Crosby (ad)	Vail	969			WW 27/9/78
The prodigal child		13			1877 Dr S Melb		Gates	Doane	435			WG Aug 77

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
The prodigal child		13			1877 HV Melb	choir	Gates	Doane	435			SC 1/9/77
The sands of time are sinking	44	178			1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Cousin	D'Urhan	975	415		Reports of addresses
The sands of time are sinking	44	178			1892 Grubb Sydney	convention - read	Cousin	D'Urhan	975	415		Reports of addresses
The Saviour is my all in all					1894 Cook Melbourne	Smith solo	Cousin	D'Urhan				Smith 288
The very same Jesus					1896 JMacN funeral	his favourite	Edmonds	Kirkpatrick			96	MacNeil p 379
The year of jubilee is come					1868 Emu Bay	prayer mtg						CW 24/8/72
There are angels hovering round	55	55			1878 Dr S Melb		anon	trad	343			SC 13/7/78
There are angels hovering round		55			1878 Dr S Melb	children - choir	anon	trad	343			WW 12/7/78
There is a better world					1881 JMacN SA		Lyth	Hayhurst				MacNeil p 99
There is a better world above					1879 Melb	children	Lyth	Hayhurst				CE Mess 7/4/79
There is a fountain	45	45			1881 Inskip		Cowper	Havergal	129			SC 23/4/81
There is a fountain		45			1877 Dr S Ballarat		Cowper		129			SC 1/9/77
There is a fountain	45	45			1877 Dr S Castlemaine		Cowper		129			SC 25/8/77
There is a fountain		45			1877 Dr S Geelong		Cowper		129			Spec Supp 18/8/77
There is a fountain	45	45			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Cowper		129			SC 1/9/77
There is a fountain		45			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Cowper		129			SC 1/9/77
There is a fountain		45			1877 Dr S Sydney		Cowper		129			Adv 15/9/77
There is a fountain	45	45			1877 HV Melb		Cowper		129			SC 22/9/77
There is a fountain	45	45			1880 JMacN		Cowper		129			
There is a fountain	45	45			1882 JMacN Perth	prison - men knew tune	Cowper		129			MacNeil p 159
There is a fountain		45			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Cowper		129			BC 16/10/77
There is a fountain	45	45			1877 Dr S Brisbane	choir, very expressive	Cowper		129			QES Supp 13/10/77
There is a fountain		45			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Cowper		129			QES Supp 20/10/77
There is a fountain		45			1877 Dr S Brisbane	children	Cowper		129			QES Supp 3/11/77
There is a fountain	45	45			1877 Dr S M'borough		Cowper		129			AW 1/9/77
There is a fountain		45			1877 Dr S Melb		Cowper		129			WG Aug 77
There is a fountain	45	45			1877 Dr S Melb	Chn convention	Cowper		129			SC 28/7/77
There is a fountain	45	45			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Cowper		129			SC 8/9/77
There is a fountain	45	45			1877 Dr S Sydney		Cowper		129			AW 13/10/77
There is a fountain	45	45			1877 Dr S Sydney	Bible lecture	Cowper		129			AW 13/10/77
There is a fountain		45			1877 Dr S Sydney		Cowper		129			AW 15/9/77
There is a fountain	45	45			1877 Dr S Sydney		Cowper		129			AW 22/9/77
There is a fountain		45			1877 Sydney	Prot Hall mtg	Cowper		129			AW 24/11/77
There is a fountain		45			1878 Dr S Auckland		Cowper		129			WW 1/3/78
There is a fountain	45	45			1878 HV Lton	conf	Cowper		129			WW 10/5/78
There is a fountain	45	45			1879 Melb	UEA conf	Cowper		129			WW 27/6/79
There is a fountain		45			1886 Hamilton Vic	open air mtg	Cowper		129			SC 4/6/86
There is a fountain		45			1886 HG Brisbane		Cowper		129			BC 15/7/86
There is a fountain		45			1886 HG Brisbane		Cowper		129			Tele 22/7/86
There is a fountain/I will believe	462	45			1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Cowper			491		Reports of addresses
There is a fountain/I will redeem		45			1886 HG Brisbane		Cowper					

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
There is a fountain/I've been redeemed		45			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Cowper					QES Supp 1/12/77
There is a fountain/I've been redeemed	45	45			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Cowper					QES Supp 13/10/77
There is a fountain/I've been redeemed		45			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Cowper					QES Supp 17/11/77
There is a fountain/I've been redeemed	45	45			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Cowper					QES Supp 20/10/77
There is a fountain/I've been redeemed		45			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Cowper					QES Supp 24/11/77
There is a fountain/I've been redeemed		45			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Cowper					QES Supp 3/11/77
There is a fountain/I've been redeemed		45			1877 Dr S Geelong		Cowper					SC 11/8/77, Spec 11/8/77
There is a fountain/I've been redeemed	45	45			1877 Dr S M'borough		Cowper					SC 25/8/77
There is a fountain/I've been redeemed		45			1877 Dr S Sydney		Cowper					Adv 6/10/77
There is a fountain/I've been redeemed	45	45			1877 Dr S Sydney	children	Cowper					AW 29/9/77
There is a happy land					1879 Maloga	funeral	Young	Indian Breedlove arr			680	WW 8/8/79
There is a happy land					1879 Melb	chn	Young	Indian Breedlove arr			680	CE Mess 7/4/79
There is a name I love to hear					1877 Adelong NSW	church foundation stone	Whitfield	Webbe?				AW 29/9/77
There is life for a look		32			1877 HV Melb	immigrants home	Hull	Taylor	123		169	SC 15/9/77
There is life for a look		32			1877 HV Melb		Hull	Taylor	123		169	SC 29/9/77
There is life for a look		32			1877 HV Melb		Hull	Taylor	123		169	Spec Supp 1/9/77
There is life for a look		32			1880 Port Chalmers	sailors	Hull	Taylor	123		169	WW M2559/1/80
There were ninety and nine		43			1894 JMcN Lton	solo	Clephane	Sankey	97			PresMonth 1/8/94
There were ninety and nine		43			1894 JMcN Melb	solo plus choir	Clephane	Sankey	97			SC 27/7/94
There's a cry from Macedonia	105	105			1877 Dr S Brisbane	Chn convention	Crosby	Bradbury				QES Supp 17/11/77
There's a cry from Macedonia		105			1877 Dr S Melb	noon prayer mtg; new	Crosby	Bradbury				WG Aug 77
There's a cry from Macedonia	105	105			1877 Dr S Sydney		Crosby	Bradbury				AW 24/11/77
There's a cry from Macedonia		105			1877 HV Melb		Crosby	Bradbury				SC 29/9/77
There's a cry from Macedonia		105			1877 HV Melb		Crosby	Bradbury				SC 8/12/77
There's a cry from Macedonia	105	105			1877 HV Melb		Crosby	Bradbury				Spec 6/10/77
There's a cry from Macedonia		105			1877 HV Melb		Crosby	Bradbury				
There's a cry from Macedonia	105	105			1878 HV Lton		Crosby	Bradbury				WW 10/5/78
There's a cry from Macedonia		105			1878 HV Melb	noon prayer mtg	Crosby	Bradbury				WW 17/5/78
There's a cry from Macedonia	105	105			1878 Sandhurst	sailors	Crosby	Bradbury				WW 22/11/78
There's a cry from Macedonia		105			1879 Melb	Chn conf	Crosby	Bradbury				SC 19/4/79
There's a fountain filled with love (sic)		45?			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Cowper?		129?			SC 8/9/77
There's a home for little children					1876 WofG		Midlane	Hermann?	1130			WG Oct 76
Thine, Jesus, Thine					1880 Melb	Quarterly mtg Ass Hall		Bliss				WW 3/12/80
Thine, most gracious Lord (Wholly Thine)	177	177			1879 Melb	YMCA - Chn conf	Hawks	Lowry				WW 14/11/79
Thine, most gracious Lord (Wholly Thine)	177	177			1879 Melb	UEA conf	Hawks	Lowry				WW 27/6/79
Thine, most gracious Lord (Wholly Thine)	177	177			1879 Mrs B Melb	girls	Hawks	Lowry				WW 12/12/79
Thine, most gracious Lord (Wholly Thine)		177			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Hawks	Lowry				WW 10/9/80
Thine, most gracious Lord (Wholly Thine)	177	177			1880 Melb	YMCA conf	Hawks	Lowry				WW 8/4/80
Thou didst leave Thy throne (Room for Thee)		237			1877 WofG		Elliott	Sankey	35			WG Apr 77
Thou didst leave Thy throne (Room for Thee)		237			1878 Melb	children	Elliott	Sankey	35			WW 23/8/78

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Thou my everlasting portion	172	172			1879 Melb	YMCA - Chn conf	Crosby	Vail	574			WW 21/11/79
Thou my everlasting portion	172	172			1880 Melb	Chn conf	Crosby	Vail	574			WW 30/7/80
Thou my everlasting portion		172			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Crosby	Vail	574			WW 5/3/80
Thou my everlasting portion		172			1880 Melb	United prayer mtg	Crosby	Vail	574			WW 9/3/80
Thou sweet, beloved will of God	257			101	1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Tersteegen /Pigott	Hews	625	246		Reports of addresses
Thou whose Almighty word (Let there be light)	233	233			1877 HV Melb	immigrants home	Marriott	Giardini	5			SC 15/9/77
Though the night be dark and dreary (There'll be joy bye and bye)		300			1886 HG Melb		Ellsworth	Lowry				Pioneer Mar 86
Throw out the lifeline			28		1894 Ballarat	Gypsy Smith	Ufford	Ufford /Stebbins	772			SC 6/7/94
Throw out the lifeline			28		1894 JMcN Melb	Burke solo	Ufford	Ufford /Stebbins	772			Argus 21/7/94
Throw out the lifeline			28		1894 Melbourne	Gypsy Smith solo	Ufford	Ufford /Stebbins	772			Smith 288
Thy Saviour stands waiting (Saviour come in)					1879 WofG		Taylor	Gould				WG Jul 79
Thy will be done!		321			1886 Bris	United Protestant	Elliott	McGranahan	718			BC 12/7/86
Till He come		156			1876 Melb	conf	Bickersteth	Bortnianski	277			WG Nov 76
Till He come		156			1878 HV Melb	Chn conf	Bickersteth	Bortnianski	277			SC 1/6/78
Till He come	156	156			1878 HV Melb	Chn conf	Bickersteth	Bortnianski	277			WW 27/9/78
Till He come	156	156			1879 Melb	YMCA - Chn conf	Bickersteth	Bortnianski	277			WW 21/11/79
To the work, to the work	176	176			1877 Dr S Sydney		Crosby	Doane	751			AW 24/11/77
To the work, to the work	176	176			1877 Dr S Sydney		Crosby	Doane	751			AW 27/10/77
To the work, to the work	176	176			1877 Dr S Sydney		Crosby	Doane	751			AW 3/11/77
To the work, to the work		176			1877 Sydney	Prot Hall mtg	Crosby	Doane	751			AW 24/11/77
To the work, to the work		176			1878 Dr S Melb		Crosby	Doane	751			WW 5/7/78
To the work, to the work		176			1878 Dr S Sydney		Crosby	Doane	751			SC 24/8/78
To the work, to the work		176			1879 Melb	holiness conf	Crosby	Doane	751			WW 4/7/79
To the work, to the work		176			1886 Melb	YMCA 15th anniv	Crosby	Doane	751			ACW 25/6/86
Too late					1880 WofG copy		Crosby	Doane				WG May 80
Waiting and watching for me	195	195			1877 Dr S Melb	Benevolent Asylum	Farningham (arr)	Bliss				SC 4/8/77
Waiting and watching for me	195	195			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Farningham	Bliss				QES Supp 1/12/77
Waiting and watching for me	195	195			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Farningham	Bliss				QES Supp 10/11/77
Waiting and watching for me		195			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Farningham	Bliss				QES Supp 17/11/77
Waiting and watching for me	195	195			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Farningham	Bliss				QES Supp 27/10/77
Waiting and watching for me	196	195			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Farningham	Bliss				QES Supp 27/10/77
Waiting and watching for me	195	195			1877 Dr S C'maine		Farningham	Bliss				SC 25/8/77
Waiting and watching for me	195	195			1877 Dr S Geelong		Farningham	Bliss				SC 18/8/77
Waiting and watching for me		195			1877 Dr S Melb	noon prayer mtg	Farningham	Bliss				WG Aug 77
Waiting and watching for me	195	195			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Farningham	Bliss				SC 1/9/77
Waiting and watching for me	195	195			1877 Dr S Sydney		Farningham	Bliss				Adv 15/9/77
Waiting and watching for me		195			1877 Dr S Sydney		Farningham	Bliss				Adv 15/9/77

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Waiting and watching for me	195	195			1877 Dr S Sydney	choir	Farningham	Bliss				QES 29/9/77
Waiting and watching for me		195			1877 Geelong	TS 21st	Farningham	Bliss				VF Oct 77
Waiting and watching for me		195			1877 HV Melb		Farningham	Bliss				Spec Supp 18/8/77
Waiting and watching for me	195	195			1877 Melb	YMCA hall opening	Farningham	Bliss				Spec 8/9/77
Waiting and watching for me	195	195			1878 Dr S Geelong		Farningham	Bliss				Spec 11/8/77
Waiting and watching for me ?	196	195			1877 HV Melb		Farningham	Bliss				
Waiting, waiting for the fire					1877 Dr S Melb	noon prayer mtg: choir, audience chorus						WG Aug 77
Wandering afar from the dwellings of men	112	112			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bliss	Bliss				QES Supp 3/11/77
We praise Thee O God (Revive us again)	350				1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Mackay	English air			36	Reports of addresses
We shall meet beyond the river, by and by		109			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Atkinson	Main	936			QES Supp 24/11/77
We shall meet beyond the river, by and by	109	109			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Atkinson	Main	936			SC 8/9/77
We shall meet beyond the river, by and by		109			1878 Dr S Bluff NZ	farewell	Atkinson	Main	936			WG Jul 78
We shall meet beyond the river, by and by	109	109			1880 Melb	Chn conf	Atkinson	Main	936			WW 30/7/80
We shall meet in the Eden above (The Eden above)		27			1875 Table Cape	conference	no author given				101	CW 6/2/75
We shall meet in the Eden above (The Eden above)		27			1877 Dr S Brisbane	choir	no author given				101	BC 9/11/77
We shall meet in the Eden above (The Eden above)	27	27			1877 Dr S Brisbane		no author given				101	QES Supp 20/10/77
We shall meet in the Eden above (The Eden above)		27			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		no author given				101	SC 1/9/77
We shall meet in the Eden above (The Eden above)	27	27			1877 Dr S Sydney		no author given				101	AW 13/10/77
We shall meet in the Eden above (The Eden above)	27	27			1877 Dr S Sydney		no author given				101	AW 20/10/77
We sing of the realms of the blest		347			1883 Mrs H Sydney		Mills	Stebbins	923			Adv 22/9/77
We're bound for the land of the pure and the holy					1873 Table Cape	conference	Hunter					CW 25/1/73
We're going home		113			1881 Melb	YMCA 2nd Advent conf	Paulina (Mrs Bliss)	Bliss				WW 7/1/81
We're marching to Canaan (Who is on the Lord's side?)	85	85			1877 Dr S Brisbane	children	Paulina (Mrs Bliss)	Bliss	694			QES 10/11/77
We're marching to Canaan (Who is on the Lord's side?)	85	85			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Paulina (Mrs Bliss)	Bliss	694			
We're marching to Canaan (Who's on the Lord's side?)	85	85			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Paulina (Mrs Bliss)	Bliss	694			QES Supp 24/11/77
We're marching to Canaan (Who's on the Lord's side?)	168	85			1877 Dr S Ipswich		Paulina (Mrs Bliss)	Bliss	694			QES 1/12/77
We're marching to Canaan (Who's on the Lord's side?)	85	85			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Paulina (Mrs Bliss)	Bliss	694			SC 1/9/1877
We're marching to Canaan (Who's on the Lord's side?)	85	85			1877 Dr S Sydney		Paulina (Mrs Bliss)	Bliss	694			AW 3/11/77
We're marching to Canaan (Who's on the Lord's side?)		85			1877 HV Melb		Paulina (Mrs Bliss)	Bliss	694			Spec Supp 1/9/77

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
What a friend	117	117			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Scriven	Converse	319			QES Supp 1/12/77
What a friend	118	117			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Scriven	Converse	319			QES Supp 10/11/77
What a friend	117	117			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Scriven	Converse	319			QES Supp 27/10/77
What a friend	117	117			1877 Dr S Sydney	Bible lecture	Scriven	Converse	319			AW 13/10/77
What a friend		117			1877 Dr S Sydney		Scriven	Converse	319			AW 15/9/77
What a friend		117			1877 Dr S Sydney		Scriven	Converse	319			AW 15/9/77
What a friend		117			1877 HV Brunswick	Methodist	Scriven	Converse	319			Spec 25/8/77
What a friend		117			1878 Canterbury	YMCA	Scriven	Converse	319			WW 1/11/78
What a friend		117			1878 HV Melb	noon prayer mtg	Scriven	Converse	319			WW 17/5/78
What a friend	117	117			1878 HV Melb		Scriven	Converse	319			WW 6/9/78
What a friend	117	117			1878 Melb	Union prayer mtg	Scriven	Converse	319			WW 16/8/78
What a friend	117	117			1878 Melb	Union prayer mtg	Scriven	Converse	319			WW 16/8/78
What a friend		117			1878 Melb	Chn conf	Scriven	Converse	319			SC 1/6/78
What a friend	117	117			1879 Melb	holiness conf	Scriven	Converse	319			WW 4/7/79
What a friend		117			1880 Melb	YMCA conf	Scriven	Converse	319			WW 2/4/80
What a friend		117			1880 Warangesda	aboriginals	Scriven	Converse	319			WW 23/4/80
What a friend	117	117			1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Scriven	Converse	319			ACW 14/1/92
What means this eager anxious throng? (Jesus of Nazareth)		20			1875 Lton	Believers' conf	Campbell	Perkin	77			Conf booklet
What means this eager anxious throng? (Jesus of Nazareth)		20			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Campbell	Perkin	77			AW 8/9/77
What means this eager anxious throng? (Jesus of Nazareth)	20	20			1877 HV Brighton		Campbell	Perkin	77			Vic Ind 1/9/77
What means this eager anxious throng? (Jesus of Nazareth)		20			1877 HV Melb		Campbell	Perkin	77			SC 1/9/77
What means this eager anxious throng? (Jesus of Nazareth)		20			1877 HV Melb		Campbell	Perkin	77			Spec Supp 18/8/77
What means this eager anxious throng? (Jesus of Nazareth)		20			1877 Sydney	Prot Hall mtg	Campbell	Perkin	77			AW 24/11/77
What means this eager anxious throng? (Jesus of Nazareth)		20			1878 HV Melb		Campbell	Perkin	77			WW 12/1/78
What means this eager anxious throng? (Jesus of Nazareth)		20			1883 Mrs H Sydney		Campbell	Perkin	77			DT 22/9/83
What means this eager anxious throng? (Jesus of Nazareth)		20			1886 HG Syd		Campbell	Perkin	77			ACW 9/7/86
What then?					1899 Yatman Adel	Virgo solo						Ad Adv 26/8/99
What various hindrances we meet	142	142			1879 Melb	YMCA - Chn conf	Cowper	Handel	311			WW 14/11/79
When He cometh (Jewels)	17	17			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Cushing	Root	1140			QES Supp 20/10/77
When He cometh (Jewels)	17	17			1877 Dr S Geelong	children	Cushing	Root	1140			SC 18/8/77
When He cometh (Jewels)	17	17			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Cushing	Root	1140			SC 1/9/77
When He cometh (Jewels)		17			1877 Dr S Sydney	children	Cushing	Root	1140			Adv 22/9/77
When He cometh (Jewels)		17			1877 HV Melb	children	Cushing	Root	1140			Spec 25/8/77
When He cometh (Jewels)	17	17			1879 Melb	YMCA - Chn conf	Cushing	Root	1140			WW 21/11/79
When He cometh (Jewels)		17			1881 Melb	YMCA 2nd Advent conf	Cushing	Root	1140			WW 7/1/81

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
When I shall wake			16		1894 JMcN Sydney	Burke solo	Bonar	Stebbins	909			SMH 9/10/94
When I survey	62	424			1892 Grubb Lton	convention	Watts	Millar	115	73		Reports of addresses
When I survey	33	424			1892 Grubb Sydney	convention	Watts	Millar	115	73		Reports of addresses
When my weary hands are folded					1878 WofG		Bliss	Sankey				WG Jun 78
When the mists have rolled away		606			1880 Kew Iarrikins	Cherbury solo	Herbert	Sankey	945			WW 17/9/80
When the mists have rolled away		606			1883 Mrs H Melb	solo ladies' mtg	Herbert	Sankey	945			VF Jul 83
When the mists have rolled away		606			1894 JMcN Melb	solo plus choir	Herbert	Sankey	945			SC 27/7/94
Where are the reapers		199			1887 miss farewell Melb		Rexford	Root	749			MAHA Sept 87
Where hast thou gleaned today?					1878 Spurgeon Bris	children	Bliss	Bliss				QES 3/8/78
Where is my wandering boy tonight?		303			1881 Mrs B Norwood	solo	Lowry	Lowry	776			T&P 1/9/81
Where is my wandering boy tonight?		303			1882 JMacN Perth	prison	Lowry	Lowry	776			MacNeil p 159
Where is my wandering boy tonight?		303			1882 Mrs B Glenelg	solo	Lowry	Lowry	776			T&P 1/1/83
Where is my wandering boy tonight?		303			1899 Yatman Adel	Virgo solo	Lowry	Lowry	776			Ad Adv 28/8/99
Where is now our loved one?					1880 WofG		Bliss	Bliss				WG Jul 80
Whither, pilgrims, are you going?					1873 Table Cape	conference - farewell	unknown	Bradbury				CW 25/1/73
Who is He in yonder stall?		392			1879 WofG		Hanby	Hanby	66			WG Dec 79
Who is on the Lord's side?			123		1877 Dr S Geelong		Havergal	Sankey	792			Spec Supp 25/8/77
Who is on the Lord's side?			123		1877 Dr S Sydney		Havergal	Sankey	792			Adv 6/10/77
Who is on the Lord's side?			123		1878 Gospel Tent		Havergal	Sankey	792			WW 1/3/78
Who is on the Lord's side?			123		1878 HV Deloraine		Havergal	Sankey	792			WG Mar 78
Who will take care of me?					1880 WofG			Camm				WG Jan 79
Who, who are these (Sweeping through the gates)		58			1875 Phillips tour		O'Kane	O'Kane	1021			CW 2/9/75
Who, who are these	58	58			1877 Dr S Brisbane		O'Kane	O'Kane	1021			QES Supp 20/10/77
Who, who are these	58	58			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		O'Kane	O'Kane	1021			
Who, who are these		58			1877 HV Brunswick	Methodist	O'Kane	O'Kane	1021			Spec 25/8/77
Who, who are these	58	58			1877 HV Melb		O'Kane	O'Kane	1021			Spec 8/9/77
Who, who are these	58	58			1877 HV Melb		O'Kane	O'Kane	1021			WW 20/10/77
Who, who are these		58			1878 Dunedin	YMCA	O'Kane	O'Kane	1021			WW 13/2/78
Whosoever heareth (Whosoever will)		24			1876 Preston	musical evening	Bliss	Bliss	389			Spec 12/8/76
Whosoever heareth (Whosoever will)	24	24			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bliss	Bliss	389			QES Supp 20/10/77
Whosoever heareth (Whosoever will)	24	24			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bliss	Bliss	389			QES Supp 27/10/77
Whosoever heareth (Whosoever will)		24			1877 Dr S Sydney		Bliss	Bliss	389			Adv 22/9/77
Whosoever heareth (Whosoever will)		24			1877 Dr S Sydney		Bliss	Bliss	389			QES 29/10/77
Why not now?			8		1899 Yatman Adel	Virgo solo	El Nathan	Cash	341			Ad Adv 4/9/99
Why not tonight?		312			1876 Latrobe	Cheek singing	Reed Eliza	Sankey	335			ACWatchman 1/11/83
Will you meet me at the fountain	259	259			1877 Dr S Brisbane	children	Bliss	Bliss	962			QES 10/11/77
Will you meet me at the fountain	259	259			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bliss	Bliss	962			QES Supp 20/10/77
Will you meet me at the fountain	259	259			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bliss	Bliss	962			QES Supp 27/10/77
Will you meet me at the fountain	259	259			1877 Dr S Sandhurst		Bliss	Bliss	962			SC 1/9/77
Will you meet me at the fountain	259	259			1877 Dr S Sydney		Bliss	Bliss	962			AW 29/9/77
Will you meet me at the fountain	259	259			1877 Dr S Sydney		Bliss	Bliss	962			AW 3/11/77

Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Will you meet me at the fountain		259			1877 Sydney	Prot Hall mtg	Bliss	Bliss	962			AW 24/11/77
Will you meet me at the fountain		259			1878 HV Melb		Bliss	Bliss	962			WW 12/1/78
Will you meet me at the fountain	259	259			1877 Dr S Sydney	noon prayer mtg	Bliss	Bliss	962			AW 22/9/77
Will you meet me at the fountain	259	259			1877 Dr S Sydney		Bliss	Bliss	962			AW 22/9/77
Will you meet me at the fountain [there] ?		259			1877 Dr S Geelong	children	Bliss	Bliss	962			Spec 18/8/77
Will you meet me at the fountain [there] ?		259			1878 Dr S Wellington		Bliss	Bliss	962			WW 15/3/78
With cheerful songs (Our Christian band)	166		174	166	1878 HV Adelaide	Chn conf	Maxfield	Ogden	1108			WW 23/8/78
With harps and with vials ("A New Song")	126	126			1878 HV Lton	conference	Pierson	Bliss	1023			WW 10/5/78
With harps and with vials ("A New Song")		126?			1878 HV Melb	Christians conf	Pierson	Bliss	1023?			WW 31/5/78
With harps and with vials (The New Song)	126	126			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Pierson	Bliss	1023			QES 10/11/77
With harps and with vials (The New Song)	126	126			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Pierson	Bliss	1023			QES Supp 20/10/77
With harps and with vials (The New Song)	126	126			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Pierson	Bliss	1023			QES Supp 3/11/77
With harps and with vials (The New Song)	126	126			1877 Dr S Sydney		Pierson	Bliss	1023			AW 24/11/77
With harps and with vials (The New Song)		126			1877 Dr S Sydney		Pierson	Bliss	1023			QES 29/9/77
With harps and with vials (The New Song)	126	126			1877 HV Melb		Pierson	Bliss	1023			SC 22/9/77
With harps and with vials (The New Song)		126			1878 Melb	HV Chn conf	Pierson	Bliss	1023			SC 1/6/78
With harps and with vials (The New Song)	126	126			1879 Melb	holiness conf	Pierson	Bliss	1023			WW 4/7/79
With harps and with vials (The New Song)	126	126			1879 Melb	Chn conf	Pierson	Bliss	1023			
With harps and with vials (The New Song)	126	126			1879 Melb	Chn conf (2)	Pierson	Bliss	1023			
With harps and with vials (The New Song)		126			1879 Melb	Chn conf	Pierson	Bliss	1023			
With harps and with vials (The New Song)		126			1880 Melb	Chn conf	Pierson	Bliss	1023			WW 30/7/80
With harps and with vials (The New Song)		126			1881 Melb	YMCA 2nd Advent conf	Pierson	Bliss	1023			WW 7/1/81
With harps and with vials? ("A New Song")		126			1877 Dr S Sydney		Pierson	Bliss	1023			AW 22/9/77
With harps and with vials? ("A New Song")		126			1877 HV Melb		Pierson	Bliss	1023			SC 22/9/77
With harps and with vials? ("A New Song")		126			1877 HV Melb		Pierson	Bliss	1023			
With harps and with vials? ("A New Song")		126			1877 HV Melb		Pierson	Bliss	1023			
With harps and with vials? ("The New Song")		126			1877 HV Melb		Pierson	Bliss	1023			WW 31/5/78
With the sweet word of holy peace					1878 HBM Clunes		Watson?	Monk?				WW 12/1/78
Wonderful words of life		272			1879 WofG		Bliss	Bliss	357			WG Jun 79
Wonderful words of life		272			1886 HG Brisbane		Bliss	Bliss	357			QES 30/7/86
Won't you be a Christian					1877 Brisbane Wes	Sacred Song Service						Adv 29/9/77
Work, for the night is coming		66			1876 Preston	musical evening	Walker	Mason	778			Spec 12/8/76
Work, for the night is coming	66	66			1877 Dr S Brisbane	Chn convention	Walker	Mason	778			QES Supp 17/11/77
Work, for the night is coming	66	66			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Walker	Mason	778			QES Supp 27/10/77
Work, for the night is coming		66			1877 Dr S Melb		Walker	Mason	778			WG Aug 77
Work, for the night is coming	66	66			1877 Dr S Sydney		Walker	Mason	778			AW 22/9/77
Work, for the night is coming		66			1877 HV Melb		Walker	Mason	778			Spec 11/8/77
Work, for the night is coming		66			1878 HV Melb	Chn conf	Walker	Mason	778			WW 20/9/78
Yet there is room	31	31			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bonar	Sankey	429			QES Supp 10/11/77
Yet there is room	31	31			1877 Dr S Brisbane		Bonar	Sankey	429			QES Supp 3/11/77
Yet there is room	31	31			1877 Dr S Geelong		Bonar	Sankey	429			Spec Supp 18/8/77
Yet there is room	31	31			1877 HV Brighton		Bonar	Sankey	429			Vic Ind 1/9/77
Yield not to temptation		135			1877 Dr S Geelong		Palmer	Palmer	698			Spec Supp 25/8/77

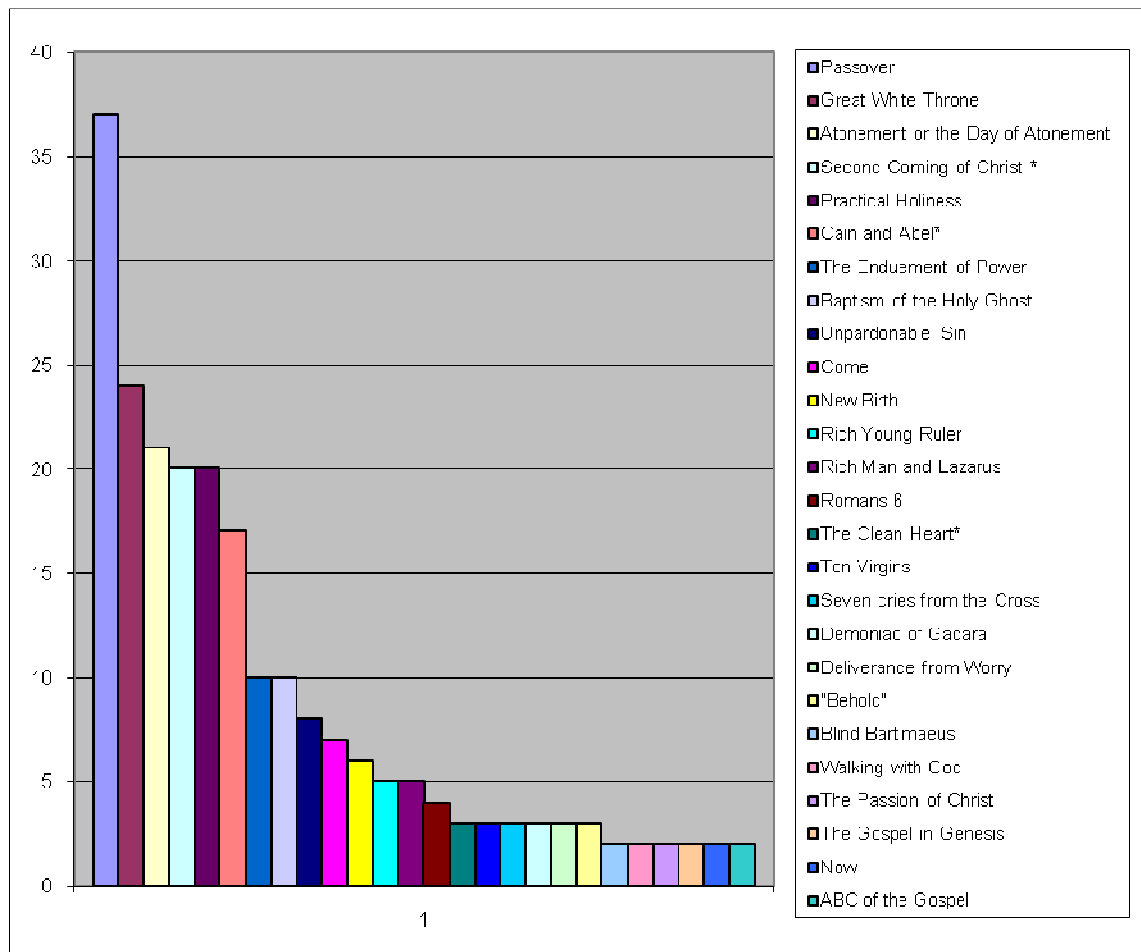
Song	no given	SS	NH	CC	date, place	occasion	lyrics	music	SSS	HCF	Red	Reference
Yield not to temptation		135			1877 Dr S Melb		Palmer	Palmer	698			SC 21/7/77
Yield not to temptation		135			1877 Dr S Melb	choir, noon prayer mtg	Palmer	Palmer	698			WG Aug 77
Yield not to temptation		135			1877 Dr S Melb	noon prayer mtg	Palmer	Palmer	698			WG Aug 77
Yield not to temptation		135			1877 Dr S Sydney	Fiery Furnace	Palmer	Palmer	698			
Zion, lovely Zion					1886 Bris	United Protestant	anon	Cook				BC 12/7/86
	291				1878 Kentish conference	Cheek - Rainey gave out						ACWatchman 1/11/84
	74				1880 Table Cape	conference						WW 13/2/80
	121				1880 Table Cape	conference						WW 13/2/80
	182				1880 Table Cape	conference						WW 13/2/80
	206				1880 Table Cape	conference						WW 13/2/80
	51				1880 Table Cape	conference						WW 6/2/80
	258				1891 Geelong Conv							Reports
	424				1891 Petersham conf							ACW 24/9/91
	234				1892 Grubb Lton	convention						Reports of addresses
	523				1899 Yatman Hobart							Merc 14/10/99

Appendix D

Mrs Baeyertz' sermons

Titles in bold were printed in one of the various collections.

Title or topic	occurrences
Passover	37
Great White Throne	24
Atonement or the Day of Atonement	21
Second Coming of Christ	20
Practical Holiness	20
Cain and Abel	17
The Enduement of Power	10
Baptism of the Holy Ghost	10
Unpardonable Sin	8
Come	7
New Birth	6
Rich Young Ruler	5
Rich Man and Lazarus	5
Romans 6	4
The Clean Heart	3
Ten Virgins	3
Seven cries from the Cross	3
Demoniac of Gadara	3
Deliverance from Worry	3
"Behold"	3
Blind Bartimaeus	2
Walking with God	2
The Passion of Christ	2
The Gospel in Genesis	2
Now	2
ABC of the Gospel	2



Appendix E

Some key members of organising networks

	Victoria	NSW	Tas	SA
Anglican	Blacket H A Langley J D Langley H B Macartney snr H B Macartney jnr	T B Tress		
Baptist	Bird Bunning Samuel Chapman A J Clarke R Gillespie? Hiddlestone Shain Allan Webb J Porter		Benjafield Gibton	G H Angas Silas Mead
Brethren	David Beath Edwin Good Theo Kitchen Philip Kitchen Haddon Cave Henry Rainey A Scott		H L Garrett Richard Smith	
Congregational	H Bath? S C Kent J East Harrison	Bevan		
Methodist	Henry Bath W H Fitchett John Watsford	Rainsford Bavin William Kelynack W G Taylor David Walker?	Henry Reed	James Way Samuel Way
Presbyterian	James Balfour A Cameron J F Ewing John MacNeil D S McColl D S McEachran A Yule	John Walker		

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Notes:

- Where material is rare or was hard to locate, its current location has been included.
- Dates for newspapers are the given for the range of years consulted. Dates of publication may be seen in the list of newspapers in Appendix B.

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